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THE HISTORY ^e

OF THE TOWN OF

G R A V E S E N D

IN THE

COUNTY OF KENT

AND OF THE

PORT OF LONDON

BY

ROBERT PEIRCE CRUDEN.

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P R E F A C E.

ALMOST half a century has passed away, since the latest History of Gravesend was published; and the town has now attained an eminence, in respect of extent and population, which claims a more elaborate and circumstantial account of its origin and progress, than any that has hitherto been given. A genealogist is fain to establish for his client, the honour of an ancient descent, by showing that the founder of his family "came over with the Conqueror;" and topographical writers being no less apt to claim for the subject of their researches, an origin as ancient—Dooms-day Book is usually appealed to, for both purposes.

Gravesend, under the name of "Gravesham," is noticed in the great Norman survey; but this relates to the manor, and does not afford evidence that there was a *town* upon the spot at that time. There is, however, some ground for the presumption that even at that period, there was a resort to the place, for the benefit of a convenient communication by water, with London, and it is to this intercourse, that Gravesend owes its origin and advancement.

G. W. Walford \$11.70 3-9-66. P.O. 2006

Being thus connected by position, the history of Gravesend cannot be satisfactorily traced, without embracing an account of the ancient and present state of that part of the Thames, that constitutes the Port of London, within the limit of which, the Town is situated.

The period, when the great change in the primeval course of the river was made, by the construction of Embankments, having been left unsettled, and scarcely noticed, by preceding writers ; some evidence, upon this subject, will be found in the present work.

The account given of the shipping and commerce of the Port, includes, from original sources, some particulars of the formation of the Royal Naval Establishments at Deptford and Woolwich.

Various opinions have been expressed by Charnock and others, relative to the place where the royal ship, the *Harry-grace-a-Dieu*, was built ; the question deriving an interest from the circumstance, that it is supposed to have been the first ship of the Navy Royal constructed in England. The fact, that it was built at Woolwich, appears in an official account of the cost and charges for building it ; extracts from which are given in this work, for the first time.

The discovery of the power of the magnet, and the application of it to the construction of the mariner's compass, being scarcely more important to navigation, than the invention of the rudder affixed to the stern of a vessel ; an attempt has been made to show when this inestimable instrument was first used ; and until farther discoveries shall disturb the conclusion arrived at, it may be supposed to have been introduced in the reign of Edward III., and certainly before the middle of the fourteenth century.

The town and neighbourhood of Gravesend, have been the

scene of many remarkable events, which, though recorded in the pages of the history of England, have been represented, without the details of local interest that are necessary to a complete narrative, which are now supplied; with many original contemporaneous official letters relating to the subjects, hitherto unpublished.

The commotion raised by Sir Thomas Wyatt—the approach of the Spanish Armada—and the operations of the fleet of an enemy in the Thames and the Medway,—are subjects connected with the history of Gravesend. The means of defence upon these occasions, having been taken in combination with measures at Chatham, Rochester, Tilbury Fort, &c., the account is extended to these adjacent towns and places. History has thrown the odium of the disaster at Chatham, in the year 1667, upon the resident Commissioner of the Navy at the time, Peter Pett, Esq., a member of the eminent family of that name at Deptford; and his case is stated, with powerful testimony in his vindication.

Sovereigns, nobles, and other eminent persons have visited Gravesend, or have passed through it, with notable circumstances, both by land and by water; and some information of these and other travellers, and of travelling in by-gone times, is introduced.

What may be considered the domestic concerns of Gravesend, through a long succession of ages, have been copiously described, from every accessible source of authentic information. In conclusion, the recent great and rapid changes in the circumstances of the town, are carefully noted; and, since the epithet of “young” has been applied to a regenerated nation, they will be found to entitle it to the designation of YOUNG GRAVESEND.

October the 23rd, 1843.

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HISTORY OF GRAVESEND.

GRAVESEND, comprising the incorporated parishes of Gravesend and Milton, is delightfully situated on the south side of the Thames, in the County of Kent, twenty-two miles by land from London, and twenty-six by the river.

The town is built upon the first spot of land that presents an acclivity from the river, twenty-one miles within or westward of the estuary at the Nore, where the waters of the North Sea, the Thames, and the Medway mingle.

A littoral site so commodious, must from the earliest times have attracted those whose pursuits engaged them in any intercourse between London and the Continent, or between Kent and Essex, or with vessels resorting to Gravesend upon their arrival or their departure from the Thames.

Situated at such a convenient distance from the Capital, that at all times, in ordinary weather, passengers might be conveyed in one tide, by means of sails or oars; travellers from the eastern parts of Kent, through which County the great track from and to the Continent runs, would resort to the spot for the advantages of a water conveyance.

THE ROMANS.

Before the Romans invaded Britain, the district in which Gravesend stands, in common with other parts of modern Kent, derived advantages from the position; for the people of that æra have been described* as the most civilized of all the Britons, and differing but little in their manners from their continental neighbours, the Gauls.

Within the short distance of two miles and a-half towards the west-south-west of Gravesend, is the reputed site of the Roman

* *Cæsar de Bell, Gall. lib. v.*

station Vagniacis, where some years ago, a stone marked with a roman numeral was found, and which is supposed to have been a roman milliarum, denoting the distance from Durobrivis the next station.*

Several roman antiquities were more recently found there, and remain in the possession of the family of a late venerable Rector of Southfleet, whose interesting description of them was published† soon after they had been found.

Coins and fragments of the earthenware of the Romans are frequently seen while ploughing in the fields contiguous to the spot where the stone mentioned above was found.

The Roman way, called Watling-street, passes on the south of Gravesend, at the distance of two miles.

At Higham, about three miles from Gravesend towards the east, fragments of roman earthenware appeared in such abundance, where the soil was excavated in the year 1803, for the formation of the Thames and Medway Canal, as to induce a supposition that there had been a pottery upon the spot.

Thus the Romans have been traced over three sides of a square, of which the river forms the fourth side, in the centre of which Gravesend is situated, but it is not to be assumed from these data, that the town had been founded in the time of the Romans.

Higham, where the fragments of roman pottery were found, has been said by some writers to be the place where the Romans under Plautius forded the Thames in the year 43 of the Christian æra.

Hasted has declared himself to be of this opinion, and he says, that the probability of there having been a ford or passage here in the time of the Romans, is strengthened by the visible remains of a raised causeway or road, near thirty feet wide, leading from the Thames side through the marshes of Higham southward, till it joins the roman Watling-street road, near the entrance into Cobham Park.‡

This opinion is professedly founded upon a passage of the

* Hasted. Hist. of Kent, 8vo. Edit. vol. ii. p. 423.

† Archæologia, vol. xiv.

‡ Hasted, History of Kent, vol. iii. p. 482. The writer refers to Dr. Thorpe, Dr. Plott, and others.

history of the Romans by Dion Cassius, who wrote about a hundred and fifty years after the event.

This historian says, that the Britons retired towards the Thames, where it meets the ocean and the tide stagnates,* and they, being acquainted with the firm and passable places, crossed easily, but the Romans in pursuit of them incurred danger; the Gauls swam over, and others crossed by a bridge higher up, when they again assailed the Britons, many of whom were slain, but in the rashness of the pursuit, many of the Romans perished in the pathless swamps.

In a recent spirited and interesting commentary† upon the account given by Dion, the inference that has been drawn from it, that the Romans found a fordable passage across the Thames near the mouth, is objected to, inasmuch as the extent and form of the river, would render this improbable or impossible; and the objection is warranted by the account given by Cæsar upon this point. When he had landed on the coast of Kent, he marched towards the Thames to penetrate into the kingdom of Cassivellaunus, and he says, that there was only one place where it was fordable, and that not without difficulty;‡ and that when his men effected the passage at that ford, nothing but their heads were to be seen above the water. The generally received opinion is, that this passage or ford was near Walton, in Surrey, at a spot now known as Coway Stakes, a name derived from the event; and if this conclusion is admitted, the interpretation of the account given by Dion must be rejected.

It has been suggested,§ as a solution of the difficulty, that the mouth of the Thames spoken of by him, was not where it is now considered to be—at the Nore, forty-six miles from London, but

* Ἀναχωρησάντων δέντεῦξεν τῶν βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμὸν, καθ' ὃ ἔς τε τὸν Ωκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει, πλημμύροντός τε αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διαβάντων (τῶν Βρεττανῶν), ἄγε καὶ τὰ στέριφα τὰ τε εὐπορά τοῦ χωρίου ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων—Lib. lx. 20.

† By G. L. Craik. Knight's, London, vol. i., p. 147.

‡ Cæsar, cognito eorum consilio ad flumen Tamesin, in fines Cassivellauni, exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægre, transiri potest, &c. Cæsar De Bell. Gall. lib. v., c. 14.

§ Knight's London, i., 147.

much nearer to the Capital, the intervening space being esteemed, at the time of Plautius, as a continuation of the ocean ; a view of the subject which is curiously illustrated by an authentic public record. In a commission appointing certain persons to view and repair the embankments of the river between Greenwich and Cliffe, about two miles beyond Higham, the jurisdiction assigned is described to be upon the sea coast,* which description was probably founded upon a reminiscence of the state of the Thames before the construction of the embankments, when it formed a great Sinus or Frith of the sea,† spreading to the foot of the high ground on both sides.

But the words, “ the mouth of the Thames,” do not occur in the relation of the event by the Roman historian ; they are an interpolation, for which he is not answerable.

His account is, that Plautius, having discomfited the Duboni, or Budoni, as it is supposed in Gloucestershire, he pursued the fugitives towards the river Thames, and coming to a place where the river meets the ocean and the tide stagnates, the Britons forded the Thames, the Romans following them.

This is the account from which it has been concluded that the Romans forded at a place near the mouth of the Thames ; but this is not a satisfactory conclusion. Dion says, it was where the river meets the ocean and the tide stagnates, and this points to another part of the Thames. The river continually ebbs from its source to the neighbourhood of Richmond,‡ and it there meets the flux of the ocean, which does not flow higher : that is, the flood-tide ceases or stagnates there. Hence it seems rather, that the place referred to by Dion was near Coway Stakes ; and that it was there that Plautius forded the Thames, where Cæsar had effected a passage in a similar manner.

* Rex dilectis et fidelibus, Arnaldo Savage, Militi ; Gregorio Ballard et aliis salutem. Sciatis, quod cum Walliæ, Fossata, Gutteræ, Seweræ, Pontes, Calceta, et Gurgites aquarum *super costeram maris et aquæ Thamesiæ inter Villas de Westgrenwygh et Sancta Margareta atte Cliffe in Comitatu Kanciæ per fluxus et refluxus maris, &c.* T. R. apud Westm. xxº die Junii' (A. D. 1407). Pat. 8 Hen 4 p. ii. m. 5 in dorso.

† This subject will be treated of in the subsequent pages of this Work

‡ It is only under extraordinary circumstances of wind and weather that the tide from the sea flows one mile above Richmond.

The depth of the river in Gravesend Reach, opposite to Higham is forty-eight feet at low water; and therefore it cannot be supposed that there was a ford at that place, for the water cannot have become so much deeper by the effect of the restriction of the current by embankments, as to account for the great difference between the present depth, and the shallowness of a fordable passage.*

A bridge is mentioned in the narrative of this event, as being higher up the river than the ford was, and this presents another objection to the opinion concerning Higham, for it cannot be imagined, that at any period there could have been a bridge over the Thames near that place. The existence of one higher up the river than the ford is not to be discredited, although Cæsar does not mention one over the Thames, for the Romans might have constructed one, as it has been suggested;† they might have found it expedient to erect it—they were familiar with such works, and they could have obtained an abundance of materials for the purpose, in the forests by which they were surrounded.

Upon the whole, it appears that this locality cannot claim the distinction of having been a battle-field of the Romans, or the scene of the sad calamities of the subjugated Britons.

Roman coins have not been found in masses in this neighbourhood, but several years ago a great number of Celts were dug up near the line of the Watling Street of the Romans.

In the autumn of the year 1838, Saxon coins to the number of 552 were found in the ground near the cemetery on the south side of the old Dover road, within the parish of Gravesend. These have been minutely described, and cogent reasons given for supposing that they were deposited in the ground about the first year of the reign of Athelstan, A.D. 878; and after an interval of almost ten centuries, many of the pieces are as sharp and fresh as if they had just fallen from the dies, but those of Ethelwolf from 837 to 857, bearing evident marks of having been much in circulation.

* At Coway Stakes, where Cæsar is supposed to have passed, his men having nothing but their heads above water, the depth at present does not exceed five feet at low water.

† Observations on Roman remains recently found in London. By Charles Roach Smith, Esq.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxix. p. 145.

The elaborate account from which this brief notice of the coins found has been extracted, contains a list of those by whom the whole were struck, as follows :—

		From	To.
1. Louis	King of France	814	840
3. Ceolnoth	Archbishop of Canterbury	830	870
3. Ethelwulf	Sole Monarch	837	857
429. Burgred	King of Mercia	842	874
5. Ethelweard	King of East Angles	—	855
50. Edmund	Ditto	855	870
57. Ethelred	Sole Monarch	867	872
1. Alfred	Ditto	872	901
1. Ceolwulf	King of Mercia	874	874
2. Athelstan	King of the East Angles	878	898

A cross of silver was found with the coins, and the reader is referred to the paper, in which representations of several of the coins and of the cross are given, with many details highly interesting.*

London has been described by Tacitus† as celebrated for the number of merchants, and the abundant stores it contained, in the first century of the Christian era, which might induce an opinion that Gravesend, always influenced by the traffic to London, might have existed at the same time. This description of the capital, however, is not to be taken according to modern conceptions of commercial eminence, but as descriptive of a mart whither dealers resorted for the few staple commodities of Britain, such as leather, wool, lead and tin, for which the Phœnicians had more anciently resorted to other parts of the island. While the Romans remained here, London was advanced by them to the condition of a colony, but of which no details appropriate to this work are known; though this must have produced some traffic on the river.

THE SAXONS AND DANES.

Soon after the Romans departed, the Saxons infested Britain.

* Numismatic Chronicle, No. IX. p. 14., edited by John Yonge Akerman, Esquire, F.S.A.

† “ Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem Coloniae non insigne, sed copia negociatorum et comœtuum maxime celebre.”—*Ann. Lib. xiv. c. 33.*

History marks their track and their atrocities from the mouth to the source of the Thames, to which they directed their course, for the shelter it afforded to their diminutive barks and rude shipmen,* and for the facility of approach to the lands adjoining, which were the scenes of their conflicts and spoliation.

In the year 364, the Saxons first appeared as invaders, and in the following century,† Hengist and Horsa landed at the invitation of Wurtgen, King of the Britons, to assist him against the Picts, but they afterwards turned their arms against him.

A battle was fought at Aylesford, on the Medway, twelve miles from Gravesend, in the year 455; and two years after that, another battle was fought at Crayford, distant ten miles to the westward of Gravesend, upon which occasion four thousand combatants were slain.‡

When the Anglo-Saxon dominion was established, the country was attacked and harassed by the Danes.

In the ninth century, these piratical free-booters overran the Isle of Sheppey. In the year 839, there was great slaughter committed by them in London, Canterbury, and Rochester; in 853, they wintered in the Isle of Thanet; and in 854, “the heathen men,” for the first time, remained over winter in Sheppey. Towards the close of the same century they appeared at Bemflet, on the shore of the Thames, near the modern Southend, at a distance of about two miles from Shoebury, where they raised a rude fort to maintain their position, but they were routed by King Alfred, their women and children were made captives, their accumulated spoil was seized, and their vessels were all either destroyed or taken as prizes to London or Rochester. Again, in the next century, the Danes spread terror and consternation in the same quarter, plundering, and devastating the country: they beset Canterbury, “they took therein all the hooded men,” (ecclesiastics,) and husbands and wives, and they continued in the city as long as they would, and when they had surveyed the

* Their vessels were equipped only for sailing with the wind directly in their favour, being at other times propelled by oars.

† Saxon Chronicle.

‡ Ibid passim.

city, they returned to their ships, and led the Archbishop Elfleah with them, and kept him with them until the time when they martyred him.*

It was to Greenwich that they conveyed their victim, where a church was erected and consecrated to his memory.† Here the Danes would find a convenient harbour for their vessels in a season of inactivity, in the vale through which the Ravensbourne runs into the Thames, between the hill at the west end of Blackheath, and the high ground in Surrey on the other side of the stream. According to a received tradition, they availed themselves also of a similar harbour in the vicinity of Gravesend. The valley which interposes between the hill that ascends to Northfleet, and that which winds up to Swanscomb, was once covered with water, and being locked on each side with these hills, made a secure road for shipping,‡ which invited the Dane to make a winter station for his navy, and the same report will tell you likewise of anchors which have been dugged up about the verge of that marsh, which is contiguous to the Thames; and certainly if we consider the position of the valley, which is nothing but a chain of marsh land, interlaced with a stream called Ebbs-fleet, which swells and sinks with the flux and reflux of the adjacent river; and the dimensions of their ships at that time in use, which were not of any extraordinary bulk; this tradition is not improbable.§

The site of Gravesend therefore was in the very vortex of these descents, and thus exposed to predatory warfare, or what was scarcely less alarming, the actual presence of the barbarian foes when their actual hostility was for a season suspended; the shores of the Thames between London and the sea would not be selected for the sites of towns, until the Saxons and Danes had ceased to infest the island, notwithstanding the advantages of access to the river for transit.

It will be inferred that this attraction induced a resort that commenced at the earliest period of which any history has been preserved.

* Saxon Chronicle, *passim*.

† Camden's *Britannia*, Edit. 1795; p. 188.

‡ Now called Northfleet Creek at the mouth.

§ Philipott. *Villare Cantianum*—London, 1759.

Fac-similes from "Doomsday." (Fol. 7. B.)

Describing Gravesend and Milton. 1086.

Chertsey

Radulph filius Turoldi. tenet de ep'o **INTOLLENTSEV** 68.
ANGLICANE. p' uno solin 7 iii. iugis se defd. t'ra ē. iii.
car. In dño. ē una. 7 xxi. uilli cū. ii. bord' hnt. ii. car.
lbi greda. 7 i. molin de xl. y. den. 7 hieda de xc. solid.
7 iii. serui T. R. E. ualeb. iii. lib. 7 post. iii. lib. Modo.
vi. lib. Ricard' qd' tenet in sua leua. v. sol' in una filua.
Leuun' com' tenuet.

Ierbo filius luonis tenet de ep'o **GRAVESHAM** 17^{com} Leuun' tenet
p' ii. solinis 7 uno iugo se defd. t'ra ē. iii. car. In dño.
est una 7 iii. uilli cū vii. seruis hnt. ii. boues. Ibi greda
7 i. hieda T. R. E. ualeb. x. lib. Xd' recepit. t'ra. Modo.
xi. lib. Hoc tñ fuer' in. an T. R. E. leuic 7 Leuun'
7 Goduin tenuet. Ne est in unū.

Watling Street, the Roman way that has already been mentioned, was continued from the north through London, in a straight line to Canterbury, whence it diverged by separate lines to the Roman ports of Ritupis, Dubris, and Lemanis, on the coast of modern Kent, as the high road from London runs at this day, through Canterbury to Dover, and the towns in the Isle of Thanet.

This track from the continent through the County towards London was necessarily frequented, at least from the period when the churches of Canterbury and Rochester had been founded by St. Augustine, who arrived at Canterbury in the year 596.

THE NORMANS.

The earliest notice of Gravesend extant, is preserved in the venerable record called “Domesday;” the registry of the great survey made by command of William the Conqueror, and supposed to have been commenced about the year 1067, and completed in 1086.

In that precious description of the land he had won, almost eight centuries ago, the place is called Gravesham, and the following are amplified versions of the extracts from it, contained in the accompanying fac simile.

MILTON.

Ralph, son of Tuold, holds of the Bishop, in the hundred of Toltingtrow, Meletune taxed at one suling and 3 yokes. The arable land is 4 carucates. In demesne there is one, and 21 villeins with 2 borderers, having 2 carucates. There is a church and 1 mill of 49 pence, and a hythe of 20 shillings, and 3 servants. In the time of King Edward, [the Confessor,] it was worth 4 pounds, afterwards 3 pounds, now 6 pounds; Richard holds in his *Lowy*, [of the value of] 5 shillings in one wood. Lewin, the Earl, held it.

GRAVESEND.

Herbert, son of Ivo, holds of the Bishop Gravesham, taxed at 2 sulings and 1 yoke. The arable land is 4 carucates. In de-

mesne there is one, and 4 villeins, with 8 servants, having 2 oxen; there is a church and 1 hythe. In the time of King Edward [the Confessor] it was worth 10 pounds, when he received as much, now 11 pounds. This manor was in three manors. In the time of King Edward, Leuric and Ulwin and Godwin held them. Now it is in one.

According to the authority of Domesday, it appears that the name of the manor was Gravesham, but early in the next century it was denominated Graveshende, in a charter conferring the tithes of the parish upon the Monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury.*

Such discrepancies are not uncommon, but they are supposed to have arisen from subsequent corruptions, and that the names given in Domesday are the correct and original appellations.†

Gravesham is probably derived from Graaf, or Reeve, and Heim, Hime, (whence Hamlet); the dwelling place within the united manors, of the Reeve or representative of the superior Lord.

‘In auncient time, almost every manor had its Reve, whose authoritie was, not only to levie the Lord’s Rents, to set to worke his servauntes, and to husband his demesnes to his best profit and commoditie, but also to gouverne his tenants in peace, and to lead them forth to war, when necessitye so required,’ and “Caput Baronie,” head of the barony, was the capital village of the barony, where the Baron had his principal seat, and common residence.‡

The name of the village of S’Graavenzande, situated six miles south-west of the Hague in the United Provinces in a sandy dis-

* Registrum Roffense, p. 526. Ex Bibl. Cott Claudius D-x. folio 239. Thorn. Chronica, Col. 1799.

† The orthography of names in Domesday, frequently varies from what we find them described in records soon after the Conquest, and their present appellation, so that it is often with difficulty the real places can be found out, but probably this does not arise from the scribes or clerks who took down the names being Normans, and those who gave in the information being Saxons, as some have imagined; but from the names being since that time much corrupted and falsely spelt, the names of towns, as they are found in the survey, being in the opinion of some, the real, true and old names, as they were in the time of Edward the Confessor, and might be taken from Alfred’s Domesday, which was at that time extant.—*Kelham’s Domesday, Illustrated*, p. 18.

‡ Lambarde’s Perambulation of Kent, p. 484.—*Kennett, Gloss. Par. Antiq.*

trict, is most properly derived, says a Dutch authority, from its being the residence of the Graaven or Counts of Holland, who according to the unanimous opinion of the old writers kept their Court here before the Count William founded a palace in the Hague.*

The reason for altering the name from Gravesham to Gravesend is not very apparent, though an apposite conjecture may be founded upon a passage in Lambarde, who says, ‘although this name’ (Reeve) and so much of the authorite as remained, was, after the coming in of the Normans transferred to another, which they called Baylife, yet in sundry places of the realme, especially in copyhold manors, where old custom prevaieth, the word Reve is yet well enough known and understood;’† whereupon it may be conjectured, that when the Reeve’s residence and avocations were transferred to another functionary with a different designation, the termination of the original name of the place which signified his residence, was also changed: but after all, etymological speculations may be more plausible than correct.

The name of the locality marks that it was bestowed in Saxon times, and the account given in Domesday describes it as it was found at the epoch of the Norman Conquest.

There were three manors within the two parishes of Gravesend and Milton, at the time of Domesday, as there are at this day; the manor of Gravesend being now held by the trustees of the Earl of Darnley, a minor; Milton by Joseph Harvey, Esquire; and Parrock by the corporation of Gravesend.

Parrock has no parochial attributes, and the lands and mesuages of which it consists being interspersed among those of Gravesend and Milton parishes, it merges in them, in respect of all parochial affairs.

It has been said by some topographical authorities,‡ that this third manor is mentioned in Domesday, somewhat later than the

* Hedendaagsche Historie van Tegenwoordige Staat van alle Volkeren. *Amsterdam*, 1746, vol. xvi. p. 514.

† Perambulation p. 485.

‡ Pocock’s *Gravesend*, p. 119, from *Hasted’s Kent*, vol. iii. p. 337.

record of Gravesend and Milton in that survey;* the entry referred to, being, that Helto holds of the Bishop Melestun in the hundred of "Essale," probably meaning "Esamele," now corrupted to Shamel, but as there are three manors now to be found within the two parishes of Gravesend and Milton, within the hundred of Tollingtrow, it is unnecessary to look beyond their bounds for the manor of Parrock, to reconcile their present state with the account of them given in Domesday.

These manors appear to have been, for the greater part, under tillage at the time of the survey, and there is no marsh land registered in either.

It has been suggested, that the mill stated to have been in Milton, was a water mill, which may be correct, for although the famous high ground in the parish, called Windmill-Hill, afforded a favourable site for a windmill, yet as the earliest notice of them refers to the year 1105, when, according to Mabillon, a convent in France was allowed by Diploma to erect water-mills and windmills; the mill in the parish of Milton, between the years 1067 and 1086, was probably worked by water, supplied from the river.

All the mills named in the survey of Kent, appear to have been in manors where there were supplies of water from the river, or, as it might have been at Dover, from the sea,† if not from the river Dour.

THE HYTHE OR LANDING PLACE.

In Gravesend there was a hythe, in Milton a hythe of twenty shillings in value, with three servants.

It is remarkable, that in the survey, the hythe or port in Gravesend, is merely registered without details, but the hythe in Milton is stated to be held at twenty shillings, which account

* The Manor of Gravesend is entered in folio 7, of Domesday, after the Manor of Milton, and the entry of the third Manor referred to, is on folio 9.

† At the entrance to the port of Dover there is one mill which damages almost every ship by the great swell of the sea, and does great damage to the King and his tenants, and it was not there in the time of King Edward.—*Hasted's History of Kent*, vol. ix. p. 508, from Domesday.

agrees with the existing state of the hythe or landing place, now called the Town Quay or Town Pier, and Causeway.

The “ Heda ” of Domesday is always interpreted hythe or port, but it is a generic term, of which causeway or landing place is a species, the natural form of the shore at Gravesend precludes every other interpretation, and all existing circumstances are consistent with it.*

The landing place, denoted by the hythe, has always been called the landing place at Gravesend, though actually situated in Milton, being originally but a few yards eastward of the present line ; so in Domesday, Gravesend is described as having a landing causeway, but the usufruct was assigned to Milton, as it is at this time.

To the notice of the hythe, and the account of the rent at which it was held, it is added that there were three servants.

These servants being registered conjointly with the hythe, it must be supposed that they were attached to it, and by the nature of the services which that implies, they were probably boatmen. Commentators have held, that where the *servi* are noticed immediately after any establishment, they were attached to, or belonged to it,—as *servi* means ministers when immediately following Ecclesia ; † and the three *servi* mentioned in immediate connexion with the hythe in Milton, can scarcely (if this reasoning be correct) mean any other than men employed in the water passage or ferry between Gravesend and London.

The traffic across the Thames at Gravesend, cannot well be supposed to have given occupation to so many as three persons at that period upon ordinary occasions, and those employed in conveying passengers, by what is called the long ferry, that is, the water passage between London and Gravesend, could not have been fewer at any time than two to manage the oars or sail, and one to steer.

* Writing of the gates of the City of London, Stow hath it—“ Ripa Reginae, Queene’s bank, or Queene hithe, may well be accounted the very chief and principal water gates of this city, being a common strand or landing place,” &c.—*Survey of London*.

† Henshall on Domesday, p. 18., County of Kent from Domesday.

This ferry, therefore, appears to have been from the remotest period an appurtenance of the manor of Milton, held of the crown, but has often changed masters by forfeitures and reversions, till it was separated by direct royal grant, and conferred upon the corporation of Gravesend and Milton, for the consideration of a quit rent to the crown for the ferry and hythe conjointly.

The hythe, and rent, and servi of the eleventh century, denote the origin of the long ferry:—the hythe remains, the rent is still payable to the crown,—and the servi only have disappeared by reason of the abolition of compulsory servitude.

ANCIENT BOATS USED IN THE LONG FERRY.

The form and dimensions of the boats or vessels used for the conveyance of passengers between London and Gravesend, at the æra of the Norman Conquest,* are not entirely matters of conjecture, for some contemporary evidence is extant, from which a description of them may be obtained. The events of the invasion are represented in the Baieux tapestry, said to have been executed by Matilda, the royal consort of the Conqueror, and the ladies of her court.

Among the figures in that celebrated work, the vessels used upon the occasion are depicted, from which the two following specimens are selected, as productions according with the plan of marine architecture in use at that time.

The first represents a vessel of the largest class, as it is presumed from the circumstance of her being employed for the transport of horses.

* There can be no doubt of a traffic between London and the Continent at the period of the Conquest; for when the messengers of the King came to Dover, they gave for the passage of a horse threepence in winter, and in summer twopence; but the burgesses at Dover found a steersman and one other assistant, and if more were necessary, they were to be provided at the cost of the messengers.—*Hasted's Kent*, vol. ix. p. 508.



The second describes a vessel or boat of smaller dimensions ; and as this appears to be manned with not more than four persons, it probably represents one but little more capacious than the vessel or boat employed upon the Thames at that time.



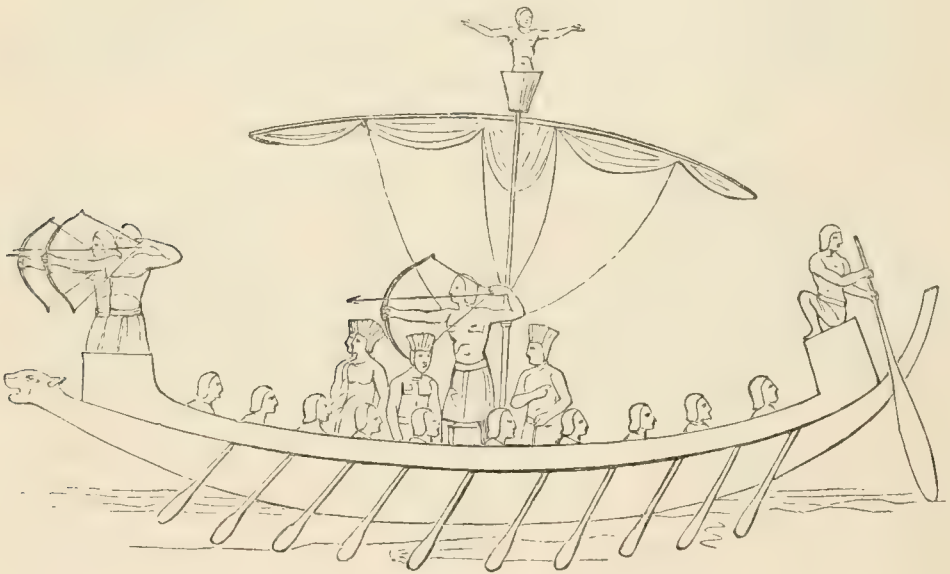
This pictorial description of the vessels of the eleventh century may be as confidently referred to upon the present occasion, as

the modern tapestry in the House of Lords for the representation of the ships employed against the Spanish Armada in the year 1588.

One of the servi employed in the Gravesend boat may be supposed to have been the steersman.

It will be observed that there is no rudder affixed to the stern in these vessels, nor is there such a machine to be found in the Baieux tapestry, a circumstance which has been adverted to in the following passage in a late publication; *—"when was the rudder transferred from the sides of vessels, and placed at the stern? Not at the time of the Conquest, if the Baieux tapestry is authority."

The illustration below is from a basso-relievo on the north wall of the Palace of Medynet-abou at ancient Thebes, descriptive of the naval wars of Sesostris.



This corroborates the evidence of numberless delineations of ancient Egyptian boats on Papyri; and the coins and sculptures of the Greeks and Romans are stored, to repletion, with the like representations of ancient vessels steered in this manner, among

* Henshall's Specimens of a History of Kent. London, 1798, p. 7.

† Description de l'Egypte, &c. Paris, 1809, tom. 1, Chap. ix. sec. p. 1, 33.—Les Planches, tom. 2, No. 10.

which, there is not one rudder at the centre of the stern to be found.

Another proof is contained in Holy Writ. The relation of the shipwreck of St. Paul describes similar means of steering the vessel, although the proof lies hidden in the English version,—“and when they had taken up the anchors, they committed themselves into the sea, and loosed the rudder-bands, and hoisted up the main sail to the wind, and made toward shore.”*

This rendering conveys the idea of a rudder of modern construction, but in the original, “the bands of the rudders,”† is the expression; which agrees with the representations of a governing oar upon each quarter of the vessel: and this is preserved in the translation of the New Testament,‡ by Wicliff, in the fourteenth century;—“t wahne þei hadden take vp þe ankeris þei bitokē hem to þ see t slakidē togidir þe jointours of gouernails t wip a litil seil left vp bi blowyng of þe wynde þei wente to þe bank.”§

An interesting coincidence has been pointed out|| between the practice as it is represented in the Baieux tapestry given above, where the steersman holds a rope called the sheet in one hand, steering with the other; and the description given by Virgil of Æneas sitting at the helm, and at the same time serving the sail.

‘Ipse sedens clavumque regit, velisque ministrat.’—

Æneid, lib. X. 218.

The distinction between the remus and the clavus is, that the former is the common oar, and the clavus is formed upon the same plan, but with greater power, and is used in like manner for governing the course of the vessel.

* Acts, Chap. xxvii. 40.

† Ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων—*laxatis vinculis gubernaculorum.*

‡ The finger of levity has been pointed at the passage in the same Chapter (Acts xxvii. 29.) where it is stated that the shipmen cast their anchors over the stern, but this is reconcileable to the circumstances of the Mediterranean, wherein there is so little tide that vessels would generally lie wind-ride, that is, when at anchor they would lie in the direction of the wind, there not being a current of sufficient velocity to affect the position of the vessel against the wind; and riding by the stern, the head would always be in a position to sail without winding or turning the vessel.

§ Wicliff's MS. Translation.—*Royal MS., British Museum, 1, cviii.*

|| Rev. J. Dallaway on the Seal of the Burgesses of Bristol, *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 79.

With these materials an estimate may be formed of the establishment for the conveyance of passengers by the Thames, between Gravesend and London, in the eleventh century.

The form of the Gravesend boat would resemble that of the small class represented in the Baieux tapestry, and the equipment that of the larger, that is to say, consisting of a sail, with which to take advantage of a fair wind, being provided with oars, and thus (the boat always having the tide in a favourable direction) the passage to London upon the flood, or to Gravesend on the ebb was effected; an oar or *clavus* for the steersman being included in the equipment.

Before this account of the circumstances of Gravesend at the æra of the Norman Conquest is closed, it may be proper to notice the popular error that prevails with respect to the bold stand alleged to have been made in the immediate neighbourhood at Swanscomb, by the Kentish men, who, it is said, there resisted the Conqueror, and by their valour secured their ancient rights and franchises.

A caveat has been entered against this claim,* and the arguments by which it is supported should have their due influence. The origin of the tale has been traced to a manuscript chronicle of Sprott, a monk of the Abbey of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, and it was first published in the Chronicle of Thorn,† also a monk of that foundation at a later period. It has been observed, that Sprott lived two hundred years after the event, and that no other annalist in the interval had noticed such an occurrence; but that it was the fabrication of Sprott “to bring a perpetual obligation on the Kentish men to his own Abbey.” The advantage said to have been gained upon the occasion, consisting of the reservation of ancient rights and franchises, is met by the observation, that the lands of Kent were wrested from their possessors and bestowed upon the followers of the Conqueror; than which there could be no stronger proof of complete subjugation. Lighter missiles too have been hurled at the monk of St. Augustine’s Abbey, for Lambarde having a lingering disposition to favour

* Somner on Gravelkind *passim*.

† *Chronica Thorn*, Decem. *Scriptores Coll.*, 1786.

the story, introduced the word *green* to grace the boughs which Sprott placed in the hands of the Kentish men to conceal their advance upon the Conqueror; but Somner * drily observes in a marginal note—"green boughs, as Mr Lambarde hath it, a likely matter at that time of the year, being about November."† The reader will probably be ready to say with Somner, "I would not be thought of his opinion, who would bear the world in hand, that the commons of Kent continue their privileges by means of a composition entered into with the Conqueror at Swanscomb."

THE THAMES BELOW BRIDGE AND PORT OF LONDON.

The great highway by water between London and Gravesend renders the latter an adjunct of the capital, identified with it, and partaking of the benefits incident to the immense traffic upon the noble river, which is the channel of intercourse with all nations, leading them to the seat of British Government, and to the great staple of British Commerce.

The inhabitants of Gravesend contribute like the citizens of London themselves, by a tax upon coals, to the public revenue of the city; and the superintendence of the officers of the Custom House of London, is extended to Gravesend, where a branch office has been established for ages.

By these and many other ties, a connexion between them is maintained, and the same circumstances that influence the navigation and commerce of the ONE port, have a corresponding effect upon the interests of the town thus allied.

The river, therefore, as the primary and principal source of the subsistence and prosperity of the inhabitants, with its varying circumstances, its commerce and its shipping, are subjects of importance, and demand consideration in tracing the origin and increase of Gravesend.

* Somner's Gravelkind.

† "Statutoque die, universus populus apud Swanescamp II. idus Octobris."—*Thorn.*

Before the natural state of the river below bridge, as it is called, or between London and Gravesend, can be justly appreciated, every idea of the grandeur of the modern capital, and the present state of the port, must be dismissed from the mind.

A representation of the primeval state of the river, drawn by Sir Christopher Wren, will reflect the picture that readily occurs to the imagination.

When that eminent person was engaged in preparing the foundation of St. Paul's Cathedral, he proceeded cautiously in a work of such magnitude, and his investigations embraced the state of the river and the adjacent lands, the result of which is thus given from his own papers :

“The surveyor was of opinion, that the whole country between Camberwell hill and the hills of Essex, might have been a great Frith or Sinus of the sea, and much wider near the mouth of the Thames, which made a large plain of sand at low-water, through which the river found its way ; but at low-water, as oft as it happened in summer weather, when the sun dried the surface of the sand, and a strong wind happened at the same time before the flood came on, the sands would drive with the wind and raise heaps, and in time, large and lofty sand-hills, for so are the sand-hills raised upon the opposite coasts of Flanders and Holland. The sands upon such a conjuncture of sunshine and wind, drive in visible clouds ; this might be the effect of many ages, before history, and yet without having recourse to the flood. This mighty broad sand, (now good meadow), was restrained by large banks, still remaining and reducing the river into its channel, a great work, of which no history gives account, the Britons were too rude to attempt it, the Saxons too much busied with continental wars ; he concludes therefore it was a Roman work.”*

These opinions, extracted from the papers of their eminent author, immediately suggest the consideration of two points respecting the river.

First, the state of the Thames below bridge, while it yet flowed

* Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Wrens, folio ; London, 1750. Part II. sec. 5, page 285.

in its unconfined primeval course ; and secondly, the construction of the artificial embankments, by which it became restricted to its present channel.

First, as to the primeval state of the river, and of the adjacent lands.

The “mighty broad sand,” and “the large plain of sand at low-water,” mentioned here, are not to be considered as merely the creations of fancy, although the shores on both sides of the river have now a hideous surface of mud or alluvial deposit ; forasmuch as the existence of a stratum of sand was demonstrated during the investigations for ascertaining the sufficiency of the site destined to bear the great edifice that Sir Christopher was about to erect. After some excavations had been made, as the memoir states ; “He had the curiosity to search further, and accordingly dug wells in several places, and discovered a hard pot earth to be on the north side of the church yard” (of old St. Paul’s), “about six feet thick and more, but thinner and thinner towards the south, till it was upon the declining of the hill, scarce four feet, still it reached lower, and he found nothing but dry sand mixed, sometimes unequally, but loose, so that it would run through the fingers. He went on till he came to water and sand mixed with periwinkles and other shells ; these were about the level of low-water mark. He continued boring till he came to hard beach, and still under that he came to natural hard clay, which lies under the city and country, and Thames also, far and wide. By these shells it was evident that the sea had been where the hill is, on which St. Paul’s stands.”

Here then is direct testimony, that upon the natural soil, at the level of low water mark, a stratum was found of marine deposit, under the high ground of the site of St. Paul’s, and with whatever scepticism the opinion may be received by some, who see and determine upon the present state of the shore, yet credence is challenged by the high character of the author of it, founded too as that opinion is, upon facts within his own knowledge ; and it must be remembered also, that when Sir Christopher made his survey, the shores could not have been so much disfigured by oozy deposit,

as they have become since by the increased matter poured into the stream from the sewers of London and Westminster.

There is another feature in the scenery on both sides of the river while in its natural state, which demands notice. Part of the space between the deepest channel of the stream, left dry by the ebbing of the tide, is supposed to have been covered by what are called "Submarine Forests," which is indicated by the remains of trees and underwood, found under the surface of lands recovered or gained in the estuaries of the Thames and other rivers.

Sir William Dugdale describes the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire,* as being anciently covered with wood, and then being inundated by the rivers that passed through it, a system of drainage was pursued; and the remains of primeval forests were then discovered. It appears that oaks were found about three feet below the surface of the ground, with roots remaining near the trunks, which had been felled not by the axe, but by being burnt asunder near the ground, the ends, being as Sir William Dugdale describes them, *coaled*.

Similar remains have been found from time to time in the lands on both sides of the Thames. By an inundation that occurred in the year 1690, trees were washed out in great numbers from the level between Purfleet and Grays in Essex,† and by a like catastrophe, others were exposed in the year 1707, at the spot now called Dagenham Breach.‡ Others were found at Blackwall,§ when excavating for docks in the year 1790, and near Tilbury Fort, when the land was bored for the purpose of determining upon a proper soil and line for the projected Tunnel under the Thames between Gravesend and Tilbury. In many other parts of the marshes between London and Gravesend, similar remains have been discovered. Trees and small brush wood with hazel nuts have been found, and at Blackwall it was observed that the trees seemed to have been overthrown by some violent hurricane from the north, as all the

* History of Embanking. Lincolnshire, chap. xxvii. p. 141.

† Morant's Essex, vol. i. p. 94.

‡ Captain John Perry's Account of the proceedings to stop the breach at Dagenham, p. 72.

§ Annual Register of the year 1790, p. 199.

tops lay towards the south.* They are occasionally described as being of a black colour, which is supposed to have been imparted by the action of fire; but there does not appear to be any conclusive reason for so extensive an operation as burning these trees in all situations; while another and better can be given for the colour, which gives the remains the appearance of having been “coaled,” or charred.

It is said that there is iron in oak, and in all compact woods, and that the former which is found dyed black† in peat, owes its colour to that metal.

The position of the trees found at Blackwall, may be accounted for by the supposition, that they had been brought to the spot to be used in the foundation of the ancient embankment, and though they were not all required for the work, they were not removed, but suffered to remain to avoid the profitless labour of removal.

EMBANKMENT OF THE THAMES BELOW BRIDGE.

Sir William Dugdale, whose work‡ upon draining and embanking, is considered to be the standard authority upon the subject, was of opinion that the Britons were incapable of such undertakings, and that the Saxons who succeeded them were also unequal to the performance of such works, and therefore that they were constructed by the Romans.

* History of London and Westminster. By E. W. Brayley, vol. ii. p. 745.

† At the bottom of peat mosses there is sometimes found a cake, or “pan” as it is termed, of oxide of iron, and the frequency of bog-iron ore is familiar to the mineralogist. The oak, which is so often found dyed black in peat, owes its colour to the same metal. From what source the iron is derived, is by no means obvious, since we cannot in all cases suppose that it has been precipitated from the waters of mineral springs. According to Fourcroy, there is iron in all compact woods, and it is the cause of one-twelfth part of the weight of oak. The heaths, (*ericæ*) which flourish in a sandy ferruginous soil, are said to contain more iron than any other vegetables. It has been suggested, that iron, being soluble in acids, may be diffused through the whole mass of vegetables when they decay in a bog; and may, by its specific gravity, sink to the bottom, and be there precipitated, so as to form bog-iron ore; or when there is a sub-soil of sand or gravel, it may cement them into iron stone, or ferruginous conglomerate.—*Lyell's Principles of Geology*, vol. iii. p. 204.

‡ History of embanking and draining. Second Edition, by Cole, folio. London, 1772.

Sir Christopher Wren* expressed the same opinion, almost in the same words.

A similar conclusion has been expressed by a great living authority, who says, "history, I believe, affords no trace of the time when these embankments were formed; the probability is, that they are the work of the ancient Britons, under Roman superintendence. That they are the result of skill and bold enterprise, not unworthy of any period, is certain."†

That the Romans were competent to the construction of embankments there can be no doubt, even if no other proof of it had appeared, than the execution of the wall of Hadrian and the roads they formed in Britain, some of which passed through fenny grounds, where a plan of embankment was necessarily pursued. But it may be doubted whether the Romans had any adequate inducements to recover or preserve tracts of land from the encroachments of the sea, or against deep and powerful streams, to excite them to the execution of such works upon a general scale. And it may be asked, if the Romans constructed the embankments of the Thames, why is it that no vestige or notice of them, until a period later than the Norman conquest, has been discovered?

The Saxons were capable of constructing embankments, for they recovered lands in Romney Marsh,‡ before the Norman Conquest.

Somner§ notices a grant of Archbishop Plugmund, in the year 895, of the land called 'Wesinmersh, beside the river called Romney;' and Dr. Campbell referring to it, observes, "we have no distinct account of the time when the first attempts were made to gain upon the estuary, by which the river Rother, anciently called Limene discharged itself into the sea between Lyd and Rodney; but as there were marshes there in the time of the Saxons, we have good grounds to believe that the practice of *inning*, that is, wresting land from the river or sea, was intro-

* Vide, p. 20, ante.

† Report of James Walker, Esq., F.R.S., addressed to the Chairman of the Navigation and Port of London Committee, dated the 13th of December, 1841.

‡ Ethelw. Chron. lib. iii. fol. 478, a—Dugdale, chap. xi.—Cotton, MS. Augustus II. 97.

§ Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 43.

duced by their clergy, to whom the property in these parts chiefly belonged.”*

The Saxons were capable, according to this proof, of the execution of embankments; but they do not appear by any direct evidence, to have constructed any to confine the channel of the Thames eastward of London, though early in the eleventh century (A. D. 1008) a bridge was standing across the river at London, and it was probably connected with the uplands on the south side, by a causeway raised across the low ground above high-water mark. This supposed state of the Thames at London Bridge, is in accordance with the account given of the military movement of Canute, who is said to have passed the bridge with his vessels in the year 1016, by cutting a trench on the south side (through the causeway?) for their passage.†

Such a work as this bank, raising the surface above the highest level of the tides, would suggest the construction of embankments in other situations, when circumstances arrived to point out the expediency of them; but that this occurred in Saxon times is very problematical. The Saxon Chronicle gives no note of such a system, nor any instances of an extensive practical operation to gain lands from the sea or from a river. Indeed the absence of all testimony upon a system of embankment at that period, seems to have led the last learned translator of the Chronicle to give an interpretation, which excludes lands gained by artificial means, and describes marshes merely as boggy lands.‡

If the Saxons or the Danes who succeeded them in dominion had pursued the work of embankment on the Thames, the result of their labours would have been noticed in Domesday, for in the description of lands in that survey, the arable, the pasture, the meadows, and the woodlands are distinguished; and marshes in other parts are expressly mentioned. The description of London

* Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 404.

† “Then came the ships to Greenwich, about the gang-days, and within a short interval went to London, where they sunk a deep ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge.”—*Saxon Chronicle*, by Ingram. Sub anno 1016.

‡ Μερρε.—Paludes, terra paludosa, locus palustris.—The Marshes. *Saxon Chron.* translation by Ingram. Index of the names of places.

is not contained in that venerable document, though it is supposed to have been included in the survey, but has not been registered with the rest. The account of lands on both sides of the river in Essex and in Kent, is minute and ample, and yet there is no notice of marsh lands, or lands enclosed or inned by embankments between the present eastern extremity of London and Gravesend. If there had been enclosed marshes on the sides of the Thames, or in manors bordering on the river, they would have been described in the survey ; and as no such description is found, the conclusion that there were none is inevitable.

Soon after the conquest, the Norman arts were introduced, and the population received an accession from the continental territories of William of Normandy.

Gundulph, consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in the year 1077, was distinguished as an architect; and he was appointed by the Conqueror, principal surveyor at the erection of the citadel of the Tower of London ; he was also employed upon the castle of Rochester. Under his auspices and direction, the mechanical arts received a great impulse ; but still there is no evidence that in his time the system of embankment on the Thames had been introduced, though increased means for such an undertaking were then at hand. The observations of Dr. Campbell, given in a preceding page, suggesting that the work of wresting lands from the river Rother, was commenced by the clergy, to whom the property in those parts chiefly belonged, points to a course of inquiry into the origin and progress of the embankment of the river Thames.

1135. In this year the Abbey of Stratford, in Essex, was founded by William Montfichet, and he endowed it with his whole possessions in West Ham, consisting of arable and pasture lands, meadows, marshes,* &c.

This Abbey, says Leland, ‘ first set among the low marshes, was after with sore fludes, defayced, and removed to a celle or graunge longynge to it, caullyed Burgestede, in Essex, a mile or more from Billerica. The monks remained at Burgysted untill

* Lyson's *Environs*, vol. iv. p. 246.

entreté was made of one of the Richards (I.) kings of England, who took the ground and Abbey of Stratford into his protection, and re-edified it, brought the foresyde monks agayne to Stratford, where among the marshes they reinhabited.* From this glimpse of the site at the time of the foundation, it seems that there were marshes or land recovered from the river, near the foot of the rising ground, which in such a position might have been easily effected; but from the circumstance of the monks being driven from the Abbey by the "sore fludes defacying it," it must also be presumed, that the work was no better performed than might be expected in the incipient stage of the practice of "inning," and that this was not an attempt to raise an embankment to restrict the channel of the river, but merely an advance from the foot of the rising ground, to obtain ground for the Abbey. There is nothing to lead to the presumption, that the "sore fludes" that had "defacyed" the Abbey, had laid under water the whole level as it now appears from the river to the uplands.

A few years later, that is in the year 1178, "Richard de Lucy, justiciary of England, founded and endowed an Abbey of canons regular of the order of St. Augustine, at West Wood, in his village of Lesnes, the site being about a mile and three-quarters westward of Erith church," (at the foot of the rising ground, or as the writer of this account represents it) "at the edge of the marshes."†

This is the same course as that which was taken by the founder of the Abbey of Stratford, on the opposite side of the river, both with respect to the site chosen at the edge of the marsh, and as to the possession and management of the lands passing into the hands of the clergy, who, as Dr. Campbell observes, introduced the wresting of lands from the river Rother, in Romney marsh.

These coincidences suggest the probability, that the embankment of the Thames was commenced about the time when these Abbeys were founded, especially as no positive evidence appears that the work was commenced earlier; and these were not attempts to grapple with the difficulty of restricting the channel

* Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 9. Lyson, vol. iv. p. 246.

† Hasted's History of Kent, 8vo. edit. vol. ii. p. 249.

of the river, but a beginning at the foot of the uplands to make gradual approaches to the great line of embankment that was ultimately executed.

In the twelfth century, when these Abbeys were founded, the Thames spreading without restraint to the hills on either side, must have run its languid course over a wide expanse of unoccupied water surface, among the hillocks and sand-hills, raised by its own diffusion. No busy towns were then to be seen; the places on the shores mentioned in the Norman survey, were the manors in which the present towns bearing the like names somewhat modified or corrupted, have since been built; which manors contained few habitations then, and these were spread over the lands upon detached sites. No smooth pastures, with lazy cattle grazing and fattening, then enlivened the landscape; no sounds of the labouring hammer, or of congregated mechanics, were then to be heard. No structures more stately than the Abbeys had preceded them on the margin of the river; and these were to be traced only by the curling smoke rising from their tranquil hearths amidst the sylvan scenery.

The commencement of the great scheme of a general embankment having been shown, the progress of it is now to be investigated, and upon this point the Statute Book affords some valuable information.

The earliest printed statutes relating to embankments, are of the reign of Henry III., but these refer to laws of an antecedent period.

It is provided by the great charter of the ninth of Henry III., A. D. 1225, that “no town nor freeman shall be distrained to make bridges nor banks, but such as of old time, and of right, have been accustomed to make them in the time of King Henry (II.) our grandfather.” Chap. xv.

Again, “no banks shall be defended from henceforth but such as were in defence in the time of King Henry our grandfather, by the same places, and the same bounds, as they were wont to be in his time.” Chap. xvi.

These solemn and emphatic references to the provisions of the law respecting embankments and bridges, of the reign of the Second

Henry, contain a manifestation that it was in his time, namely, between the years 1154 and 1189, that the work of embankment had become an object of public importance, requiring the direction and aid of the law.

This date of the earliest laws upon the subject, accords so exactly with the period of the first operations at Stratford and at Lesnes, as to strengthen in a material degree the conclusion that has been arrived at, that the embankments of the Thames were commenced early in the twelfth century.

When the work of “inning” had been pursued for a century, experience had developed salutary principles upon which to legislate soundly, and the code of regulations upon which all modern laws upon the subject have been founded, was framed by Henry de Bath, justiciary of England, from 1238 to 1255, in the reign of Henry III.,* a proceeding which proves that the practice of embanking had been vigorously pursued in the interval.

It is related by Stow,† that in the year 1236, “the river of Thames overflowing the banks, caused the marshes about Woolwich to be all on a sea, wherein boats and other vessels were carried with the stream; so that besides cattle, the greatest number of men, women, and children inhabitants there, were drowned.” From this it appears that embankments had been executed at Woolwich before the year 1236, but there is no evidence that it was earlier than the reign of Henry II.

1255.—According to a valuation of the manors belonging to the Bishop of Rochester taken in this year, the manor of Stone,‡ contained 236 acres of arable land, and 14 acres of meadow or grass *in the marsh*, the embankment, therefore, had then been commenced in Long Reach.

* The regulations framed by Henry de Bath, were for Romney Marsh Level, and by the statute of the 6th of Henry VI. chap 4, A. D. 1427, called the statute of Sewers, it is provided, that ordinances shall be made for the defence of sea banks, according to the laws and customs of Romney Marsh.

† Stow's survey of London, edition of 1603, re-printed under the editorial care of J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A. London, 1842, p. 173.

‡ Manerium de Stone continet cxxxxvi acras terre arabilis et estimaverunt singulas acras ad tres denarios. Summa acrarum terre arabilis ibidem cxxxxvi. Summa precij lix solidos. Item, in eodem manerio sunt xiii acre prati *in marisco*, et estimaverunt singulas acras ad vi^d Summa acrarum prati xiii. Summa precij viis.—*Registrum Roffense*, p. 63.

1279.—The next and concluding testimony upon this point is very important, for it conveys direct proof of the time when a considerable embankment was commenced and finished, and confirms what has been said concerning the first works of the Abbots of Lesnes and Stratford, these being considered but as approaches from the uplands towards the deep current.

Lambarde says that the annales of St. Augustine do report, that in the year 1279, the Abbot and Convent of Lyesnes (Lesnes near Erith,) enclosed a great part of their marshes in Plumsted, and that within twelve years after, they *inned* the rest also to their great benefit,* and this it may be contended, means, that between the years 1279 and 1291, the wall of Plumsted level that restricts the channel of the river, was completed.

Upon the foregoing evidence on the subject, it must be presumed, that the embankments of the Thames between London and Gravesend, were commenced early in the twelfth century, by easily executed approaches; were extended in the reign of Henry II., between the years 1154 and 1189; and generally completed in the following century.

The records of the appointment of commissioners,† charged to view the banks and to have them repaired, are confirmatory of the evidence of the period when the banks of the respective levels were completed, for none of the commissions are of a date anterior to the periods when, it has been said, they were originally constructed.

Prynne,‡ who had ample means of investigating this point, being keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, published a list of these appointments, the earliest of which is dated 6th Henry III. A. D. 1226-7. These have reference to embankments generally.

The earliest appointments of Commissioners for the superintendence of the embankments of the Thames are to be found recorded in Sir William Dugdale's History of Imbanking, and his intro-

* Lambarde's perambulation of Kent, edit. 1596, p. 440.

† The Commissioners were appointed at the pleasure of the Crown, until the statute of 6th Henry VI. cap. 5, which provided for subsequent appointments, and defined the authorities of the Commissioners.

‡ Prynne's animadversions on the 4th Institute, pp. 200—381.

duction of them is so remarkable, as to justify the insertion of it here. After a very elaborate account of Romney Marsh, he proceeds thus :—

“ I now come to the remanent marshes in this county, which are those that border on the river Thames, concerning
 ‘ The marshes on the Thames.’ which, the first mention that I find, is in 8 Ed. II. John Abel, and John de Hortone being then by the
 ‘ Pat. 8. E. II. King’s letters patent, dated the 10th of April, at Wynd-
 p. 2. m. 20. in sore, constituted Commissioners for to view and take
 dorso. order for the repair of banks, ditches, &c. for the safe-
 guard of those, from the overflowing of the tide, which
 lie betwixt Dertford Flete, and Grenewich.”

In this introduction it is clearly admitted, that the author had not found any account of the period when the banks were constructed, and his communications upon the subject are confined to the notices of the appointment of Commissioners for repairing such as had been formed.

Many instances are recorded of the destruction of the embankments of the Thames, and the consequent inundation of large tracts of land, from which the following cases are selected, as among the most extensively disastrous.

1324. The bank between St. Katharine’s and Shadwell was overflowed, and a hundred acres of land were thereby drowned.—Pla. de Term Trin : Rot 174. Middlesex, 18, Edw II.

1376. The banks of Dagenham broke down, and the water spread over the marsh lands of the Abbey of Barking.—Lyson’s Environs, vol. iv., page 66.

1448. By the violence of the tides, the banks of Stebbenheth (Stepney) Marsh were broken, and a thousand acres of land were drowned.—Esc. Hen. VI., m penult, Middlesex.

1527. The river made an irruption at Plumsted and Erith, when so much land was submerged, that notwithstanding it was provided by statute that money should be raised to defray the charges of recovering it, the whole was not regained till after the year 1590.—Lambarde. Perambulation of Kent, Edit. 1596, page 441.

1690. In the month of December in this year, an inundation occurred near Purfleet which overflowed the whole level of marshes between that place and Grays, on the north side of the river.—Thorpe. Registrum Roffense, page 255.

This calamity occasioned a shelf near Grays, which has proved an obstruction to the navigation; but if it was removed, the

annoyance would be got rid of permanently, except a similar accident should occur.

1707. The destruction of a part of the embankment at Dagenham, on the north side of Halfway reach, was occasioned "by the blowing up of a small sluice or trunk made for the drain of land waters, and might, if proper and immediate help had been applied, have been easily stopped with a small charge."*

Unfortunately this immediate help was not afforded, and a breach of 400 feet in length was made, and a very heavy expense incurred for recovering the land that was inundated. More than a thousand acres were laid under water; and after the unsuccessful attempts of others to effect the reparation, it was finally completed under the superintendence of Captain Perry, who had conducted similar operations in Russia. The cost of restoring the embankment and lands, which was defrayed under the provisions of two acts of parliament, amounted to £40,472 18s. 5½d. according to the accounts of the trustees appointed to direct the proceedings.

THE CONSERVANCY OF THE THAMES.

It is remarkable that Stow, the veritable historiographer of the city of London, has not given full and minute information upon the conservancy of the river, for it is esteemed by the civic authorities as one of the most important of the prerogatives they enjoy; but the venerable writer has described the river, and enumerated the streams that contribute to its magnificence, "discoursing most eloquently" upon the benefits which it confers upon the city and contiguous counties in particular, and upon the kingdom at large; yet not one word has he vouchsafed to give, touching the conservancy. The information which he withheld, has however, been supplied in a posthumous edition of the survey of London. In this work the continuator has dilated upon the extent of the jurisdiction from a place called Colne Ditch, a little above the bridge of Staines westward, to Yantlet in Kent, and

* An account of stopping Dagenham Breach, by Captain Perry, 8vo. London, 1721. See also An impartial account of frauds and abuses at Dagenham Breach, and the hardships sustained by Mr. William Boswell, late undertaker of the works there, in a letter to a Member of Parliament. 8vo. London, 1717.

the water of Medway; and he considers it to be matter more proper to the City of London survey than any other discourse else whatsoever, declaring, that the Lord Mayor of London for the time being, and his successors for ever in that eminent dignity, have full power and authority over the said rivers, the Lord Mayor bearing the style and title of conservator and preserver of the forenamed bounds and limits; and because his great and serious employments withhold him from such attending on this important business as the urgent necessity thereof doth (almost continually) require, he hath a deputy or Water Bailiff of London, who under his authority doth search, oversee, and punish all offenders.*

In the exercise of this authority, the Lord Mayor periodically holds Courts of Conservancy, when juries are empannelled and sworn to inquire into all offences committed, and to make presentments thereof. It appears that one of these Courts was held at Gravesend, before the Lord Mayor, as early as the ninth year of the reign of Henry V. A.D. 1421.†

There not having been a Session of Conservancy held at Gravesend for many preceding years, the Lord Mayor accompanied by one of the Sheriffs, several Aldermen, and the city law officers, attended by the Water Bailiff and fifty others, took barges at Billingsgate, on the 3rd day of July, 1616, and proceeded to Gravesend, where a Court was then held.

Upon that occasion, a jury was empannelled, and a charge was delivered by the Common Sergeant, in the absence of the Recorder, which describes the nature of the authority exercised.

First, concerning the stream, inquiry was to be made whether any persons had erected wears, kiddels or engines, or had knocked (driven) any posts, piles, or stakes, within the river, which might in any sort hinder the stream, or the navigation, or passage of ships, barges, boats, or vessels within the same; and whether any persons had cast any soil, rubbish, or other filth into the river.

Secondly, the jury were charged to inquire concerning all encroachments upon the river and the banks thereof, and of all

* Stow's Survey of London, Edition by A. Munday. London, 1618, passim.

† Stow's Survey, Edition 1633. p. 20.

bridges, flood-gates, mill-dams, and such annoyances, erected upon or near the banks.

Thirdly, for the preservation of the fish within the river, inquiry was to be made, whether any fishermen or others, had fished at any undue or prohibited seasons. In all cases, the jury were to make presentment of parties offending.

The authority of the Conservator is shewn by the same writer, to be held by prescription, charters, and statutes, and it is said, that the validity of the claim of jurisdiction had been admitted by judgments in the superior Courts of Law, and acknowledged and confirmed by proclamations and letters patent; and in support of these allegations, cases upon every point are abundantly cited. The claim founded upon usage is said to be sustained by ancient ordinances,—punishment of offenders,—writs and precepts,—accounts for charges of searches from the seventeenth year of Richard II., to the second year of Elizabeth,—by commissions,—and by continued claim ever since the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII.,* when the Lord Admiral first interrupted the city in the exercise of their authority below bridge.

It is probable that the date to which this interference of the Lord Admiral is assigned is incorrect, and that the proceedings alluded to, were under the provisions of a statute† of the twenty-seventh of that King, by which it was enacted, that all persons might dig and carry away, gravel or sand, or other rubbish, earth or thing, upon any shelf within the river, without paying for the same.

This appears to have been considered an infringement upon the jurisdiction of the Conservator, for on the 28th of September in the thirtieth year of the same reign, the Corporation ordained,‡ that all paviors, bricklayers, and others, occupying sand or gravel, should endeavour with all diligence to occupy the said sand or gravel, (being on any shelf within the river Thames), paying for

* Survey of London, Edition 1633, pp. 21, 25.

† Twenty-seventh Henry VIII. Chap. 18. An act for the preservation of the River Thames.

‡ An act of Common Council concerning the conservation and cleansing of the River Thames, made the 28th of September in the 30th year of the reign of Henry VIII. Printed in the Survey of London, Edition 1633, p. 685.

the same reasonably, as they should or ought to pay for other sand or gravel, digged out of other men's ground about the said city. Thus the Lord Admiral and the city were at issue upon the point of jurisdiction.

1355'778

In the second posthumous edition of the Survey of London, it appears, that King James I., in the third year of his reign, recognised by his letters patent, the title of the city to the Conservancy, and that it was recited therein that the city had been interrupted in the exercise of this authority, and that a doubt had been conceived, that the same did not belong to his Highness's city of London; wherefore the King of his special grace and favour, did by the said letters patent, grant, ratify and confirm to the city the Conservancy of the river Thames and waters of Medway.

Upon the publication of the work in which these passages and other matters relating to the Conservancy appeared, the Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, immediately interfered, and the publisher was called upon to insert in the volume, what may be called a protest against that which had been inserted in it relative to the Conservancy. Sir John Coke referred the matter to Sir Henry Marten, Judge of the Court of Admiralty, who required the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, to see that the objectionable matter should be cancelled, but as some copies of the book had been published, this was impracticable; and then it was insisted upon, that the correspondence should be inserted, which was accordingly complied with, and the letters were printed upon an additional page of the work.* The correspondence conveys a very significant opinion upon the Conservancy of the river, and a curious exposition of the notions then entertained upon the liberty of the press.

The claim of the Admiralty of a jurisdiction, concurrent or paramount, upon the Thames, is still a *vexata questio*. The propriety of vesting an authority in the Admiralty necessary to the full and efficient administration of the affairs of the Royal Navy at their several stations on the river, is unquestionable, yet it is very desirable that the ancient jurisdiction of the city should be respected, and that all such legal anomalies as may impair or

* Stow's Survey of London, Edit. 1633, p. 939.

leave undefined and incomplete, the authority by which the Thames is to be regulated, should be adjusted.

There is another *imperium in imperio* displayed in the authority of the Corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford Stroud, exercised upon the Thames.

That eminent body is charged with many important rights and functions. By many royal grants and statutes, it has authority to remove shoals,—to regulate lastage and ballastage,—to provide light-houses and beacons,—to license and regulate pilots,—and to license mariners to exercise the same right of rowing on the Thames for hire, as that which pertains to the fraternity of free-watermen, between Windsor and Yantlet Creek.

The limits of the jurisdiction of the Conservator, present another question which is encumbered with perplexities. According to some authorities the port of London terminates near Gravesend, at a spot formerly marked by a Tree, called the Bound, or by corruption the Round Tree, but this having been destroyed by time and accidents, a stone has been erected in its place.

This is the limit within which all coals that are imported, are said to be liable to the duty imposed upon coals brought by water into the port of London.

According to others, as it has already been stated, the jurisdiction extends to Yantlet on the Kentish shore, and a stone near Leigh on the opposite shore of Essex, being an extension of the bounds named above, of fourteen miles.

There is another limit declared, for it is said,* that in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, certain Aldermen were deputed to inform the Lord Admiral, touching the city's right to the Conservancy of the Thames from London Bridge to Yenlade (Yantlet) and the Reculvers, near the North-foreland; and in the twenty-first year of the reign of Henry III. (A. D. 1236-7) Jorden Coventry, one of the Sheriffs of London, was by the Mayor and Aldermen, sent to remove certain kiddels that annoyed the rivers of Thames and Medway, who, *ultra Yenland versus Mare*, did take divers persons that were offenders

* Survey of London, Edition of 1633, p. 25.

and imprisoned them, and upon complaint made to the King by the parties charged, the right of the city was allowed, and the complainants were convicted and amerced.*

By a statute of the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, (chap. ii.) authority was given to the Crown, to allow certain places exclusively to be used for landing goods, in order to protect the revenue, and this authority was extended by another Act of the thirteenth and fourteenth of Charles II. (cap. xi. sec. 14) under which a commission was issued in the year 1819, for setting out the port of London, and a return was thereupon made to the Exchequer, in which the limits of the port are described as follows:—

Limits of the Port of London, as set out in a return made to the Court of Exchequer,† June 30th, 1819.

SEAWARD LIMIT EASTWARD.

That the port of London shall commence at the distance of four miles from the North Foreland Light-house on the coast of Kent, and extend northwardly in a direction towards the Naeze tower on the coast of Essex, terminating at the distance of three miles from that place.

LIMITS SOUTHWARD AND WESTWARD.

That the southward limits shall commence at the said distance of four miles from the North Foreland Light-house, and extend in a direct line towards the Lands' End, (being the north easternmost point of the Isle of Sheppey,) terminating at the distance of four miles from the said point.

From thence in a direct line to the north side of Yantlet Island, off the Isle of Grain, in the county of Kent. From thence in a direction along the shore at low water-mark, across the mouths of the several creeks and inlets to such part of the shore at the low water-mark, as shall bear due north of a tree commonly called, and known, and laid down in charts as the Round Tree‡ in the parish of Milton next Gravesend, in the county of Kent. From thence in a south direction to high water-mark.

* Survey of London, Edit. of 1633, p. 21.

† The chart referred to being annexed to the original return, which is preserved in the Exchequer.

‡ The tree, (in a decayed state,) was blown down on the night of the 4th of August, 1825; and a stone was erected on the spot, on the 25th of November, 1826.

LIMITS NORTHWARD AND WESTWARD.

That the northward limits shall commence at the aforesaid distance of three miles from the Naeze Tower, and extend in a direct line westwardly, terminating upon another direct line drawn from St. Osyth's point on the coast of Essex, to the Shoe Beacon on the south-east point of the Maplin sand, at the distance of three miles and a-half from the shore—from thence to the said Shoe Beacon—from thence in a direct line to the buoy, at the distance of one mile from Shoebury Ness Point, in the county of Essex—from thence to the west entrance of Holy Haven Creek, in the county of Essex, at the low-water mark—from thence along the shore at the low-water mark across the mouths of the several creeks and inlets to the west point of the entrance to Bill-Meroy Creek near Tilbury Fort, in the county of Essex—from thence in a north-westwardly direction to high-water mark.

And that the said port of London shall be continued from the aforesaid part of the shore north of the aforesaid Round Tree, and from the aforesaid entrance to Bill Meroy Creek westwardly to high-water mark throughout the river Thames, and the several channels, streams, and rivers falling into it, to London Bridge as is particularly delineated or set forth in a plan or chart hereunto annexed.

Hence it will appear, that very different limits of the jurisdiction are assigned, and some adjustment of these inconsistencies is obviously desirable.

The authority of the Lord Mayor as Conservator of the Thames, is directed to the removal of obstructions to the free navigation of the river, and anciently the main obstruction consisted of kiddels and wears for catching fish, which impeded the passage of vessels and occasioned shoals. The general use of such erections, and the practice of fishing at unseasonable times, tended to diminish the supply of fish, which formerly contributed materially to the subsistence of the inhabitants of the city.

It was represented to parliament in the 21st year of Edward III. that the Thames and other rivers were daily stopped and turned aside by doors, mills, piles, and pales, erected by every lord against his own land, so that ships could not pass without danger.*

From the reign of Richard I., in the twelfth century, the city have had authority, under charters granted by the Crown, to remove kiddels, wears, and similar obstructions from the river;

* Abridgment of Records, by Prymme, p. 57.

and from that early period, the Thames, even below bridge, seems to have abounded with fish.

Early in the fourteenth century, the Constable of the Tower claimed six shillings and eight-pence yearly from boats belonging to the inhabitants of London, which they called "staleboats," fishing in the river Thames between the Tower and the sea for fish called "sprots;" and for the boat of a stranger eight shillings.*

At a subsequent period,† the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of London, moved the Commons to require that a patent which had lately been made to the Constable of the Tower to take custom of wines, oysters, muscles, fish, and other victuals coming to London by water, might be revoked.

1376-7. In this year it was ordained in parliament, that for the saving of salmon and other fry of fish in the Thames, almost destroyed by certain engines, as the King himself had often found, all trinks between London and the sea should be overthrown, and that no salmon should be taken between Gravesend and Henley-upon-Thames in the kipper time, viz., between the Invention of the Cross and the Epiphany.‡ This curious incident conjures up an interesting picture of the river at that period, and another, though not pertaining to the fishery of the Thames, may be added to assist the imagination to embellish the scenery.

1381-2. In an enumeration§ of the fees of the Constable of the Tower, the following occurs, "all maner of Swannes that come through the bridge, or beneath the bridge, be clearlie the Constable's, and also there shall [be] noe swanne eyre beneath the bridge, but the owners of the said swannes shall make a fyne for them to the said Constable, and over that, the Constable shall have of every nest a signet."

A salmon captured in the Thames at Gravesend now-a-days, would be considered (from that circumstance) like a sturgeon, an offering worthy of royal acceptation, and forwarded with due

* Britton and Brayley's *Memoirs of the Tower*, pp. 195, 196; Bayley's *History of the Tower*, vol. ii. p. 65

† *Abridgment of Records*, by Prynne, 9th Ric. II.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 124.

§ *Landsdown MS. No. 155, Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 275.

ceremony through the hands of the Conservator to Buckingham Palace ; but the public have lost nothing by the change from the dull stillness of the water highway, when swans had their eyries and salmon swam undisturbed by shipmen in the Thames at Gravesend, to the crowded bustling scenes which now enliven the river's surface.

It was not until the commerce of the port was expanded by relations with transatlantic settlements, and with the east, that trinks, wears, and kiddels were extirpated, and the fishery in small boats between London and Yantlet completely established.* In the year 1618, a " great complaint had *lately* been made to the Lord Mayor concerning timbers being and standing in Tilbury Hope, beneath Gravesend, a matter not only perilous to passengers upon the river, but a cause also to destroy infinitely the young brood and fry of fish, by the harm these timbers did to the fishermen's nets, by reason of their continual standing in the main course and speedy current of the stream, which was mightily annoyed and injured thereby."

A few years afterwards, persons carrying on the fisheries in the river Thames from the bridge of Staines to Yantlet, and in the waters of Medway, so far up the latter river as to meet the liberties of the City of Rochester, were incorporated by king Charles I., and another charter was granted to them by James II., in the third year of his reign, which charters have been confirmed by several statutes for regulating the fisheries in the Thames and Medway, since which the wears and other projections that had been complained against as obstructions in the river below bridge have disappeared ; the fishermen ever since pursuing their avocation in boats, under the supervision of the Water Bailiff.

Soon after the Restoration, the river from Westminster to the sea was surveyed by Sir Jonas Moore, and a valuable chart of it was constructed by that eminent mathematician and draughtsman. This important work is extant,† and it would be rendering a great service to the cause of geography, if it was applied to the purpose of a comparison with more modern charts, to ascertain

* First posthumous Edition of Stow's Survey, by A. Munday. 1618, p. 31.

† In the library of Christ's Church College, Oxford.

what changes have been made in the river by natural or accidental causes.

There is a valid proof remaining, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there were eighty acres of land outside the embankment in the parish of Shorne, on the south side in Gravesend Reach, where there are not now more than eight acres. The fact is shewn by the quantity of lands assessed in the poor rates, between 1597 and 1603, and these are authenticated by the signatures of William Lambarde, Esquire, and Sir John Leveson, Knight, two of the magistrates of the county of Kent at that æra.* The shore at the Coal-house Point opposite, has become more shallow within memory.

The numerous erections for catching fish, were the principal obstructions to the navigation of the river in olden times; the encroachments of wharfs and buildings at the river side, are obstructions of a later growth.

By an Act of Parliament† for rebuilding London, after the great fire in the year 1666, it was provided that for preventing inundations and for easiness of ascent, Thames-street, and all the ground between that street and the river should be raised three feet at the least above the surface of the ground before the fire; and further that no other buildings, except cranes for temporary use, should be erected within forty feet of the wall, key, or wharf bounding the Thames from Tower Wharf to the Temple Stairs.‡

These provisions afforded no protection to the line of shore from the Tower to Limehouse, and when the work of restoring the capital was in progress, many owners of property at the river side,

* Preserved among the papers in a chest deposited in the parish church of Shorne.

† Act, 19th Charles II. chap. iii. sec. 34, 35.

‡ “Immediately after the fire of London in 1666. Sir Christopher Wren proposed the construction of a commodious Quay or open wharf, from Blackfriars to the Tower, in consequence of which an Act was passed to prevent the erection of buildings within forty feet of the river bank, between the Tower and the Temple, so as to leave an open space called the Forty-foot-way, which Act however was in a great degree rendered nugatory by encroachments, and was ultimately repealed in 1821.—*Printed Report of James Walker, Esq., F. R. S. to the Corporation of the City of London.* 1841. p. 9.

without the semblance of right, and others who had surreptitiously procured the sanction of official license, advanced their premises into the river far beyond high-water mark.

This had been carried to such a length, that some years afterwards a searching inquiry was instituted for ascertaining the precise state of the encroachments on both sides of the river, between London Bridge and Limehouse.

This important duty was committed by the Admiralty to a joint Board, consisting of the Commissioners of the Navy, and the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House.

It appears in a report of their investigations,* dated Navy Office, the 30th of October, 1684, that there were on the south-side of the river, below Bridge, forty-four premises, of which thirty-one were newly erected, and on the north-side fifty-eight, of which twenty-one were new, including certain causeways; and of these numbers four were deemed very prejudicial, and seven of them prejudicial to the navigation, some of them extending thirty-seven feet into the river.

The measures taken for the preservation and improvement of the river Thames, pursued in the seventeenth century, have been recently repeated.

The alterations that have occurred in the river in respect of shoals; the great increase of shipping employed in the coasting trade, and which discharge their cargoes while lying in the stream; and the landing piers or jetties erected in consequence of the demand for accommodation, incidental to the introduction of steam vessels on the Thames, have received an attention which such important objects demanded. Under the auspices of the Admiralty, a survey of the river from London Bridge to the sea, has been made by Captain Frederick Bullock, R. N., an accomplished officer in the hydrographical department of the service, who with infinite labour and ability has constructed a most elaborate chart of that portion of the Thames which is most interesting, with reference to the commerce of the port of London.

* An account of several inventions, in a Letter to the Earl of Marlborough, 8vo. London. 1691, by T. H. [Thomas Hall.]

The suggestion of Sir Christopher Wren to construct a spacious terrace on the bank of the river above bridge, has also been followed, with a view to the health, comfort and enjoyment of the vast population of the Metropolis, adding at the same time a new feature to the magnificence of London and Westminster. This subject has been brought before the House of Commons, by Sir Frederick French, M. P., who has devoted his scientific acquirements to the formation of a plan for a Quay along the north bank of the river, from Hungerford Market to London Bridge.

The city authorities have also interposed, giving their aid in furtherance of the great objects of improvement.

The Lord Mayor as Conservator of the Thames, and the members of the Navigation Committee of the Corporation of the City, who are the executive ministers of his rights and duties, have investigated the present state of the river, and the best means of making the most effective improvements; and for these purposes they called to their assistance the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, James Walker, Esq., F.R.S. and Captain Frederick Bullock, R.N. the Admiralty surveyor of the river.

The result of these proceedings has been published in a report of the Thames Navigation Committee, presented to the Court of Common Council, on the 20th of January, 1842, accompanied by the reports of James Walker, Esq., and Captain Bullock, to which are added, the reports of the Water Bailiff, the clerk of the city's works on Thames Navigation, the principal Harbour Master, and an assistant Harbour-Master.

These documents teem with the most interesting and important expositions of the state of the Thames, and the means of improvement; reflecting the highest honour upon the Conservators who have directed, and the eminent individuals who have conducted the investigations.

The report of the Navigation Committee to the Corporation is comprehensive, sound, and perspicuous; and the others are such as might have been expected from those who brought so much scientific skill and practical knowledge to the work. The reports are illustrated by valuable plans of the river from Putney Bridge to Barking Point, leaving nothing to desire, but that these should

have been extended to Gravesend, which had been included in the survey.

It would be a great injustice to these invaluable documents, to attempt any analysis of them within the necessarily circumscribed limits of this notice.

The great feature of the plan for the improvement of the river founded upon the actual survey made by the gentlemen referred to, and recommended by them, is nothing less than a change in the lines of embankment in every reach of the river between Putney and Gravesend, for the purpose of giving a more favourable direction to the stream, as the means of preserving the depth of water, for the great purposes of Navigation in the port of London.

Gravesend stands on the right bank of the Thames. When the terms right and left are used, they denote the right or left side of the course of the river from its source towards the sea. The source is called the upper part, the estuary or mouth the lower part, so that going from Gravesend to London is going up the river, and from London or Gravesend to the Nore, is going down the river; which is in accordance with the motion of the tides, for it rises as it flows into the Thames from the sea, and descends to the level of low water upon the reflux.

The average velocity of the stream is between three and four miles per hour, but this medium is deduced from great inequalities, arising from the difference between spring and neap tides, the sinuosities, the breadth and the depth in different parts of the river, and the increased body of water from the prevalence of heavy rains, which has a sensible effect upon the velocity; so that it would be difficult to fix a more precise rate, than that which has been assumed as a medium.

Much has been done of late years towards completing the theory of the tides, by discussing the local phenomena, but it will be sufficient in this place to observe, that in the Thames the tide *flows* with an average velocity of twenty miles an hour, this however is not the rate of the current, but the rapid advance of that swell which constitutes the flood. The tide begins to rise or swell at the Nore, and about an hour afterwards it begins to rise

or swell at Gravesend, the distance between the Nore and Gravesend being about twenty-one miles.

The water of the Thames at Gravesend is salt,* but is turbid, for it is composed of the sea water and water from the source, which is charged with the alluvial matter brought from the lands through which it runs, and with the drainage of the metropolis; it is nevertheless not so impure as the waters of the Ganges,† and other celebrated rivers.

Notwithstanding the turbid condition of the river-water at London, it is preferred to more pure spring water, for use on board ships proceeding from the port upon long voyages, because it is supposed to have an inherent quality which produces self purification.

“ A few years ago, when a supply of water for the metropolis was under the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons, it was referred to Dr. Bostock to examine and report upon the water of the Thames. A quantity of water was taken from the river in the current of and immediately at the mouth of the King’s Scholars Pond Sewer, near Vauxhall Bridge. It was in a state of extreme impurity, opaque with filth and exhaling a highly foetid odour. After standing about a week, a considerable quantity of black matter subsided from it, but the fluid was still dark coloured and opaque, and the colour and odour were only in part removed by being passed through a layer of sand and charcoal, six inches in thickness. After an interval of some weeks, a great change had taken place in its appearance. It had become much clearer whilst nearly the whole of the sediment had risen to the surface, where it formed a pretty regular stratum of about half an inch in thickness, the odour however continued extremely offensive, perhaps more so than at first. Upon the formation of the scum, the next change was its separation into large masses or flakes, and to these as well as to the scum itself, a number of minute air bubbles were attached, to which no doubt they owed their buoyancy. The process of depuration thus spontaneously commenced, was continued about eight weeks, when the water became perfectly transparent, without any unpleasant odour, though still retaining somewhat of its dingy colour. By the

* The degree of saltness is reduced, as the tide runs from the sea. “ The river at Greenwich is very broad, the channel deep, and the water at some very high spring tides is salt, but in ordinary tides sweet and fresh.”—*Griffiths’ Water Bailiff on the River Thames*, p. 42.

† “ A glass of water taken out of the Ganges, when, at its height yields about one part in four of mud.”—*Major Rennell’s Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*.

appropriate tests, the water was found to contain lime, sulphuric acid, muriatic acid, and magnesia. There was a trace of alumine and an indication of pot-ash, but no ammonia, sulphur, or iron could be detected. This depurating process may be denominated a species of fermentation, *i.e.* an operation, where a substance, without any addition undergoes a change in the arrangement of its component parts, and a new compound or compounds produced. The newly formed compounds were in this case entirely gaseous, and except a part of the carbonic acid, were discharged. The saline bodies being not affected by this process, remained in solution, leaving the fluid, free indeed from what are considered as impurities, yet so much loaded with earthy and neutral salts as to be converted from a soft into a hard water. The source of the saline bodies may be supposed to be the organic substances, chiefly of an animal origin, which are copiously deposited in the Thames. The different species of the softer and more soluble animal compounds, act as the ferment and are themselves discharged, while the salts which were attached to them are left behind. It may be conceived therefore, that the more foul the water, the more complete will be the subsequent process of depuration, and hence an explanation of the popular opinion that the Thames water is peculiarly valuable for sea-store, its extreme impurity inducing the fermentative process, and thus removing from it all those substances which can cause it to undergo any further alteration.”*

The current in navigable rivers produces many and considerable benefits ; it not only gives facilities to ships and vessels daily moving upon the surface, but especially in the Thames it is of great importance to the health of the vast population of the capital. The river by means of the current is washed out, twice a-day carrying with it to the sea a portion of the impurities that would bring insupportable evils by accumulation, and the flood brings back clear and pure water from the ocean ; yet querulous regret is but too often expressed by those whose pursuits on business or for recreation lead them against the current of the river, that this salutary and mighty operation should impede their individual purposes.

Although the tide in the Thames flows from the Nore to the neighbourhood of Richmond, a distance of more than sixty miles from the sea, which is said to be a greater length than it flows

* From a Paper, on the spontaneous purification of Thames Water. By John Bostock, M.D.F.R.S., &c. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London for 1829, Part II. p. 287, No. XXIII.

into any other river in Europe, yet the Thames must yield to the superiority of many other rivers in point of magnitude.

The Ganges and the Nile in the east, the Mississippi, the Amazon and the Rio Plata in the west, are in this respect superior to the Thames.

The mighty rivers of the western hemisphere pour their streams to the sea, through regions that spread over parallels of longitude, and precipitated down wild cataracts they traverse vast wildernesses, exhibiting in their gloomy majesty, an unappropriated world.

It has been observed that these rivers contribute their waters, not to the Pacific, but to the Atlantic ocean, as if to effect and preserve the equilibrium of the globe; a suggestion that fills the mind with reverence and adoration of the beneficence, wisdom, and omnipotence of the Creator.

But these magnificent rivers are deficient in the attributes that distinguish the Thames above all others.

This noble stream supplied by nature, but improved and directed by art, bears the produce of every climate, and the commodities of every foreign state, to the British Capital.

The shipping of the Port of London, are the media of the commerce of the world, and are the richest embellishment of the river scenery, the pride of every British subject, and the admiration of foreigners. Here not only other nations find a market for their productions, but domestic manufactures and colonial productions, have their staple and their transit. Amidst the operations that surpass in magnitude and wealth, the representations of the grandeur of ancient Tyre, the humblest industry and the most ardent enterprize have contributed to the strength and resources that have raised the British name high amongst the nations of the earth.

Previously to the late survey, which was commenced in the year 1833, and completed in 1838, the form and extent of the Thames below bridge, had been matters of vague computations, varying as much as the parish clocks in London in the admeasurement of time: but the valuable chart constructed by Captain Bullock, R. N., affords precise and minute information upon the subject, and from that authentic source, the following details have, with the most courteous permission, been derived.

Length of the several reaches of the River Thames from London Bridge to Gravesend, and thence to the Nore; with the Compass Courses down the River.				
	Miles.	Miles	Fur.	Yds.
THE UPPER POOL. From London Bridge to King's Head Stairs, Rotherhithe) <i>Course S.E. by S.</i>	1·3494	1	2	175
THE LOWER POOL. From King's Head Stairs Rotherhithe, to Cuckold's Point.....) <i>Course E. by N. to Ratcliffe Dock, then E.S.E. to Cuckold's Point.</i>	1·8607	1	6	195
LIMEHOUSE REACH. From Cuckold's Point to the lower part of Deptford Royal Dock-yard) <i>Course S.S.W.</i>	1·4403	1	3	115
GREENWICH REACH. From the lower end of Deptford Dock-yard to Enderby's Rope-house) <i>Course, the upper part S.S.E. and rounding gradually to E. by N.</i>	1·1988	1	1	130
BLACKWALL REACH. From Enderby's Rope-house to Blackwall Point ...) <i>Course, N. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. to entrance of West India Docks, then E.N.E.</i>	1·2585	1	2	15
BUGSBY'S HOLE. From Blackwall Point to Hookness) <i>Course, S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.</i>	·9346	0	7	105
WOOLWICH REACH. From Hookness to Galleons Point.....) <i>Course, E.S.E.</i>	2·1363	2	1	20
GALLEONS. From Galleons Point to Maggot Ness.....) <i>Course, N.E. by E.</i>	1·0482	1	0	85
BARKING REACH. From Maggot Ness to Cross Ness, or Halfway House Point.....) <i>Course, E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.</i>	1·7017	1	5	135

	Miles.	Miles	Fur.	Yds.
HALFWAY REACH. From Halfway } House Point to Rainham Creek ... }	2·1647	2	1	70
<i>Course, S.E. by E.</i>				
ERITH REACH. From Rainham Creek } to Cold Harbour Point..... }	1·4375	1	3	110
<i>Course, S. by W.</i>				
THE RANDES. From Cold Harbour } Point to Crayford Ness..... }	1·1761	1	1	90
<i>Course, E.S.E.</i>				
LONG REACH. From Crayford Ness } to the Pilots' Beacon, at the Rising } Sun Point..... }	3·6363	3	5	20
<i>Course, S.S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.</i>				
ST. CLEMENT'S REACH. From Rising } Sun Point to Broad Ness..... }	1·5994	1	4	175
<i>Course, N.E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. then E. round</i> <i>Broadness.</i>				
NORTHFLEET HOPE. From Broadness } to Tilbury Ness }	1·9232	1	7	85
<i>Course, S.</i>				
GRAVESEND REACH.				
From Tilbury Ness to the Town Pier.	1·3551	1	2	185
From the Town Pier to the Coal- } house Point }	3·0284 + 7	3	0	50
<i>Course, E.S.E.</i>				
THE DISTANCE FROM LONDON BRIDGE } TO THE TOWN PIER GRAVESEND, } BEING..... }	26·2215	26	1	170
LOWER HOPE. From Coal-house } Point to Lower Hope Point..... }	2·25	2	2	0
<i>Course, N.E.</i>				
SEA REACH.				
From the Lower Hope Point, to Yant- } let Creek or London Stone }	8·8494	8	6	175
From Yantlet Creek to the Nore Light	6	6	0	0
<i>Course, E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. and S.E. by E.</i> <i>$\frac{1}{2}$ E.</i>				
DISTANCE FROM THE TOWN PIER, } GRAVESEND, TO THE NORE LIGHT ... }	21·1846	21	1	105
DISTANCE FROM LONDON BRIDGE TO } THE NORE LIGHT.*..... }	46·3494 1	46	2	175

* The distances in Captain Bullock's chart of the river are stated in statute miles of 5280 feet; the geographical mile or knot, being 6080 feet. The soundings are stated in feet at low water, ordinary spring tides.

TABLE shewing the distances of certain places and objects severally, between London Bridge and Gravesend, and the breadth of the river at such places.

Places and Objects.	Breadth of River at High Water.	Distance from London Bridge.
	Yards.	Statute Miles.
London Bridge	290	"
London Docks	350	$\frac{7}{8}$
Thames Tunnel	352	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Cuckold's Point	352	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Greenwich Hospital (West Wing) . .	275	5
Blackwall Wharf	380	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Woolwich Town (Hog Lane)	490	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Halfway House*	700	$13\frac{1}{4}$
Erith (Town Wharf)	860	$16\frac{1}{2}$
Purfleet (Upper Chalk Wharf) . . .	695	$18\frac{1}{2}$
Greenhithe (Town Wharf)	805	$21\frac{1}{4}$
Grays	915	$23\frac{1}{4}$
Pilcher's Ship Yard	570	$24\frac{5}{8}$
Gravesend Pier	800	$26\frac{1}{4}$
Entrance of Thames and Medway Canal	1080	$26\frac{3}{4}$
Coal House Point	1290	$29\frac{1}{4}$

* Formerly the midway in the distance between London Bridge and Gravesend, was denoted by a tree, and afterwards by a house known by the name or sign of the "Chequers," according to the following authorities.

In a Chart of the river by Robert Adams, Surveyor, in the year 1588, there is a tree called the Midway Tree, above or westward of Dagenham Creek, nearly opposite to the present Halfway House. In another Chart by Sir Jonas Moore in 1662, there is a tree at this part inscribed Halfway Tree, and on the Kent side opposite also, there is one called the Halfway Tree.

On the 29th of May, 1668, a robbery and murder were alleged to have been committed on board the ship "Prins Willem," Jobbe Peeters, Master, while lying in the Thames, "about Halfway Tree going to Gravesend," &c. Newspapers of the date.

In the year 1707, Captain John Perry published a map of the lands overflowed by the breach at Dagenham, in which a tree is placed on the Essex shore, and marked as the halfway tree; and on the Kent shore, is inserted "The Halfway House."

The most diligent inquiry into the state of Gravesend, at the point of time when a digression was made from chronological order to notice the river and port, beyond the account preserved in Domesday, or into the actual condition and circumstances of the locality for a long time subsequent to that period, would prove fruitless. The monkish annalists of the middle ages furnish but scanty materials for local history. Commercial intercourse there was not at that early period, in the modern acceptation of the term, but there were other attractions to the spot. The unchangeable nature of man, always subject to the impulse of his passions and his prejudices, had already found objects to allure him from the pursuits of domestic life. In the year 1066, the Duke of Normandy had placed himself upon the throne of England, and in the preceding year, the followers of Mahomet had possessed themselves of Jerusalem, which roused the jealousy and indignation of the Christian communities of Europe.

During the reigns of the immediate successors of the Conqueror, England was affected by this martial spirit, and her monarch, Richard I., distinguished by his zeal in the cause, led his hosts, under the Banner of the Cross, to share the toils, the dangers, and the glories of the Crusades. Christianity having been received long before from Rome, it had, according to the tenets of that church, been inculcated as a duty, to make pilgrimages to distant shrines ; a practice which moved multitudes to crowd the roads leading to popular scenes of devotion. The pilgrim on his route from or through London, to the shrines of the metropolitan Church of Canterbury, or to Rome, and the still more visionary, under the influence of religious enthusiasm and romantic valour, moving towards the Holy Land from the interior, would resort to Gravesend by the water passage, to accelerate the journey and diminish their labour.

1170. When the catastrophe of Archbishop Becket had occurred at Canterbury, he was considered to have fallen a martyr to his fidelity to the Church, and a Bull was issued by Pope Alexander III., declaring the canonization of the archbishop, directed to the clergy and all Christian people. Miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb, and this being reported at

home and abroad, brought multitudes to Canterbury. About fifty years after the death of Becket, his remains were removed from the undercroft to his shrine at the east end of the cathedral, upon which occasion great ceremony was observed; and the resort of the pious was so multitudinous, that the expenses incurred for hay and corn, between London and Canterbury, for the horses of all that might attend the solemnity, and for wine running in conduits in several parts of the latter city for their refection were so great, that Stephen, then archbishop, who made this provision, incurred a debt that burdened the next four successors to the See. Certain stations on the great highway bear the name of St. Thomas's waterings, where the devotees halted on the journey; and at Gravesend some houses situated in the line have been called St. Thomas's houses, as it is supposed from these circumstances.

A contemporary writer, William Fitzstephen, a monk of Canterbury, and secretary to Archbishop Becket, has left, in a description of London,* an account of arrangements upon the "river's bank," for the accommodation of strangers arriving or departing, between the Vintry and Billingsgate, the place of resort of the old Gravesend barge, from the remotest times, and of which great numbers passing between London and the shrine of his *quondam* patron, and upon various other occasions, would avail themselves.

"There is in London," Fitzstephen says, "upon the river's bank, a public place of cookery, among the wines to be sold in the ships and in wine cellars. There every day we may call for any dish of meat, roast, fried, or boiled, fish, both small and great; ordinary flesh for the poorer sort, and more dainty for the rich, as venison and fowl. If friends came upon a sudden, wearied with travel, to a citizen's house, and they loath to wait for curious preparation and dressings of fresh meat, let the servants give them water to wash, and bread to stay the stomach, and in the mean time *they run to the water side*, where all things that can be desired are at hand. *Whatsoever multitude of soldiers or other strangers enter into the city at any hour of the night, or else are about to depart, they may turn in, bait here, and refresh themselves to their*

* Description of the City of London, translated by Dr Pegge. 4to. London, 1772.

content, and to avoid long fasting and not go away without their meal." This description does as exactly portray the resort of strangers to the modern Gravesend barge or tiltboat at Billingsgate, as it does the river's bank in the days of Fitzstephen.* The strangers represented as entering into the city at any hour of the night, or else being about to depart, turning in to bait—to avoid long fasting—and not to go away without their meal, must refer to passengers by the Gravesend barge. Surely, the writer himself had enjoyed the ready entertainment and good cheer by day or by night, that he so vividly describes, and which suited the varying departure or arrival of the barge, that depended upon the fluctuations of the tides, and in which peradventure, the secretary often had occasion to pass in his journeyings between London and Canterbury.

1240-1. There is evidence that trading had commenced at Gravesend, as early as this year, for it appears by the presentment of a jury, before the justices itinerant, that John Baker of Milton, and James Marecall of Gravesend, sold wine against the assize.†

THE MARKET.

1268. A grant of free warren with a market and fair was conferred upon Robert de la Parrok, who held the manor of Parrok or Parrock, which is within the manors of Gravesend and Milton, as follows :—

For Robert de la Parrok. } The King to the Archbishops, &c., Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed, to our beloved and faithful Robert de la Parrok, that he and his heirs shall have free warren in all their demesne lands of the Parrok,‡ (so never-

* Fitzstephen wrote his description of London about the year 1174. Malone's Shakspeare, vol. i. part ii. p. 4. The writer mentions the death of his patron, which occurred in 1170, and Fitzstephen himself died in 1191, the description therefore refers to a period between these years.

† Placita Coronæ, 25 Hen. III.

‡ "Paroc time, that is when the Lord or his bailiff and friends met to hold a Paroc, a court like kind of meeting, not much unlike the Forest-Swaine-Mote, where (*inter alia*) an account was taken of what hogs or swine had been taken in to feed and fatten in the year past; hence I take it (from Paroc I mean,) the name of that place, by Bleane Wood, near Canterbury, which we at this day call *Paddock* for the Parok." Somner on Gavelkind, p. 28. Paddock and Parrock have long been used indifferently, to designate this manor within Milton and Gravesend.

theless that those lands be not within the metes of our forest,) so that no one may enter those lands to hunt in them, or to catch any thing which belongs to a warren, without the licence and will of him or his heirs, upon forfeiture to us of ten pounds.

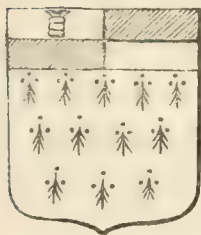
Also we have granted to the same Robert, that he and his heirs for ever shall have one market at their aforesaid manor of the Parrok every week on Saturday ;

And that he may have there one fair every year to continue for three days, viz., on the vigil, on the day, and on the morrow of the translation of St. Edmund the Confessor,* unless such market and fair shall be to the prejudice of the neighbouring markets and fairs.—Given by our hand at Westminster, the 12th day of February, in the fifty-second year of our reign.

A market has been held weekly on Saturday, and a fair annually upon the same site, to the present time, as will hereafter appear.

Robert de la Parrok, upon whom this grant was conferred, is supposed to have been a branch of the noble family of Sey, from the armorial bearings of Robert de la Parrok.

According to Camden,† “ The Lord Sey was a baron of ample possessions at Birlinge in Kent, and very many other places from thence to Deptford, where Sey’s Court that came from the Lord Magminot by his heir general, gave quarterly, Or and Gules.—Parrock of Parrock, near Gravesend, bare it as in the margent.”



1279. Certain illegal practices of dealers in wine at Gravesend have already been noticed, and in this year another instance of the kind occurred. Upon the circuit of the justices itinerant, the jury made presentment, that Robert le Levengeys had sold thirteen casks of wine in the last four years, against the assize,

* The anniversary of the translation of St. Edmund the Confessor, was held on the 9th of June, the fair therefore was to be kept on the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of that month. “ And every Lord at the beginning of his fair shall there do, cry, and publish,” (make proclamation) “ how long the fair shall endure, to the intent that merchants shall not be at the same fairs over the time so published, upon pain to be grievously punished towards the King. For the said Lords shall not hold them over the due time, upon pain of having the said fairs seized into the King’s hand.”—Stat. 2nd Edw. III. chap. 15.

† Camden’s Remains, “ Armories,” Edit. 1674, pp. 283, 284.

and that he had sold three casks of wine in one year ; also that Margery Solomon had sold eighteen casks of wine in seven years ; and John de Sydyngburne had sold, at Gravesend, six casks of wine in two years : therefore they were in mercy,* &c. To this testimony of early trading at Gravesend, may be added, from the same source of authentic information, an account of an existing traffic between London and Gravesend, in boats employed in the water passage or long ferry.

1279. “ Luke Ingelot, John Pucy, Robert Sermin, and Fulk le Bateler, were at the house of Alexander Cook, a tavern at Gravesend, and one Geoffrey made a clamour there, and there was a quarrel between the said Geoffrey and the said Fulk, so that when Luke aforesaid was going away, Fulk struck Geoffrey, and because of the disturbance, one *John coming from London in a certain boat*, entered the house and struck the said Luke between the shoulders with a knife, so that he immediately died thereof, and the said John was taken and imprisoned, and afterwards was acquitted at Maidstone before the justices assigned to keep the peace for the gaol delivery ; and now he is dead, and they say that the said Geoffrey likewise is guilty of the death aforesaid, and he fled, therefore being called, he is outlawed—he hath no chattels. The first finder of the body and four of the vicinage came, and are not suspected, therefore are discharged thereof, and the vill of Gravesend came for the hue and cry, and they have not taken the said felons, therefore are in mercy of their chattels sixpence, which Simon Lemese has received. And the aforesaid was in the Borhoe† (Borough) of Gravesend, which therefore is in mercy.”‡

This record has been given at length, as it affords an insight into the circumstances of Gravesend at a period so remote. It is but too apparent, that the dictum of moralists as well as of philosophers, that poor mortals are ever travelling in a circle is correct, for with the foregoing narrative of a fatal broil, there is a contem-

* Placita Coronæ, 7 Edw. I.

† Borough—every village is a borough, but the converse will not hold.—*Henshall's Sussex*, p. 175.

‡ Plac. Cor. 7 Edw. I. Rot. 15.

porary account of a prevailing practice of extortion among boatmen, that will seem to be a "shadow cast before," to those who at the present day may have occasion to commit themselves to the care and consciences of the same fraternity employed on the river. Before, however, this occurrence is related, it is proper to advert to a circumstance by which it was preceded.

1286. On the night of the festival of St. Margaret, which was on the 2nd of July in this year, a violent tempest occurred, and the torrent of rain which fell, accompanied with thunder and lightning, inundated the country, and made such havoc as to cause the price of corn to rise immediately, and in succeeding years;* which storm as it visited London and inundated the country so as to raise the price of corn for years, must be presumed to have extended to Gravesend, and injured the causeway or landing place, at which the passengers between London and Gravesend landed and embarked. As the modern practice of paving streets with stones, and forming water-courses in them, does not appear to have been then introduced at Gravesend, the causeway was exposed to a rush of water from the hill in its way to the river, that well might have damaged or destroyed it.

1292-3. When the justices of assize, John de Berewyk, Thomas de Normanvill, William de Bereford, John de Lytheytynes, and Hugh de Kent, or some of them, came to Canterbury in the 21st year of the reign of Edward I., being five years after the calamitous storm, presentment was made to the court, that the bridge or causeway at Gravesend was in a bad condition, by which many, both of the neighbourhood and strangers, sustained great injury, and that Henry de Cramaville† was liable to repair a moiety of the bridge, and the village of Milton the other part.

At the same time and place, the jury presented that the boatmen of Gravesend, Milton, and London, did take from passengers unjust fares against their will; that is, where they had formerly taken a halfpenny from a person for his passage to London, they

* Knighton, Scrip. Decem. col. 2467.

† The manor of Gravesend was held by the family of Cramaville soon after the Conquest. Henry de Cramaville died seized of it in the twenty-sixth year of Edw. I., A. D. 1297.—*Hasted's Hist. of Kent*, 8vo. Edit. vol. iii. p. 327.

then took a penny ; wherefore the Sheriff was directed to summon the parties, &c. Afterwards the men of the village of Milton appeared, and well knowing that they were liable to repair a moiety of the said bridge next the land, they pleaded that it was then in good repair, and appealed to their country thereon. The jurors returned that the men of Milton were bound to repair the moiety of the said bridge and causeway next the land, and that it had been repaired.

Then came Robert Gnoubal, Richard Dugil, and other boatmen of Gravesend, and they could not deny that they had taken pennies as charged : they were therefore in mercy ; and it was required of them, that in future they should take no more than one halfpenny ; and Robert Gnoubal and Richard Dugil, gave a bond of forty shillings for compliance, with their sureties, William Boleyne and John Gervoyes.

Then came Henry, (de Cramaville), and admitted that he was bound to repair the moiety of the said bridge, next the river ; and that the same had been damaged by an inundation, but was then under repair ; and that it was not from any negligence of his, and this the jurors testified. The Sheriff was then directed to look thenceforth to the reparation of the said bridge or causeway.*

It may be noticed here, that on the same occasion, a similar presentment was made in respect of a neighbouring ferry across the Thames at Higham. The jury presented that the boatmen of the Prioress of Higham had taken from persons passing over the river between Kent and Essex, for every horseman, twopence, and sometimes threepence, where, of right, they ought to have taken only one penny, nor had they been accustomed to take more ; also that they very often took for a foot passenger, a penny, from whom they had been accustomed to take only a farthing, and this they had done by consent (conspiracy) among themselves, to the great injury of the passengers. Afterwards the boatmen of Higham appeared, and said they only took what of ancient time they had been accustomed to take, that is to say, for every horseman one penny, and for every foot passenger one

* *Registrum Roffense*, p. 374.—*Pocock's History of Gravesend*, from Plac. Cor. Com. Kanc. 21 Edw. I., Rot. 23, in dorso.

halfpenny ; whereupon they were required to take no more in future than one penny for a horseman, and a halfpenny for a foot passenger ; and John, the son of Donlie, and Hugh, the son of Thomas le Bateler, answered for the same.

At the same time the jury presented that the bridge and causeway of the passage between Higham and Essex was broken up, to the nuisance of all persons passing over there, and that the Prioress ought to repair the same ; and the Prioress afterwards appeared and admitted her liability, saying, that the bridge had been broken by an inundation, and was then being repaired ; and this the jury testified.*

1297. There is a document† extant which relates to the resort to the Gravesend barge about this time, and to certain travelling expenses, as follows :—

“ Household expenses of W., Bishop‡ of Coventry and Lichfield, the treasurer, sojourning in the king’s embassy in parts beyond the seas, made in the 25th year of Edw. I., A.D. 1297, by the hands of William de Eston, his clerk.”

* * * * * *

“ Gravesende. On Sunday following, the expenses of family and horses at Gravesend and Rochester, vjs. xjd. ob. in the wages, and sailing boat carrying harness from London to Gravesend xxd. in the wages of xvj. menials, (garçons), and ij. pages ijs. xd., total xjs. vd. ob.”

Notwithstanding the proceedings already noticed against the boatmen at Gravesend for extortion, they were again brought before the same tribunal a few years later, to answer for the like practices.

1313. At the assizes held before the Justices itinerant in this year, William de Boloigne, John Page, Nicholas atte Denne, William Hardy, Laurence Boloigne, Richard Frewe, William Fishere, Giles de Grenewiche, John Gerveys, sen., John Gerveys, jun., Richard Hardy, William Lucas, and Geoffrey Page, boat-

* Placita Coronæ, 21 Edw. I.

† Miscellaneous Rolls, 25th Edw. I. Records in Tower.

‡ Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Lord Treasurer of England.

men, carrying passengers between Gravesend and London, were presented, for as much as they did take one penny instead of one halfpenny from each passenger up or down; and they were enjoined to take one halfpenny and no more, from each passenger thenceforth.*

By this record, it appears that thirteen boatmen found employment in the conveyance of the public by the long ferry, a number which implies an increased resort to the place, since the time of the former proceedings.

The names of Boloigne and Gerveys indicate that the Norman population introduced at the Conquest had not become extinct; and they were the same parties, no doubt, that appeared upon the former occasion, notwithstanding a slight variation in the spelling of their names.

The History of the origin of the Church and Chantry of Milton belongs to the fourteenth century.

THE CHANTRY OF MILTON.

Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, succeeded, upon the death of his father, in the year 1304, to the possession of the Manor of Milton, where he founded the Chapel and Chantry,† on the site now forming part of the property of the Board of Ordnance, adjoining the Parsonage House.

Dr. Thorpe, in whose time a portion of the edifice was open to view, has given a description of its appearance in the year 1776;‡ and he also published copies of an ordinance of the Bishop of the Diocese, relating to the Chantry, and a confirmation of the founder's grant, by the King.§

That writer says, that the Chantry was founded and endowed by Aymer de Valence, not long before the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward II., A.D. 1322, in honour of God, the

* Placita Coronæ, 6 Edw. II.

† A Chantry is some particular Chapel or Altar founded by some individual, and endowed with lands and revenues, for the maintenance of a priest or priests, who are daily to say mass or perform divine offices for the founder, or for such others as he may appoint.

‡ Custumale Roffense, with Antiquities of Kent. Folio, London, 1788, p. 134.

§ Ordinatio Cantariæ Presbiterorum de Melton. Registrum Roffense, p. 491. Confirmatio Ecclesiæ de Melton. Ibid. p. 492.

blessed Virgin, and the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul ; and he adds, that the institution consisted originally of secular priests.

The precise date of the foundation of the Chantry is not given, but it appears to have been assumed, that it occurred “ not long before” the year 1322 ; because, in that year, the ordinance of the bishop, and the King’s confirmation of the founder’s grant are both dated ; and they, it is to be presumed, had speedily followed the original grant.

According to the recital of the Royal confirmation, the Earl of Pembroke founded the Chantry, giving to Roger de Stowe, the appointed master, and his brothers serving God therein, who were to pray for the soul of the Founder and the souls of his ancestors, the advowson of the Church of Milton and its appurtenances, in free and perpetual alms for ever. He farther endowed the Chantry with certain lands and tenements, situated in the hundreds of Berdstaple and Rochford, in the county of Essex.*

The bishop Hamo de Hethe ordained, at the instance of the founder, that the secular priests of the Chantry should thenceforth be regulars, and that they should observe the rules prescribed by the said Founder, stipulating that the priests who should be first placed there, should be appointed by him the bishop, one of whom, to be adjudged by him as the most fit, was to be the master, whom the rest should obey as their superior, with certain conditions for the manner of appointing their successors. The bishop ordained also that there should be an altar in the Chapel of the Chantry, and a burial place for the ecclesiastics of the institution, and for no others whatsoever ; and that only they should administer the sacraments of the church therein, and that with bells in a becoming manner.

According to another instrument † published with those which have already been referred to, when the advowson of the Church of Milton was appropriated to the maintenance of the Chantry, a reservation was made for the support of the vicars ; ‡ and upon

* See a description of the Lands and Tenements in the Hundreds of Berdstaple and Rochford, given in Morant’s History of Essex, vol. i. page 252. Pocock’s History of Gravesend, page 130.

† Appropriacio Ecclesie de Meltone. Registrum Roffense, page 495.

‡ “Salva congrua porcione pro sustentacione vicariorum.” Ib. page 495.

this it has been observed, that no vicar was however ordained, nor did it seem to be requisite, because the Chantry being situated near the church and composed of priests, they could easily discharge all the requisite offices. On the appointment of a Provost (or Master) he was sometimes admitted to the Rectory as a benefice annexed to the Chantry, and on his resigning, there are instances of one of the brethren being in form instituted into it; but when any other clerk was presented, it may be presumed, that he was considered merely as a trustee, accountable for the profits to the members of the Chantry.*

In the reign of King Henry V. there arose a controversy between Richard,† then Bishop of Rochester, and William Clifford, who claimed to be patron of the Chantry, in right of his wife; concerning the presentation of a Master, upon the death of John Markettstede; which dispute, after much altercation, was settled on the 11th of May, 1416, by a compromise, the terms of which would be found to have but little interest at this day.‡

This Chantry, like all similar religious houses, was suppressed at the Reformation, and the close of its history is contained in the following brief, but pregnant, passages.

John Dygon, Master of the Chantry, died in 1524, after which, by some means, it escheated to the Crown, for King Henry VIII. soon afterwards granted it to Sir Henry Wyatt, who seems to have had the King's Letters Patent, for his founding another Chantry in the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary at Milton. Whether this Chantry was ever founded, or if it was, when it was suppressed, I do not find, but the chapel of Milton, with its appurtenances, was before the 31st year of Henry VIII. become a lay fee, and was in the hands of Sir Thomas Wyatt; and it appears at that time to have consisted of the chapel called Milton Chapel, together with the hall, pantry, kitchen, storehouse, chambers, &c., with their appurtenances, and the wharf, orchard, pond, two gardens, and two closes of land lying on the south and

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, page 128. This statement respecting the joint occupancy of the Rectory and Chantry, is illustrated by the record of the induction of Rectors, given at the conclusion of these notices of this religious institution, and history of the Church of Milton.

† Ibid. page 128 Richard Young, the fifty-third Bishop of the See.

‡ Hasted's History of Kent, 8vo. Edition, vol. iii. page 345.

east sides of the Chapel, and a field called Miller's Field, lying at the west side of the Parish Church, together with pasture for two horses in the common marsh of Milton, all which were of the yearly rent of six pounds, eight shillings.

The following passage contains a more definite account of the dissolution of the Chantry.

“ It has not been ascertained how long this Chantry subsisted, but it appears, from an instrument, dated December the 17th, A.D. 1523, that it had for a long course of time been destitute of priests ; that by the neglect of incumbents, the first endowments were lost ; and that it was brought to a state of ruin, in appearance almost irreparable.”*

After this graphic representation of the Chantry or Chapel in Milton, with its hall, pantry, kitchen, storehouses, chambers and other appurtenances, which general term may be supposed to include a refectory, cellar, &c. ; and after the evidence produced, of the transfer of the whole into lay hands about the period of the Reformation, it remains only to add a few facts relating to the subsequent transformations of the structure.

Dr. Thorpe, who, it has already been observed, visited the spot in the year 1776, gives the following detailed account of the premises in his time :—“ Nothing now remains of it but the chapel part, which is built of flints and ragstones ; but the window frames and mullions with stone mouldings at the west end, which, from being pointed, seem, when it was turned into a dwelling-house, to have been altered to a more square and modern form. All the other parts of this Chantry are now destroyed ; and on the site thereof are several buildings, particularly a large inn called the “ New Tavern,” which has a neat bowling-green and garden, chiefly used by the tide-waiters and persons there stationed, employed by the Custom-house. On the right hand adjoining the tavern at the west-end,† is the Parsonage House.

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, page 129. This passage is from the pen of the Rev. S. Denne, of whom Hasted writes thus :—“ Second son of Dr. John Denne, Archdeacon of Rochester, by the daughter of Bishop Bradford ; a gentleman to whom literature in general, and the editor of these volumes in particular, is highly indebted for his liberal communications.” History of Kent, 8vo. Edition, vol. ii. p. 342.

† This should be read the south-west angle.

The upper part of the chapel is converted into lodging rooms, and the ancient picture of a man shooting a hare with a bow and arrow, as mentioned by Dr. Harris, has been taken away some time. There is still remaining the receptacle for holy water ; but the large gothic window at the east end of the chapel, is now concealed by a brick building erected against it.”*

The premises were purchased by the Crown in the year 1780, to be appropriated to the service of the Ordnance department, as it will be more particularly stated under the head of the Lower or New Tavern Battery.

In the month of August 1842, arrangements were made upon the premises, for the reception of troops arriving at Gravesend from abroad ; when some partitions being removed, the interior of the ancient chapel was laid open, presenting an outline which accords with the general description that has been given above.

THE FOUNDER AND HIS FAMILY.

Abridged from SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE'S Baronage and other authorities.

Aymer de Valence, founder of the Chantry in Milton, was descended from William de Valence, the son of Hugh le Brun, Earl of March, (on the confines of France and Poitou), whose consort, Isabel, was the widow of King John, and sole daughter of Aymer, Earl of Angoulême. The Earl William, therefore, was allied by marriage to the Royal family of England, being half brother by the mother, of Henry III.

He died in the year 1304, having had issue, three sons, John, William and Aymer, and three daughters. John, the eldest, died young ; William was killed in his father's life-time, in a skirmish in Scotland ; and Aymer succeeded to the honours and possessions.

1297. Aymer, in the life-time of his father, accompanied the King in an expedition to Flanders ; and in the following year was engaged in the war in Scotland, where he gained a military reputation.

In the first of these years, he appears to have engaged in com-

* Custumale Roffense, with Antiquities of Kent, p. 134.

mercial transactions, which seems so incompatible with his illustrious descent, and affords so remarkable an illustration of the customs of the age, that this procedure claims a special notice. At that time, the manufacture of wool had not been established in England, except some weaving among the people for their own use; and the wool was for the most part exported to Flanders to be manufactured there. There was a duty upon every sack of wool, payable to the King upon exportation, which impost was not paid by the clergy, and was evaded by personages of the highest rank. The Earl of Pembroke obtained a licence of the King to export twenty sacks without paying duty. This licence, which is directed to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, commands them to permit Aymer de Valence, the King's dear and beloved cousin, or his agents, (attornez), to export the wool free of duty; but desiring that this should be done privately, so that others should not take example to apply for the like favour.* It appears that the Earl continued to be engaged in such transactions for many years, for in 1322, the King, by letters missive to the Pope, and Robert King of Sicily, interposed in behalf of one Vannus Fortegair,† who is described as the Earl of Pembroke's merchant, from whom a quantity of wool had been seized.

But to return to the consideration of other early events in the life of Aymer de Valence.

1302. Having served the King in Scotland, he obtained a grant of the castles of Selkirk and Tresquair in that kingdom, and the borough of Peebles, to hold by service of one knight's fee, and the whole forest of Selkirk in fee farm, *with authority to build churches*, castles and other fortifications; and he obtained also a grant of free warren and power to disafforest, and make parks therein at his own pleasure.‡

1304. It was in this year, as it has been before stated, that Aymer de Valence succeeded to the earldom of Pembroke upon

* The licence is dated at Winchelsea, the 22nd day of August, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward I., (A.D. 1297), according to a copy of it, in Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. ii. p. 785.

† Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. i. p. 156. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 921.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, p. 777.

the death of his father ; and at the same time he became possessor of the manors of Milton and Swanscomb, with other lands in Kent.

1306. The Earl was again employed in Scotland, whither Edward sent him against Robert Bruce the Scottish King, who bravely met the Earl, but was discomfited. On the 1st of August in that year, the King himself began his march to Scotland, and summoned the nobility to Dumfries to do their homage to him, which several of them did ; and Edward, satisfied with this submission, returned to England leaving the Earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland ; which post he surrendered on the 13th of September, and was succeeded by the Earl of Bretagne.

After an interval, during which the Earl of Pembroke founded the Chantry in Milton, the contentions arose between the King and the nobility, excited by the favouritism of the King towards Gaveston ; in which the Earl sided with the barons, against the King.

The Earl of Lancaster was placed at the head of the confederated lords. The King retired to Newcastle, whither they followed him ; and he then proceeded to Scarborough Castle, wherein he placed Gaveston the favourite. The Earl of Pembroke was sent against him, with the Earl of Warwick ; and in a few days Gaveston* surrendered himself into their hands, stipulating that he should be permitted to see the King. The barons disapproved of this indulgence granted by Pembroke ; and his associate the Earl of Warwick was so incensed, that he seized the prisoner : who, on the following day was subjected to the mere form of a trial, and forthwith executed in the presence of the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, and Hereford.

The King, reduced to extremities, had recourse to negotiation, and a hollow truce ensued ; but when Gaveston was no longer the object of jealousies and contention, the Spencers succeeded him in the favour of the infatuated monarch, and hence the tragical end of the Earl of Pembroke. The barons again appealed

* Such was the insolent bearing of this favourite, that he ventured to traduce the most illustrious among the nobility, calling Lancaster, the Player ; Warwick, the Black Dog of Arderne ; and upon the founder of the Chantry of Milton, the Earl of Pembroke, he bestowed the designation of Joseph the Jew.—*Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* fol. 1603, p. 94.

to force, against the King and his new favourites. Lancaster, as upon the former occasion, became their leader: but many of the confederates having deserted the cause, he was taken prisoner and lodged in Pontefract Castle. He was arraigned before the Earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, and others, who had made their peace with their sovereign: but, having been taken in arms he was adjudged to suffer death, and was beheaded accordingly, near Pontefract.

The share which Pembroke took in this affair, brought upon him the vengeance of the more stedfast followers of Lancaster.

Restored to the favour of the King, the Earl was again employed in the war in Scotland; and his name appears first among those who signed a truce with King Robert Bruce for fourteen years, dated at Thorpe, near York, on the 30th of May, 1323.

This was one of the last public acts in which Aymer de Valence was engaged in England, for he went immediately afterwards to France, where on the 23rd of June, in the same year, he was murdered as it is supposed, by some of the partisans of the late Earl of Lancaster (whom he had consigned to the scaffold at Pontefract,) who had fled to France for refuge after the catastrophe of their leader. The remains of the Earl of Pembroke were brought to England and were interred in Westminster Abbey, where his father had also been buried.

THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

At the death of Aymer de Valence, on the 23rd of June, 1323, a lady of illustrious lineage was left his widow, of whom Dugdale relates the following particulars:—Mary, his widow, by the name of Mary de St. Paul Countess of Pembroke, for the health of her soul and the soul of Audomère, (Adam), “some time Earl of Pembroke, her husband, and the souls of Guy de Chatillon, some time Earl of St. Paul her father, and of Mary de Bretagne, some time his wife, her mother, founded a house of nuns called minoresses, in Denney in the county of Cambridge; and gave great sums of money towards the fabric of the Gray Friar’s Church in London.”*

* Dugdale’s Baronage, p. 777.

The amount of the Countess's donation to the Gray Friar's Church, was seventy pounds; and the names and donations of other personages for the same purpose, give an insight of the means of erecting churches at that period.* She also, with a pious regard to the influences of religious education, founded Pembroke Hall, at Cambridge, in the year 1343.

The memory, both of the Countess and of the Earl, her late husband, as great promoters of the church, was cherished by the clergy who were the recipients or witnesses of their munificence.

In the sixteenth year of the reign of Edward III., A.D. 1343, the abbot and convent of Garadon, founded two chaplains, cistercian monks of their house, to officiate in the chapel or hermitage of St. James's near Cripplegate, for the repose of the souls of the departed Aymer de Valence, and his widow the Countess de St. Paul;† and a devout scribe‡ of the fifteenth century has recorded, that the Countess presented a figure of gold to the monastery of St. Albans, and he has embellished the record with a portrait of the lady. The Countess died in 1377.

* "Margaret, Queen, second wife of Edward I., began the choir of their new Church" (Gray Friars) "in the year 1306; to the building whereof in her life-time, she gave 2000 marks, and 100 marks by her testament.

"John Britain, Earl of Richmond, builded the body of the Church, to the charge of £300, and gave many rich jewels and ornaments to be used in the same.

"Mary, Countess of Pembroke, £70.

"Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, bestowed 20 great beams out of his forest of Tunbridge, £30 sterling.

"Robert Picæ Lisle, who became a Friar there, £300.

"Bartholomew de Almaine, 50 pounds.

"Also, Philipa, Queen, wife of Edward III., gave 62 pounds.

"Isabel, Queen, mother of Edward III., gave threescore and ten pounds. And so the work was done within the space of 21 years."—*Stow's Survey of London*, Edit. 1633, p. 341.

† *Stow's Survey of London*.—Farringdon Ward Within.

‡ Register of the Benefactors to the Monastery of St. Albans. *Cotton MSS.*, Nero D. vii., fol. 103 v.



MILTON CHURCH.

It has often been remarked, that the Church of the parish of Milton, is situated at an inconvenient distance from the habitations of the parishioners; but, at the early period when the Church is supposed to have been built, the inhabitants were so generally of the agricultural class, that the situation (probably upon the site of one more ancient which had gone to decay) may have been as convenient as any other that could have been selected at that time.

A Church in Milton is mentioned in the great Norman Survey: but no part of that fabric remains, nor is there a feature of the architecture of that period about the present edifice, unless the grotesque faces at the angles of the cornice, and on the corbels in the interior walls, may be said to be of that age. They are mentioned among the details of Norman architecture;* while, on the other hand, they are supposed to have been first introduced by Marcheon of Arezzo, an Italian architect, in the first years of the fourteenth century.†

Be this as it may, they afford no proof that Milton Church

* Rickman's English Architecture, p. 50.

† Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c., vol. i., p. 111.

was built so early, for these faces might have been adopted for the decoration of an edifice, long after they were first introduced.

When was the present Church built? is a question upon which no clear and definite testimony has been brought to light, but an opinion concerning the date may be formed upon an examination of the Church itself.

A very rigid adherence in detail to a particular style of architecture in the structure of a small parish Church is not to be expected, but in the venerable fabric under consideration, there are characteristics sufficient to point to the era when it was erected.

Pursuing an inquiry upon this principle, regard must be had to the designs of larger ancient sacred edifices, and in these must be sought the prototypes of parish churches upon a reduced scale of ornament suited to reduced dimensions, but still preserving the lineaments of the former.

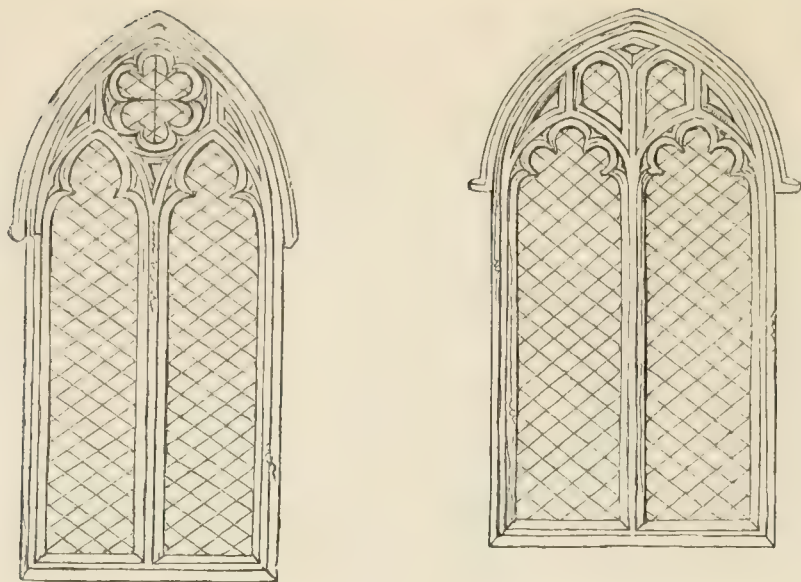
The Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture was followed by what has been designated the early English style, and this prevailed to the end of the reign of Edward I., in the year 1307.

This style was distinguished by long narrow windows without mullions, therefore the erection of Milton Church can no more be assigned to that period, than to the Norman era.

It is considered to be a safe conclusion, that a building is as old as its original windows, or at least that part of it which contains them.*

The following are the representations of an original window of the Church, of which six remain, and one of a later style which was introduced when an original one had decayed.

* Rickman's English Architecture, p. 109.

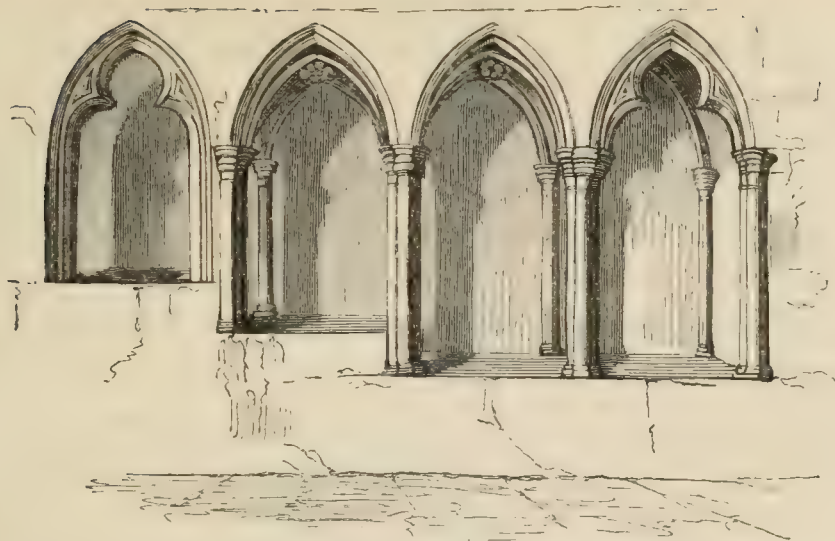


This original window, which is on the south side, is divided into two lights by a mullion terminating in a six-foiled circle, the heads of the lights being trefoiled arches, and this is conformable to the decorated English style which followed the early English, and prevailed to the end of the reign of Edward III., in the year 1377.

The perpendicular style of the second window, which followed about the year 1377, prevailed to the end of the fifteenth century ; and by comparing this with the original window, it will be seen that the Church was erected before this perpendicular style was introduced, or between the years 1307 and 1377.

The window at the east end of the Church was very large with reference to the dimensions of the wall, (and this is another feature of the decorated style ;) but at a later period the opening which originally was fourteen feet wide, was contracted to the space of eight feet six inches, and another window in the perpendicular style with three lights was introduced, as two in the side also were, when the original windows had decayed.

At the south side of the Church there are four niches of considerable interest. They are divided by slender clustered pillars, with circular mouldings for capitals ; and from these spring pointed arches, two of which are plain, the other two having trefoiled heads.



That which is next the east end has not so deep a recess as the others : it has a hollow bottom, with an aperture for the escape of water. The other three divisions contain stone seats for the officiating ministers ; that next the above being somewhat higher than the other two. The height of these niches, from the chancel pavement to the point of the arch, is seven feet four inches. The whole range extends eleven feet in length, and above them is a window in the south wall.

Similar niches often occur in ancient churches, varying in number, form, and position ; and they have given rise to much speculative discussion upon the question of the uses to which they were appropriated.* Some have supposed that the seats were confessionaries, but there is no doubt now, that they were *sedilia*, or seats for the use of the ecclesiastics engaged in the church service.†

The first of these recesses in the order in which they have been mentioned, being that next the east end of the Church, appears to be accurately described, and the uses for which it was designed, satisfactorily explained in the following general account of them.

“ Usually annexed to the confessus, and for the most part in the same style of adornment, and sometimes appearing as an addi-

* “ On the south side at the east end of some churches, are found stone stalls, either one, two, three, or sometimes more, of which the uses have been much contested.”—*Rickman's English Architecture*, p. 43.

† Denne on stone seats in chancels. *Archæologia*, vol. x.

tional compartment, is a small niche or *fenestella*, containing the *piscina* or *lavacrum*, for the use of the formerly adjoining altar. It is also of various design, frequently found alone in the south wall of the chancels, and aisles of churches; and again in the east of those parts on the right, and there is an instance or two, of the *piscina* being placed on the left. This appendage is remarkable on two accounts, the first of these to be noticed is, the perforated hollow always found at the bottom of the niche, which for the sake of ornament, is of various shapes, as round, scalloped, and square, probably the most ancient; and upon the whole has much the appearance of a sink, *to which end it was certainly applied.*"* From what has been stated, it should seem, that the first of these recesses, next the east, is a *piscina* into which the water, that had been used by the priest for washing the chalice used at the altar, was thrown, that it might escape and not be applied to profane uses.

The *sedilia* or seats were for the officiating priest, and for the assistant deacon and sub-deacon; the highest next the *piscina* being for the first, the others for the two latter.

Besides these, *sedilia* and the *piscina*, there are other features, such as are frequently found in ancient churches, yet to be noticed.

An eminent Antiquary who inspected Milton Church about the year 1724-5, has preserved the following testimony regarding one of these objects. He says—"in a niche on the north side, which formerly led up to a rood loft, are these arms painted on the wall, viz., azure, a lion rampant, or, crowned argent: above is this name, Darell, and underneath an inscription."†

That niche was filled up, in the year 1790, when the Church was repaired.‡

The rood loft, to which it is said there was access by this niche, was a platform or shrine, resting upon a screen between the chancel and nave; upon which were placed a rood or crucifix, and images representing the Virgin and St. John. The rood-loft was,

* Observations on stone seats, &c. by Charles Clarke. Archæologia, vol. xi.

† Thorpe's Registrum Roffense, p. 1028.

‡ Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 139.

no doubt removed at the Reformation, and if the screen which supported it was then left standing, it is probable, especially as so few are now left,* that it did not escape the ruthless politico-puritans of the seventeenth century, who took supreme delight in desecrating a church, and persecuting the minister.†

Formerly upon the walls in Milton Church, were the crests of several kings of England from Edward III. to James I.;‡ which were obliterated after the notice of them had been published in 1719, by Dr. Harris, in pursuance of an order of vestry dated the 18th of June, 1732, directing “that the Church of Milton be whitewashed, and the east end over the communion table be painted, and the sentences of scripture on the walls be new writ, and that other ornaments and decorations be done, and the sum to be expended not to exceed twenty pounds.”§

Another of the features referred to, is the series of corbels of stone, in Milton Church, upon which, before the ancient roof was removed, the beams were supported.

There are fourteen of these corbels in the Church, seven on each side: upon the fronts of seven of them are sculptured grotesque heads; one is plain, and upon another there is an ornament consisting of four flowers, meeting in the centre. The other five demand a more particular description, inasmuch as they afford some evidence of the antiquity of the Church.

Every question connected with the ancient ecclesiastical architecture of this country has been discussed with so much learning, and every detail of the style and execution of the cathedral, collegiate, and parochial churches, has been scrutinized with so much skill, that upon the facts and illustrations adduced, the works of former ages may be understood and appreciated with increased facility.

In the course of these discussions, much curious information

* One of these happens to remain in Northfleet Church, the lower part of which is pannelled, and the upper part is open or pierced. The pannels commonly contained painted figures of saints.

† See Parliamentary Acts, A. D. 1644. “Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition abolished,” chap. 38. Scobell’s Collection, p. 69.

‡ Harris’s History of Kent. Folio, London, 1719, p. 206.

§ Pocock’s History of Gravesend, p. 135.

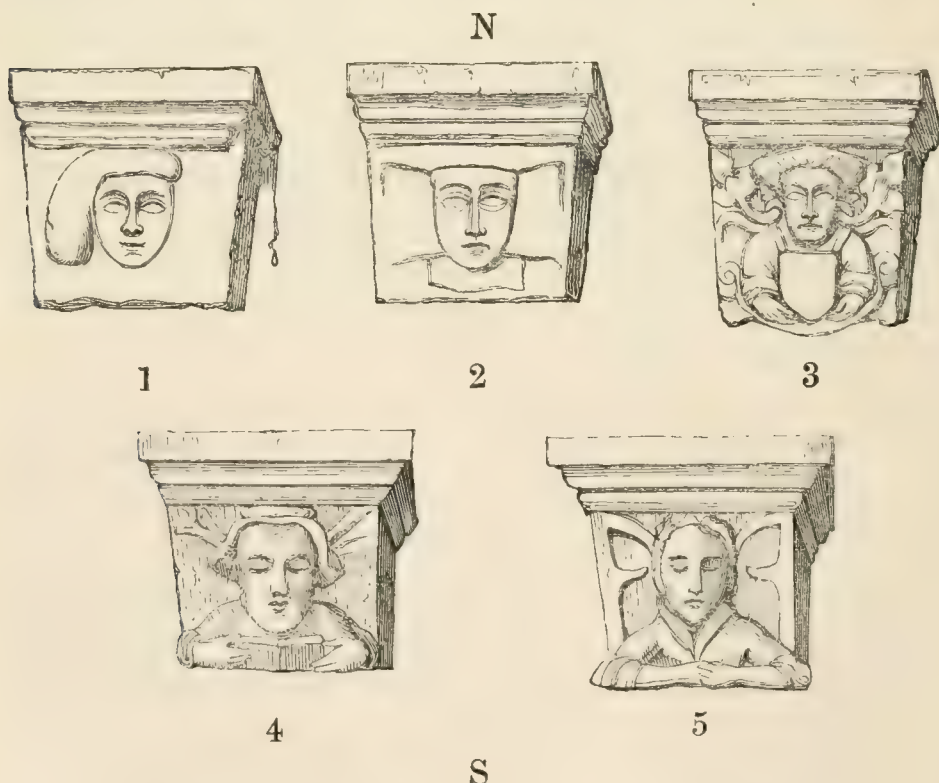
has been elicited respecting corbels in general; from which it is proposed now to derive some illustration of these of Milton Church in particular.

Among the conclusions formed upon the data collected in these investigations, it is laid down, that "corbels often represent persons living at the time of the erection of the church, and who were connected with it as founders, benefactors, or otherwise. Hence, especially in female heads, by attention to the costume, much light may be thrown on the date of the Church."*

Again—that "merchants' marks are a device generally inclosed in a shield, on monuments, fonts, stained glass, brasses, and corbels, taken up by merchants for the sake of distinction, they being then prohibited by the heralds from bearing arms."†

The better to apply these rules, in the consideration of the corbels in Milton Church, the following representations of them are necessary.

The three in the upper line are on the north side of the Church at the east end, the other two are on the south side, also at the east end.



* Cambridge Camden Society's Tracts.

† Ibid.

In an attempt to make out the originals represented on these corbels, or some of them, reference must be had to the account that has been given above, of the Chantry in Milton, and of the founder and his family; and the figures may be severally considered, in the numerical order in which they are here placed.

1. This is evidently the representation of a female of rank; and what has been related concerning the Countess of Pembroke, leads to a presumption that it represents that lady. Upon the death of Aymer de Valence, her husband, the manor of Milton devolved upon her, as part of her dowry. Her possessions were large, her piety most ardent, and the circumstances of the parish Church were in a condition to require some aid. The advowson of the Church, which was annexed to the manor, had been appropriated to the support of the Chantry by the Founder. The Church being thus stripped of its revenue, and the duty of the incumbent left to be performed by the Chantry priest, and moreover the Church itself at that time being, in all probability, an ancient time-worn edifice; the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish, and the spiritual wants of the parishioners might excite the solicitude of a lady, so distinguished for her bounty towards the support of religious institutions; and upon these grounds it is supposed, that following the example of the deceased Earl, the Countess caused a Church to be erected in the parish; and that her portrait was sculptured upon this corbel, in grateful memory of her piety and munificence.

2. In the year 1310, as it appears by a licence to hold lands in mortmain, Roger Orger, of Milton, gave two messuages, two oxgangs, and a half of land, three acres of arable, and two acres and a half of meadow, with their appurtenances in Milton, to some chaplain to celebrate daily in the Church of Milton. This endowment, about the period when the advowson of the Church was transferred to the Chantry, would entitle the benefactor to honourable commemoration, even if he did not live to contribute to the cost of erecting the Church; and therefore this corbel probably represents Roger Orger, of Milton.

3. This comes within the category of the Cambridge Camden Society. Here is the shield for a merchant's mark, and a scroll

under it for any inscription that might have been approved, but was omitted, and for this omission reasons may be surmised, such as his absence abroad in pursuit of his mercantile avocation. Considering what has been related of Vannus Fortegair, the merchant of the Earl of Pembroke for so many years, it may be supposed that he was a contributor, and is represented on this corbel among the benefactors.

4. This probably represents the master of the Chantry, or minister of the Church when it was erected.

5. Refers to some pious benefactress, no doubt ; but as there is no peculiarity of costume, it cannot be considered as the representative of a class, much less of an individual who can be named. If Aymer de Valence himself had built the Church as well as founded the Chantry, he probably would have been commemorated on one of these corbels ; but there is no part of the male costume exhibited in either, that denotes a personage of his rank.

Taking a retrospect of what has been offered relative to the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish of Milton, and the parties interested and concerned in them, it is presumed that the Church was erected under the patronage of the Countess of Pembroke, at a period between the death of the Earl her husband, which occurred in the year 1323, and her death, in the year 1377 ; a conclusion which is warranted by the style of the edifice,—the curious circumstance of the mural paintings of arms commencing with those of Edward III.—the opulence and piety of the Countess, manifested in other acts of munificence ;—the probable condition of the more ancient Church, when the advowson was transferred to the priests of the Chantry, who performed the church service ;—and the representation of the Countess and other wealthy persons of the period, (as it is supposed,) on the corbels within the Church.

The delineation of the Church at the head of this account of it, is intended to represent the original edifice, with its battlements and tower ; the former of which have been removed, and the latter was probably added soon after the body of the Church was built.

THE TOWER.

That the tower was not built with the church appears from a capacious opening at the west end, designed for an interior door-way, for it is twenty feet high from the pavement to the point of the arch, and this was probably the exterior door-way before the tower was built against it. It may be observed also, that the tower is built against an arch in the end of the Church next the south side, covering half the opening, which is filled up with materials similar to those of which the wall is constructed. The tower appears to have been erected very soon after the body of the Church was built, for they both seem to have stood the buffetings of the same revolution of centuries; and the exact similitude of the style and materials also indicates this. It was usual in the middle ages to erect portions only of a Church at one time, spreading the execution of the other parts over several years, as best suited the extent of the work and the means of accomplishing the whole.

In the angle at the north side of the tower, and at the west end of the body of the Church, is an exterior projection containing stairs to the belfry floor of the tower.

The whole edifice is constructed of ragstone and flints.

DIMENSIONS.		Ft.	In.
Length of the Church above the sets off	. . . . .	82	6
Breadth above the sets off	. . . . .	30	8

THE INTERIOR CONSISTS OF A CHANCEL AND A NAVE.

Interior length	. . . . .	77	9
Interior breadth	. . . . .	24	10

THE TOWER.

Height	. . . . .	65	9
Breadth from east to west	. . . . .	18	0
Breadth from north to south	. . . . .	20	8

The tower is supported by buttresses of three stages, at the south-west and north-west angles, and these are five feet deep at the lower stage.

BELLS.

The era of the invention of bells, or rather of the use of them

in churches, has been the subject of much discussion: but nothing more precise has been settled, than that they were used in monasteries in the seventh century. It does not appear that large bells, such as are now in use, were introduced before the tenth century.*

At first, small bells were used to give notice of the performance of certain parts of the service. By the Bishop's ordination of the Chantry in Milton, the service was to be performed "*cum campanis*."†

The introduction of large and heavy bells, led to the structure of towers for their reception; and there is no reason to doubt that bells might have been placed in the tower of Milton Church at any period after its erection.

In the year 1510, the Churchwardens of Gravesend were cited to appear to answer a charge of neglecting to ring their bells in honour of the Bishop at his visitation.

The following account of the bells of Milton Church was given in the year 1797.‡

"In the square tower of this Church are five bells, which have not been rung for many years, owing to the frames on which they are hung being much decayed.

"On the bells are these inscriptions, viz.

"1. Petter Browne Wate, John Hodson made mee 1656.
Below this R. Man.

"2. William Hvll, John Hodson made mee 1656.

"3. Thomas Morris Smith, W. H. John Hodson made mee 1656.

"4. John Smith Distill, A. R. John Hodson made mee 1656.

"5. William Antrobus, John Hodson made mee 1656.

"J. S. T. M. P. B. MASARS. Hull Churchwarnes."

It is remarkable, that these bells are all dated in a year of the Commonwealth.§

* Bentham's Essay on Saxon and Norman Architecture, page 29.

† Thorpe's Registrum Roffense, page 492.

‡ Pocock's History of Gravesend, page 136.

§ In the same year an ordinance of the Protector and Parliament provided for the quiet enjoyment of the benefices, by the ministers placed by politico-puritans, Scobell's Collection, chap. 29. See also Church Rates, 1647, chap. 105. Ibid.

According to an inscription over the door between the tower and the nave; the bells and belfry were repaired some years after the date of the above description of them was given: it is as follows:—"This steeple was repaired, a new frame erected for the bells, and new treble added, at the expense of the parish, in the year 1810."

PORCH.

The porch at the south side, has undergone changes like the body of the Church. This adjunct had formerly a battlement, as the bottoms of the openings peep out below the eaves of its present sloping roof.

The ancient stoup remains in the wall in front, on the east side of the doorway, which is now stopped up, the porch having been closed to be used as a vestry-room.

In the gable is a sun-dial, constructed by Mr. James Giles of Milton, Master of the Free School.

The following is a description of the dial:—

"The curve lines (which are conical sections) that run across the dial, are called parallels of the length of the day, and are eleven in number; the uppermost is the tropic of Capricorn, and is marked at both ends with its proper character. The others next below, are numbered 8, 9, 10, 11; and that with 12, is the equinoctial line, and has at one end, the sign of Aries, at the other end, the sign Libra. The other lines below these are marked 13, 14, 15, 16; and the lowermost line is the tropic of Cancer, distinguished at both ends with its proper character. By the shadow of a small ball, which is fixed on the stile called Nodus, the several lengths of days are pointed out; as for example, when the shadow of the ball falls on the upper line, the day is the shortest; when it falls on the next lower line marked 8, the day is eight hours long; when on the line marked 9, the day is nine hours long; and so of the rest: and when the shadow of the ball arrives at the lowermost line, the day is the longest. The vertical, or upright lines, are called azimuth lines, and are marked at the bottom with the letters that denote the points of the compass; so that when the shadow of the ball falls on any one of these lines, it shows that the sun is upon *that* point of the compass, which the letters denote, that correspond with the line."*

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 142. Kentish Travellers' Companion, 1779, p. 87.

Under the dial is a tablet bearing the following inscription :—

Near this place
are interred the remains
of the
Rev. Joseph Pote, A. M.,
30 years Rector of this Parish.
He departed this life, July 29, 1797,
aged 65.

It may be proper here to advert to proceedings, that disclose a lamentable instance of an injudicious interference with the form of an ancient parochial church, in order to check, as much as may be, similar improprieties in future.

1790. Some lead having been stolen from the roof of Milton Church, it was discovered that the main beams that had supported it were in a decayed state ; whereupon a vestry assembled, and a committee was appointed to direct the reparations.

A surveyor was called in, who estimated that the cost of a spanned roof to be slated, and leaden gutters, would be two hundred pounds ; but if the battlements were taken down, and a roof constructed with dropping eaves, the expense would be one hundred and sixty ; the old lead being valued at one hundred and ninety pounds. Another estimate was called for ; and then it appeared that the operation of selling the old lead and purchasing the new, would add nineteen pounds to the expense.

It was proposed to demolish the battlements, as the means of reducing the expenditure ; but this was strenuously resisted by the Rector, who, finding himself unequal to the contest, obtained a reference to the Bishop. The answer to the application, contained in the following copy of a letter, shows that the Rector failed in this appeal for support.

SIR,

*Bromley House,
May 19th, 1790.*

Your intimation of the wish of the gentlemen of the Committee for repairing Milton Church, to communicate their sentiments on that subject to me here, would have been embraced with great pleasure ; but as I retired hither for a few days, being much indisposed, and must return to Westminster before the end of the week, I am under the necessity of declining the intended favour, and have only to wish that

your worthy Rector and the Committee would meet and settle the matter properly and amicably among themselves, so as not to burthen the parishioners with any needless expense ; in which case they may rely on the approbation and concurrence of, Sir, your and their

Faithful humble Servant,

(Signed)

J. ROFFENS.

To Mr. Pattison, Vestry Clerk,
Milton, next Gravesend.

Upon this, the Committee resolved, that the battlements should be taken down, and that a roof should be constructed with dripping eaves ; to which the Rev. Joseph Pote, the Rector, for the satisfaction of the parishioners at length agreed, though, as it is recorded, much against his own opinion. The Committee retained their authority, exercised their peculiar skill for a period of nearly two years, and expended upwards of a thousand pounds ; which leaves the whole odium of the transaction upon themselves ; for it is plain that it was not for want of funds that the ancient battlements were demolished, but that it was their inherent barbarism that led them to disfigure the sacred edifice by the construction of the present most incongruous roof.

1795. At an adjourned vestry, held on the 14th of May, it was resolved, that, in consequence of the increased and increasing number of parishioners, it was expedient to enlarge the churchyard, by enclosing the open ground lying on the west. On the 29th of June, an arrangement was made with Michael Bedell, Esq., in whom the manor of Milton was vested ; and the ground, being described as a parcel of waste ground, of, and belonging to, the manor, containing by estimation, one rood and four perches, was enclosed. When this was completed, a wooden fence that had separated the ground from the old churchyard was removed, and a venerable yew-tree,* standing near the south-west angle of the Church, which had yielded its beauty to the influence of time, was entirely destroyed.

* "Wherefore holy churche this day" (Palm Sunday) "makyth solemn procession, in mynd of the procession that Cryst made this day. But for encheson that we have non olyve that berith grained leef algate, therefore we take ewe instead of palme and olyve." *Carton, Liber Festivalis*, A.D. 1483. "Trees be often planted to defend the force of the wind from hurting of the Church," &c. *Statute*, 35 Edw. I., A.D. 1307.

In August 1806, the church-yard, (with a small addition of ground on the north side, given by Colonel Dalton, Lord of the Manor,) was enclosed on the north and south sides with a brick wall, and at the west end, with a dwarf brick wall and iron railing.

In the year 1819, the Church was rendered more commodious by interior alterations. A gallery was added on the north side, and one formerly erected at the west end was enlarged. A vestry room under the latter was removed, and the space filled with pews. The porch on the south side of the Church was converted into a room for vestry meetings, by closing the exterior door.

In 1830, an organ was erected in the centre of the west gallery.

RECTORS OF MILTON.*

1332.—JOHN DE LANGEFORD resigned the Rectory, November 18.

1333.—WILLIAM DE DERUTE, brother of the Chantry of Gravesend, admitted to the charge and cure of souls in the parish of Milton, May 6.

1438.—WILLIAM MIDDLETON, Clerk, admitted to the Church of the Hospital, or Chantry of Milton, on the resignation of William Sprever, April 9.

1440.—JOHN BOUER, April 11.

1442.—RICHARD CHESTRE, collated to the Mastership or Wardenship of the Hospital of the Blessed Mary of Milton, with the Church of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul annexed.

1455.—WILLIAM SPREVER, LL.D., October 7.

1504.—JOHN MARTEN or MARTYN, September 9.

1505.—EDMUND CHOLDERTON, B.D., May 3.

1507.—THOMAS HEDD, LL.D., collated to the Chantry of Milton with the Church annexed.

1521.—JOHN BAKER, B.L., July 9.

1525.—JOHN WYLD, M.A., April 20.

1531.—ROGER WYLDE, M.A., December 5.

1545.—THOMAS MOUNTEIN, October 29.

1553.—WILLIAM BRABINGHAM, June 21.

1560.—THOMAS TAYLOR, March 24.

1564.—THOMAS DILWORTH, September 19.

1575.—RICHARD JACKSON, B.D., April 11.

1576.—JOHN SWONE alias SONE, March 13.

1614.—EDMUND JACKSON.

1626.—MARTIN STOWER, November 16.

* Abridged from Pocock's History of Gravesend, pp. 146, 149, and continued to the present time.

- 1631.—FRANCIS MERLIN, D.D., November 12.
 1634.—THOMAS SMITH, October 31.
 1639.—GEORGE HUME, M.A., October 31.
 1641.—THOMAS ISSACKE.
 1642.—JOHN LEE, M.A., April 29.
 1653.—WILLIAM LYSTER, also Rector of Gravesend.
 1663.—JOHN LUCAS, M.A., November 11.
 1678.—JOHN CROMPTON, M.A., July 1.
 1680.—FRANCIS DURANT BREVAL, D.D., July 12.
 1708.—WILLIAM WALL, M.A., April 19.
 1727.—JAMES HOWE, February 8.
 1766.—JOSEPH POTE, M.A., November 5.
 1797.—WILLIAM CRAWFORD, D.D., October.
 1827.—JOHN STOKES, June 27, present Rector.

RIGHT OF PRESENTATION TO THE RECTORY.

In the account of the decay of the Chantry, there is a reference to a deed, which contains some interesting particulars concerning the restoration of the property of the Church to its former possessors, and these may be stated to be as follows. The deed referred to, was an indenture tripartite between John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Sir Henry Wyatt, of Allington, in Kent, Knight, Lord of the Manor of Milton, and the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew, Rochester; made for the purpose of adjusting some differences and litigation respecting the advowson of the Church of Milton, and the donation and collation of the Chantry and Hospital of Milton, to which Chantry it was admitted that the advowson was annexed. The Bishop asserted, that whenever the Chantry was destitute of priests, he, in right of his Cathedral Church, should appoint and collate others; while Sir Henry Wyatt, as Lord of the Manor, claimed the patronage of the Chantry and the advowson of the Church. A compromise ensued; and Sir Henry promising, at his own cost, to enrich the Chantry with accumulated gifts, that it might appear renewed, and as it were again erected, and also to increase the celebration of divine offices in the Church, to give alms, and to cause many pious deeds to be done within the Chantry; the Bishop, in order to encourage this good disposition, agreed that Sir Henry, his heirs and assigns, and others who might become possessed of the manor of Milton, should in future be entitled to two turns imme-

diately successive, and that every third presentation should be in the See of Rochester. The manor descended to Sir Thomas, son of Sir Henry Wyatt; and he in 1540 demised the same, with the two turns in the advowson annexed, to Henry VIII.; but when Queen Elizabeth, in 1752, conveyed the manor to George Tucker, no notice was taken of the advowson: the Crown, therefore, yet enjoys two turns, and the Bishop of Rochester has the third, in the patronage of the benefice.*

SHIPPING, AND SEARCHERS AT GRAVESEND IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Commerce, springing from numberless circumstances occurring in the progress of population, from refinements in social life, and from the relations existing between states, had already taken root, but had not yet thrown out luxuriant branches; when the dawn of the fourteenth century disclosed to the inhabitants of Gravesend, the accession of a class of vessels resorting to the Thames, that was to be followed in after times by progressive and prodigious increase.

COLLIERS.

Vessels employed in the coal trade, for brevity sake usually called *colliers*, are the most numerous class of ships passing Gravesend, if the numbers are estimated by the repeated voyages they make annually from Shields, Sunderland, and other northern ports. They had appeared before Gravesend, before the year 1306: for, by a grant of King Edward I., dated 7th May, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, the mayor and citizens of London were authorized to levy certain imposts for the maintenance of London bridge; among which was a toll of sixpence, upon every ship load of sea coal† passing under the bridge, in the name of “custom,” for the space of three years.

This does not fix the period when the coal trade originated, but

* Ex inform. Rev. S. Denne. Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 130.

† “De qualibet navata *carbonis maris* venal sex denarios.” Second edition of Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, (London, 1774, 8vo.) p. 480; where the whole grant is printed from the Patent Roll. There was also an impost of twopence upon every ship load of turf, showing that, as well as wood and charcoal, turf was used as fuel at that time in London.

it was perhaps not long before the date of the grant ; for in the next following year, complaint was made to the King by the prelates, nobles, commons, and others resorting thither to the parliament, with the inhabitants of the City, Southwark, Wapping, and East Smithfield, that brewers, dyers, and other artificers using great fires, *BEGAN** to use sea coal instead of dry wood and charcoal, in and near London, corrupting the air with its stink and smoke, to the great prejudice and detriment of their health ; whereupon the King issued a proclamation prohibiting the burning of sea coal.

This nugatory proclamation was followed by another in the tenth year of the reign of Richard II., A. D. 1386,† not to suppress the trade, but imposing a duty of one halfpenny per chaldron for the reparation of London Bridge.

Coals are mentioned for the first time in the Statute Book, 9 Hen. V. chap. 10, A. D. 1421 ; and it appears that a keenness in the trade was displayed at that time, which is not yet extinct. The statute recites, that, there being a custom of twopence upon every chaldron of coals, payable to the King, the amount of which was computed by the height of a keel, which was a vessel holding twenty chaldrons ; there were certain persons who had made keels to contain twenty-two or twenty-three chaldrons, thereby defrauding the revenue.

Harrison, who wrote in the year 1577, gave a shrewd guess that the coal trade would become a considerable branch of commerce.‡ In the year 1616, it was said, that within man's memory, it had been thought impossible to experience the want of wood in England ; but such had been the expenditure of timber for navigation, with infinite increase for building houses, and for other purposes, with the neglect of planting, that people were constrained to make their fires of sea-coal, or pit-coal, even in the chambers of honourable personages.§ There were then some two hundred carvels employed in the coal trade, for the

* Pat. 35 Edw. I. m. 4, dorso. Prynne's *Animadversions* on the Fourth Institute, chap. xxx., p. 182.

† Prynne, *ut supra*, p. 184.

‡ Harrison's *Description of Britain*, prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

§ Stow's *Annals*, posthumous Edition, 1618.

supply of London alone, and some two hundred more that supplied towns on the coasts of England.*

Coals are said not to have been brought into common use till the reign of Charles I., when they were sold at London for about seventeen shillings† per chaldron. This was the price of a north-country chaldron, by which standard it was usual to compute the quantity, as appears by an ordinance of Parliament, in the year 1644, when a duty of four shillings per chaldron, Sunderland measure, “being after the rate of two shillings per chaldron, London measure, or thereabouts,” was imposed upon all coals to be shipped and transported from port to port.‡

By an Act of Parliament§ for rebuilding the city of London after the great fire in 1666, an imposition of one shilling upon every chaldron of coals brought into the port of the city of London, or the river Thames, within the liberty of the city, upon the said river, was granted in aid of the means of restoring the capital.

The inhabitants of Gravesend were held liable to this impost, which was granted for ten years; but, with certain modifications, it has been continued to the present time.

At that period, the annual consumption of coals in the metropolis was about 200,000 chaldrons. In 1670, about 270,000; at the Revolution, (1688), about 300,000; and when this account was published,|| in 1774, it was said that the consumption was about 600,000.

Among many alleged abuses in the coal trade, which deeply affect the interests of the community, there is one, the origin of which is curious. In the year 1700, a Mr. Shallett proposed to the coal owners in the north, that they should supply only a limited quantity of coals, and these were to be sold exclusively to Mr. Shallett, the projector, who engaged to pay for them about twenty-five per centum more than the best coals in the Tyne had

* Trade's Increase. London, 1615 : printed by Nicholas Okes.

† Dr. Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 30.

‡ Journals of Commons, 5 July, 1644.

§ 19 Charles II., chap. iii. sec. 36.

|| Dr. Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 30.

been previously sold for, and twenty per cent. more than the collieries could have afforded to sell them, with a reasonable profit. The projector was the receiver of the excise duties collected in the north of England; and large sums of public money passing through his hands, he had from this source pecuniary means of giving effect to his scheme. Sir James Clavering and other coal owners of the Tyne, and generally those on the Wear and in the ports of Cullercoats, Blyth and Seaton, refused to join the confederacy; but these together did not work a considerable proportion of coals for the supply.*

There is not at present any individual who holds the invidious influence placed in the hands of Mr. Shallett; but the supply is subject to a general confederacy in the coal trade.

1830. In this year a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the coal trade in the port of London; and the result of their investigation was a valuable report, accompanied by a great mass of evidence. Founded upon this report, an act† was passed in the following year, which contained a provision for a great change in the system of the trade, by requiring that coals should be sold by weight, and not by measure as heretofore.

The following abstract, from an account laid before the committee, shows the quantity of coals sold in the last eleven years, while they were sold by measure.

* Account of a dangerous combination and monopoly upon the Collier Trade, in a Letter from the country, Anno 1701.

† "And be it further enacted, that all coals, cinders and culm, which shall be sold from and out of any ship or vessel in the port of London, or at any place within the cities of London and Westminster, or within the distance of twenty-five miles from the General Post-office in the city of London, SHALL BE SOLD BY WEIGHT AND NOT BY MEASURE."—*Local and Personal Acts*, 1 and 2 William IV., chap. lxxiv. sec. 43.

An account of the delivery of coals in the port of London, from the year 1821 to the year 1831, both inclusive.

Years.	Ships.	Chaldrons.
1821	5735	1,269,753 $\frac{1}{4}$
1822	5611	1,199,511 $\frac{3}{4}$
1823	6464	1,437,251 $\frac{1}{2}$
1824	7151	1,524,807 $\frac{3}{4}$
1825	6668	1,423,823
1826	6808	1,595,866 $\frac{1}{4}$
1827	6432	1,462,058 $\frac{3}{4}$
1828	6823	1,553,461 $\frac{3}{4}$
1829	7021	1,593,581 $\frac{1}{2}$
1830	7108	1,630,804
1831	7006	1,604,151

The following is an account for an equal number of years, of the quantity of coals annually imported, since the delivery of coals by weight.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.
1832	7528	2,139,078
1833	7077	2,010,409
1834	7404	2,078,685
1835	7958	2,298,812
1836	8162	2,398,352
1837	8720	2,626,997
1838	9003	2,581,085
1839	9340	2,625,323
1840	9132	2,566,899
1841	10311	2,909,144
1842	9691	2,723,200
Published by authority of the Coal and Corn Committee.		
(Signed)		JAMES PEARSALL,
		Clerk and Registrar.

A chaldron contains about 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more than a ton. The culm and cinders included in this account form a very small portion of the aggregate, amounting in the year 1842, to no more than 3407 tons. This account includes such cargoes as are consigned to individuals or companies, and all others without exception, that are imported.

This account of the number of ships employed, signifies the number of voyages performed in the coal trade to the port of

London; so if each vessel performs ten voyages annually, then there are nearly a thousand ships and brigs employed.

It sometimes occurs, that there is a prevalence of unfavourable winds, which check the passage of the ships till they congregate, and then a sudden change in their favour, so that some hundreds arrive in the Thames in the same day. This produced great inconvenience, not only to the colliers, but also to other vessels navigating the river. The former were too apt to anchor where they obstructed the navigation; and they were worked with too little regard to general convenience, but only with a view, individually, to be the first that should reach the market.

To correct these practices, and especially to regulate the delivery of cargoes upon arrival at London in the pool, arrangements have been made, which reflect great credit upon the Navigation Committee of the Corporation of the city of London; under whose administration the system has been organised, and continues to be enforced.

The executive management is placed under the superintendence of the principal Harbour-Master and his assistants, one of whom is employed in an office at Gravesend, for this important service. Every master of a collier is required, upon reaching Gravesend, to notify the arrival of his vessel to the officer upon the spot; and then he receives a direction to proceed to one of the stations that have been appointed for the anchorage of colliers exclusively. There are seven of these stations in different reaches of the river. The ships are thus permitted and directed to proceed in turn to the pool, where 243 are provided with stations in tiers, at which they remain for a limited time to unload their cargoes. By this admirable arrangement, the trade is conducted with great regularity, and the ships waiting for turns are anchored near the shore in safety, while the navigable channel is kept clear for the free passage of other classes of shipping navigating the port; and when measures shall be taken to regulate the manner of conducting the coal lighters in the pool, which now produce the most serious annoyance, the regulation of the coal trade in the port of London will be complete and satisfactory.

VESSELS OF WAR.

Among the shipping on the Thames in the fourteenth century, were the vessels engaged in the several armaments of King Edward III., which passed in review before the town of Gravesend.

At that time, the vessels actually belonging to the Crown were very few ; such as were required for the public service being supplied by the cities and towns of the kingdom, and particularly from the Cinque Ports, upon the royal mandate under the sanction of an ordinance of Parliament, or of the King in Council. Others were occasionally hired from foreign states.

As the Cinque Ports, and the city of London, with the inhabitants of Westminster, Limehouse, Gravesend and other towns on the Thames, were contributors to these armaments, and the coasts of Flanders or France were generally their destination, Gravesend was placed in the midst of naval preparations ; while, on the land side, barons, knights, and esquires, with companies of men-at-arms, archers, crossbow-men, and the usual followers of armed hosts, thronging the county of Kent, passed Gravesend, on the way to Sandwich and other havens on the coast.

1327. Edward was placed on the throne, upon the expulsion of his ill advised father, when he was not yet fourteen years old ; but the historian of his reign pithily observes :* “ now immediately there arises matter to exercise the genius of the young King, whose inclinations tend all to glory ; and we shall see how eagerly he snatches at the first opportunity to gain it.” The circumstances which opened this perilous road to glory, were the death of Charles le Bel, King of France, in the year next following that of the accession of Edward : upon which event he claimed the crown of that kingdom, being related in the second degree to the deceased King ; while the competitor, Philip de Valois, who claimed the inheritance, was related only in the third degree, but was descended in the male line.

Hence those protracted wars, which were waged against France through the long reign of Edward ; the armaments for which were

* History of Edward III., by Joshua Barnes, folio, London, 1688, p. 4.

almost continually attracting the attention of the inhabitants of Gravesend.

After some years of troubled relations between the two kingdoms, Philip obtained the aid of allies in support of the throne to which he had succeeded, and hostilities were commenced.

The Earl of Flanders espoused the cause of Philip, but had been driven from his territories to France, for shelter against the designs of Jacob van Arteveld, a brewer of metheglin, at Ghent, a powerful demagogue; but some of the Lords of Flanders attached to the Earl, collected a body of mercenaries at Cadsant, an island between Flushing and Sluys, in Flanders, whence they sent out vessels to make war upon the English.

The King finding this, immediately sent a fleet against the enemy.

1337. This armament was dispatched from the Thames, with five hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand (some writers say four thousand) archers on board, under the renowned knights, Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Derby, Sir Walter Manny, Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Reginald Cobham, and others. They embarked at London, and departing thence, the fleet anchored at Gravesend, where they remained till the following day, and then proceeded as far as Margate, where they again anchored for the night; and on the third day directed their course to the isle of Cadsant, where a garrison of five thousand armed men was prepared to resist them. A conflict ensued, the particulars of which are related by Froissart, who sums up by saying, that it was very sharp and well fought, for the combatants were engaged hand to fist; but at length the Flemings were put to the rout, and more than three thousand were slain, as well at the haven as in the streets and houses.* From the great number of the enemy slain, the men-at-arms and archers in the English fleet, must have been as numerous as the greatest estimate stated above, and must have required a considerable number of vessels to transport them with their stores from the Thames. The spectacle they had presented before Gravesend must have been peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants, inasmuch as among the gallant

* Chronicles, Book I., chap. xxx. xxxi.

knights embarked, was Lord Reginald Cobham, whose family was resident in the locality, dispensing its bounty, according to the custom of the age, among the dwellers in the town and vicinage.

The object, for which the King had engaged in war, was to be fought for on the soil over which he coveted dominion : but the position of England rendered it also a maritime war.

1339. The King of France had drawn together a numerous fleet from Genoa and Spain ; and these, being joined by vessels from Picardy, Bretagne, and Normandy, were employed to intercept merchant vessels trading with England, and to carry war to the towns on the coast. A division of this force fell in with two large ships, the *Christopher* and the *Edward*, returning with merchandise and money received for wools sold in Flanders ; and after a gallant resistance they were captured, some smaller vessels that had accompanied them escaping. This event shows how the trade of the Thames was exposed at the time ; but this was not all, for the enemy afterwards landed at Southampton, where they committed great ravages, and they appeared also before Hastings, Folkstone, and Dover. Twenty great ships, with fifteen of a smaller class, and thirty-two galleys, rode before Sandwich, but did not venture to land, for they found a military force drawn up to receive them. London itself was threatened, and precautions were taken against an irruption. The sides of the river were fortified with stone or plank, and piles were driven across to prevent the approach of the enemy. This alarm must naturally have been felt at Gravesend ; it being the advanced post, in the line of the expected attack.

1340. To meet impending dangers, great efforts were made in this year to equip a fleet, and the ships of the Cinque Ports and of the Thames were again called into service.

Froissart says, that the King, with his whole navy, sailed from the Thames the day before the eve of St. John the Baptist, and made straight for Sluys. This, however, is an error : for the King had sojourned at Ipswich until the ships were collected in the Orwell ; and when those from the Cinque Ports and the Thames, and other ports had assembled, they sailed from that haven at the time mentioned. The fleet consisted of two hundred

and sixty vessels, great and small, all well manned, and having on board a strong military array. The splendour of the armament was heightened by the presence of the King, who took upon himself to lead his force against the formidable enemy. The gallant knights and their followers must have been excited, by this auspicious and unusual circumstance, to display their utmost energies ; and they must have been animated too by the presence of the countesses, ladies, knights' wives, and other gentlewomen, who were going to wait upon the Queen then at Ghent, and to visit their husbands and friends with the army in Flanders.* Those who may have witnessed the embarkation and departure of an army from a port in England, in modern times, will be best able to appreciate the brilliancy of the scene at Gravesend, when the division from the Thames received its fair charge on board. The royal commander coming in sight of the enemy who were in the haven of Sluys, found that their fleet consisted of four hundred sail, among which were nineteen ships of unusual magnitude ; and the enemy approaching, he ordered his fleet to anchor, resolving to attack the enemy on the following day. When the morning of the festival of St. John the Baptist arrived, the hostile fleet of the enemy, leaving the shelter of the haven, advanced about a mile to meet the English. The King, nothing loth to receive them, immediately disposed his ships for the fight, which speedily commenced, and was gloriously sustained to the close of the day. The most experienced and accomplished naval tactician could scarcely have surpassed the King in the skilful disposition of his fleet, as it is represented by the historians of the time. There were many valiant deeds performed that day, many prisoners taken, and many rescues made, according to Froissart ; and the great ship the *Christopher*, taken from the English the year before, was recaptured, all that were in her being killed, the " battle being murderous and horrible."† The victory was won by the chivalrous King. The number of the enemy slain is said to have been 30,000, and above 4000 of the English fell : but the better opinion seems to be, that the whole number on both sides

* Froissart, Book I. chap. I.

† Ibid.

was 30,000. Two hundred and thirty-seven vessels were taken from the confederates, and two of their commanders were slain. On the side of the English, Sir Thomas, eldest son of the Lord Ralph Monthermer, was the only person of distinction who fell.

The King addressed a letter to the Archbishops and other prelates in England, advertising them of the splendid victory he had achieved ; and this is said to be the first despatch * among the English records, announcing a naval triumph.

It was in the year 1346, that a fleet, consisting of 738 vessels, manned with 14,956 mariners, was employed against Calais, and reduced it into subjection to the crown of England.

Considering the importance to the town of Gravesend, of every step in the progress of a navy royal, and of a mercantile marine, the introduction of these notices may find excuse, for they mark the period of the earliest intercourse with shipping, to the material benefit of the inhabitants ; and, upon the same ground, the following account of a transcendental improvement in naval architecture at that era, may be added to what has been stated † upon the more ancient mode of steering vessels by the *clarus*.

The rudder is said to have been used in the fourteenth century, but the authorities referred to, would place the invention at the close of the fourteenth or at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

It is proposed now to show that it was in use in the year 1340. The invention of the mariner's compass must have encouraged a more adventurous system of navigation, and have led to the construction of larger vessels than had previously been in use : and when the *clarus* had been found inadequate to guide large and heavy vessels in boisterous seas, with precision, in the course indicated by the compass, a more efficient instrument would be sought, and the rudder was produced.

It appears that among the ships collected at Sluys, in the year 1340, were nineteen of unusual magnitude belonging to the Genoese ; and it was at that time that a rudder was introduced at

* Southey's Naval History, vol. i. p. 250. The letter is given by Barnes, History of Edward III. p. 184.

† Vide p. 16, *supra*.

the stern of vessels. The proof of this is displayed on the gold nobles coined by Edward III.

Snelling mentions* three varieties of them, one of which he says was struck in the eighteenth year of the reign of that King; another in his twentieth year, which differed from the former, only in having the letter **Ɔ** at the intersection of the cross; on the reverse, the first having the letter **Ɔ**; and the third, he says, was coined in the twenty-seventh of the King, and has the addition of a streamer bearing the cross of St. George. Ruding, describing these nobles, says,† that “at this period the gold coins of other nations were denominated either from the place of mintage, or from the devices impressed upon them; but these coins seem to have derived their name, from the noble nature of the metal of which they were composed. It is, indeed extraordinary, that they were not rather entitled from the new and singular type of a ship, with which they are impressed, and thus remarkably distinguished from every other coin then existing.” He concludes with an opinion, that they were struck in commemoration of the signal naval victory in the year 1340, at Sluys.

This attention to historical facts which might lead to the knowledge of the date of the coins, is perhaps as much as should be expected in the numismatic works referred to; but there is another authority, from which more precision, in the technical description of the vessel represented in the coin, might have been looked for. Charnock,‡ with reference to the plan of marine architecture in the middle ages, describes the vessel impressed on the noble, at great length; and although he notices the forms of the stems and prows represented in that type, he does not notice a rudder at the stern.

Selden,§ also, mentions this coin, and gives an engraving of it; yet he too has omitted “the one thing needful” to make it a faithful resemblance of the vessel.

* Snelling on the Coins of Great Britain. Gold Coin, p. 3.

† Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, vol. i. p. 422.

‡ Charnock's History of Marine Architecture, vol. i. p. 343.

§ Seldeni Mare Clausum. Londini, 1635.

It is matter of great astonishment, that all these writers should have overlooked that most important feature of the coin, which marks a great epoch in the history of naval architecture; but such is the fact, as the following representation of the vessel on the coin* will demonstrate.



Here is the earliest notice, yet discovered, of a rudder affixed to the stern of a vessel. In a well preserved impression of this noble, not only the rudder is shown, but the gudgeons and pintles by which it is secured to the stern, are very distinct.

The date of this curious and inestimable coin is generally assigned to the period of the great achievement at Sluys; and the display of the royal arms upon the shield justifies this conclusion. Edward adopted the style of King of France in the year 1337,† a few months after his navy had signally avenged, at Cadsant, the outrages committed by the enemy on the coast of England. He did not also assume the arms of France at that time, and he soon laid the title aside; but in the year 1340, he assumed both the style and the arms, in pursuance of a treaty with the Lords of Flanders and the burgesses of the chief cities, which was ratified at Ghent‡ on the 23rd of January, 1340. Hence, nobles are presumed to have been struck in honour of the great naval victory under the command of the King in person, at Sluys, in the same year. This places the invention of the rudder before the middle of the fourteenth century.

The proof produced, in support of the opinion referred to in a preceding page, that the rudder was introduced in the fourteenth

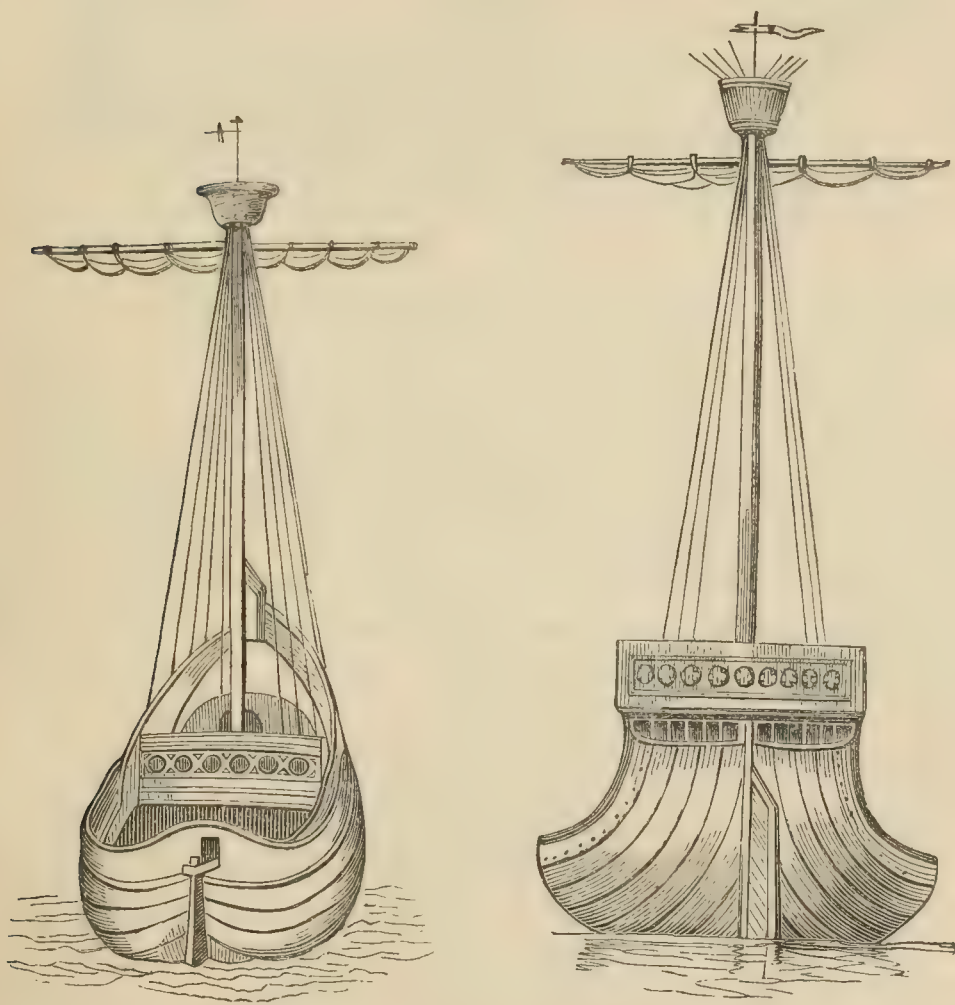
* From a very fine specimen of this coin, in the author's possession.

† Barnes, p. 118.

‡ Ibid, page 154.

century, is contained in an illustrated manuscript copy of the chronicles of Froissart; but it is generally believed that there is no such copy, of an earlier period than the close of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century; and as the chronicles extend to the year 1399, this opinion rests on a safe foundation, and is confirmed by the intrinsic testimony of the manuscripts themselves.

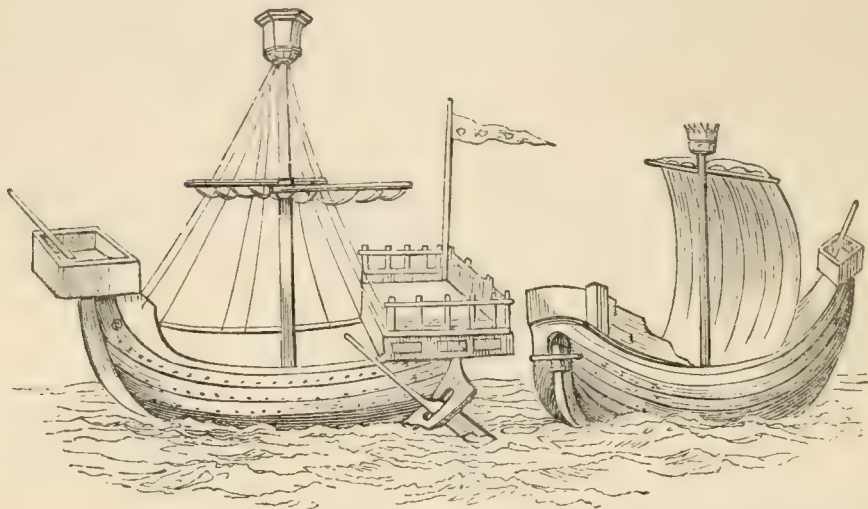
The following are copies of the illustrations referred to.



FROM ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF FROISSART'S CHRONICLES, BRITISH MUSEUM, HARL MSS. 4378, 4380.

In another highly embellished manuscript of the same period, two vessels are separately represented, as they are here given together: one having the ancient *clavus*, and the other a rudder

at the stern, which seems to mark the time when the latter had been introduced, and the former had not been entirely laid aside.



FROM L'HISTOIRE D'ALEXANDRE LE GRAND, ROYAL MS. 20, B. XX., IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

The illustrious Wicliff had the *clavus* in his mind, when he produced his translation of the Holy Scriptures about the year 1381.*

The rudder is recognised in an elegy upon the death of Edward III., on the 21st of June, 1377, written at the time, from which the following passages are extracted, as both curious and pertinent to the subject that has been discussed.

Sum tyme an Englisch schip we had,
Nobel hit was and heih of tour,
Thorw all Christendam hit was drad,
And stif wolde stande in uch a stour.
And best dorst byde a scharp schour
And other stormes smale and grete :
Now is that schip that bar the flour,
Selden sege and sone forȝete.

Into that schip ther longed a *Roothur*,
That steered the schip and governed hit :
In al this world nis such a nothur
As me thinketh in my wit.

* Vide p. 17, ante.

Whyl schip and *Rother* togeder was knit,
 Thei dredde nouthen tempest dryȝe nor wete ;
 Nou be thei both in synder flit,
 That selden seyȝe is sone forȝete.

* * * * *

The *Routher* was nouthen Ok ne Elm,
 Hit was Edward the thridde, the noble Kniht :
 The Prince his Sone, bar up his helm,
 That never 'sconfited was in fiht.*

This affords no decisive proof of the time when the rudder was first in use ; but such a metaphorical flourish, in that age, may be supposed to have been elicited by the importance and novelty of the invention of that machine.

Reginald de Cobham, a branch of the ancient family seated at Cobham and Rundall, near Gravesend, who has been mentioned, was appointed to the high office of Admiral of the fleet from the Thames to the west, in the year 1344 ; and again in 1348, and 1349. But he was not the only distinguished personage, engaged in these events, who was also connected with this neighbourhood.

Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, held the Manor of Gravesend,† which had been conferred upon him by the King in the fourth year of his reign ; and he was Admiral of the fleet from the Thames to the north, in the years 1344 and 1345.‡ He appears to have had a domestic establishment at Gravesend, as Lord of the Manor ; and to have made the manor house his occasional residence, when his public duties drew him to the spot, for a robbery was committed on his premises at Gravesend, according to the following judicial record.§ “ Thomas Stamarard of Northfleet, on Thursday next after the feast of St. Hilary, in the eighteenth year of the present King, (A.D. 1345), broke into the granary of Robert, Earl of Suffolk, at Gravesend, and stole two bushels of corn of the value of 15*d.*, and four bushels of barley of the value of 15*d.*”

In the protracted struggles with France in the reign of Edward

* Vernon MS., Bodleian Library, Oxford. *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 22.

† Pocock, *History of Gravesend*, p. 27.

‡ Bree, *Sketch of the state of the Naval Establishment during the fourteenth century*, p. 25.

§ *Placita Coronæ*, 18 Edward III.

III., during which the battle of Cressy, the siege and capture of Calais, and the battle of Poitiers occurred, the Thames was from time to time the bustling scene of naval and military preparations. In the year 1380, the English lost, by great reverses, all they had gained in that kingdom, except Calais; the possession of which produced an intercourse between England and France, that could not fail to be permanently beneficial to Gravesend.

The account of ships of war on the Thames in the fourteenth century, may be closed with the following few particulars, relating to vessels, some of which were furnished from Gravesend and other places on the Thames and Medway, for the conveyance of men for the army in France, under Sir Robert Knolles.*

Monday, the 15th day of September, (A.D. 1370.)

Seamen's wages for the passage of Robert Knolles to France. { In money paid by the hands of Thomas Durant, one of the Tellers of the Receipt of the Exchequer, as well in the port of London, as from thence through all the Water of Thames, and by the rivers Meddewe and the Swale, and by the sea coast to the port of Romeneye, to divers masters and mariners, for the passage of Sir Robert Knolles and his retinue to the parts of France, as appears by the particulars of the same payments remaining in the Hanaper of this term, by general writ of Privy Seal, amongst the mandates of Michaelmas term in the 44th year.....

£74 16 4

* * * * *

John Stacy. { To John Stacy, master of a certain ship of Gravesende, of the burthen of 20 tons, * * for the wages of himself and 5 seamen..... 1 4 6

William Nocolt. { To William Nocolt, master of the ship called the Welyfare of Greenhuythe, of the burthen of 16 tons, * * for the wages of himself and 4 seamen..... 1 1 0

Henry Cogger. { To Henry Cogger, master of the ship called the Gant of Northflete, of the buthen of 16 tons, * * for the wages of himself and 4 seamen 1 1 0

Robert Goderoberd. { To Robert, called Goderoberd, master of a certain ship of Gravesend, of the burthen of 20 tons, * * for the wages of himself and 5 seamen 1 4 6

* From The Issue Roll of the Exchequer, Easter Term, 44 Edw. III. in the Public Record Office, Rolls House.

Nicholas Gladewyne.	{ To Nicholas Gladewyne, master of the ship called the Pelegrine of Quenesburg, of the burthen of 16 tons, * * for the wages of himself and 4 seamen.....	1	2	0
William Hendemane.	{ To William Hendemane, master of a certain ship of Gillyngham, of the burthen of 16 tons, * * for the wages of himself and 4 seamen	1	2	9
John Hardy.	{ To John Hardy, master of the ship called the Cog-Johan of Hoo, of the burthen of 14 tons * * for the wages of himself and 4 seamen	1	1	0

MERCHANT VESSELS.

The merchant shipping of the Port of London, in the fourteenth century, presented no flattering development of commercial operations.

Colonial intercourse, and domestic manufactures, then gave no stimulus to the creation of an English mercantile marine.

The Italians from Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and other Mediterranean ports, brought hither in galleys, their own products, with spices, and drugs from the East Indies and Arabia, through Egypt, landing their cargoes at Galley-key. The Hanseatics had their rendezvous at the Steel-yard* in Thames Street, above London Bridge, and the wines of France were brought in vessels of Bourdeaux and Rochelle, and were landed at the Vintry.†

The principal article of export from England was wool, which was sent to Flanders, where the woollen manufactures that supplied Europe were then seated; and the vessels of England were engaged in this trade.

CUSTOM HOUSE.

Wool was the most productive source of the revenue of the Crown arising from trade, and for the due collection of this impost,

* "Next to Cousin-lane on the east side in Thames-street, is the Steel-yard, as they term it, a place for merchants of Almaine, that used to bring hither, as well wheat, rye, and other grain, as cables, ropes, masts, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, linen cloths, wainscots, wax, steel, and other profitable merchandizes."

—*Stow's Survey of London*, Dowgate Ward.

† *Stow's Survey of London*, Walbrook and Vintry Wards.

an establishment was provided in the fourteenth century, which was the precursor of the present Custom House department, according to the relation concerning it, given by Stow.* He says, that the Church of St. Mary Woolchurch, in Walbrook ward, was so called, from a beam being placed in the church-yard for weighing wool; which tronage was there continued till the sixth year of the reign of King Richard II., when John Churchman built the Custom House upon Wool-key, to serve the said tronage or weighing of wool. Of this Custom House the same writer gives the following particular account. "In the sixth year of the reign of Richard II. (A.D. 1382-3.) John Churchman, grocer, for the quiet of merchants, did newly build a certain house upon the key called Wool-wharf, in the Tower Street Ward, in the parish of Allhallows Barking, betwixt the tenement of Paul Salisberrie, on the east part, and the lane called the Water-gate on the west, to serve for tronage, or weighing of wools in the Port of London. Whereupon the King granted that, during the life of the said John, the aforesaid tronage should be held and kept in the said house, with easements there for the balances and weights, and a counting place for the customer, controllers, clerks, and other officers of the said tronage, together with ingress and egress to and from the same, even as was had in other places, where the said tronage was wont to be kept; and that the King should pay yearly to the said John, during his life, forty shillings, at the terms of St. Michael and Easter, by even portions, by the hands of the customer, without any other payment to the said John, as in the indenture thereof more at large appeareth."

This description identifies the situation of the premises with the locality of the present Custom House, and the enumeration of officers sufficiently proves, that the building erected by Churchman was a public office for the collection of the customs in the port of London.

It is remarkable that three edifices, built in succession for the customs, have been destroyed by fire. The first was consumed in the memorable fire of London, in the year 1666; the second, in 1718, and the third, in 1814, after which the noble building which now occupies the ground adjoining the ancient site, was erected.

* Stow's Survey of London, Tower Ward.

The impolicy of exporting the principal portion of the wool of English growth, to be manufactured abroad, and afterwards to be purchased for home use, leaving native industry without this employment, was at length felt and corrected.

In the year 1331, weavers from Flanders, under one John Kemp, settled in England, when the English were instructed by them in the manufacture of fine woollen cloths. This opened a new era in trade, and in fiscal transactions arising out of it. Much of the wool, that had been exported to Flanders, was paid for in money ; and this had led to mal-practices, that were met by the statute of money in the ninth year of the reign of Edward III. (A. D. 1335,) which prohibited the export of gold and silver, and the importation of false money ; and forbid the melting of the current coin for making vessels by the goldsmiths. Two years later it was provided by the statutes of the 11th Edward III., that no wool should be exported, and that no person should wear any cloth which was not made in England : the importation of cloth manufactured abroad was prohibited, and cloth workers of strange lands were encouraged to come to England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

To give effect to these enactments, provision was made for the regulation of commercial transactions, under the superintendence of revenue officers, who were subject to the immediate control of the King's Council, or the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, and not to the immediate control of Commissioners as at present ; a system which strongly manifests the limited condition of trade at that time. Many living witnesses of the benefits which Gravesend has derived, from an intercourse with vessels navigating the magnificent river which runs before the town, will feel an interest in a brief account of some transactions at that early period, when merchant vessels resorting to Gravesend were placed, perhaps for the first time, under the superintendence of resident officers of the customs.*

* Extracted from the original Rolls of Accounts, among the miscellaneous Records of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, in the Public Record Office, Rolls House.

SEARCHERS.

1338. ADAM LUCAS, WALTER DE MORDON, WILLIAM COX, and GEOFFREY DE WYNTERTON, were appointed SEARCHERS for counterfeit money, silver in plate, and vessels of silver or gold, coming into the port of the City of London, and thence in all places along the sea coast on both sides of the river Thames unto Gravesend, and into the town of Gravesend, by a commission of the King, dated at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the first day of April, in the twelfth year of the reign of Edward III. (A. D. 1338.)

These searchers made a return to the Exchequer that they had arrested and received from John de Dusseburgh Apostle, a pilgrim, sixty-nine shillings and two-pence sterling, forfeited according to the ordinance contained in the commission.

It appears, that in pursuance of the King's writ, dated at Walton, on the 29th day of June, 1338, the money was restored to the pilgrim.

A SEARCHER STATIONED AT GRAVESEND.

1373. A later record is still more interesting, inasmuch as it contains the proof of there having been a Searcher stationed at Gravesend, as early at least as this year.

The record referred to, is the roll of the account of RICHARD POPE, SEARCHER IN THE PORT OF THE TOWN OF GRAVESEND, appointed by the King's writ, under the Great Seal, dated the 10th day of November, in the 47th year of the reign of Edward III., relating to forfeitures (seizures) from the date thereof, to the feast of St. Michael in the following year. The record states, that ten ells of blanket, the goods of John Prusen of Eastland, had been seized in a certain ship, whereof John Huwesson was master, as forfeited, inasmuch as the customs and subsidies thereon had not been paid to the King. In this case, as in the former, the party appears to have made his peace with the Exchequer, for the Searcher was directed by the King's letter, under the Great Seal, to restore the said cloth, of the King's gift, and to release the ship, then under arrest.

The Revenue Officer of the present day may here observe, that the practice of making seizures and accounting for them, has

undergone but little change, in a period extending to nearly five centuries.

The following is an abstract of the appointment of a Searcher in the commencement of the fifteenth century.

1403. Thomas Prendregest was, by Patent* dated the 29th day of October, in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry IV. appointed to the office of Searcher of all ships and vessels in the port of the city of London, and in all parts and places of the said city in the waters of the Thames, and as well by land as by water, as far as Gravesend, and thence to the sea, as well within liberties as without, to execute the said office himself or by his sufficient deputy during his life, accounting faithfully for all seizures made by him or his said deputy. This permission, however, to employ a deputy appears to have been contrary to the law concerning Searchers, the annexed extract from which will explain the conditions upon which the office was held.

“Searchers in every port of England shall be charged and sworn, that they shall not let to farm their offices of searching, nor occupy the same by a deputy; that they shall take of no masters of ships, for their office of searching, any silver or money for their welcome and farewell, nor any other thing for the same, as it hath been taken before this time, otherwise than shall be assured to them for their office by our lord the King; that no Searcher be host to any merchant or mariner; and any Searcher doing contrary to this statute shall be put out of his office, and make fine and ransom to the King.”†

* Pat. Roll, 5 Henry IV. p. 1. m. 21.

† Stat. 4 Henry IV. chap. xxi.



The venerable relic represented above, is a bag containing a narrow roll of parchment, on which is written an account of the receipts and payments of the bailiff of the manor of Gravesend, for one year, beginning at Michaelmas, 38 Edward III., A.D. 1364-5. The bag, made of white leather, which is but slightly discoloured by age, is about twelve inches square ; and this is the measure also of the length of the tallies contained in it. These tallies have upon them the hieroglyphic notches, denoting the amount of ancient payments made to the constable of Dover Castle for castle-ward, in respect of the manor of "Graveshende," at the rate of 20s. annually.

There is also extant, among the public Records,* a Rent Roll of the manor of Milton, made on the morrow of St. Hilary, 16 Richard II., A.D. 1393; in which the names of successive tenants have been entered from time to time, in subsequent years. The particulars contained in these documents are numerous, and some of them are of minor interest ; but the following extracts, which show the value of land, and of certain agricultural products and implements of husbandry, at Gravesend, in the fourteenth century, as well as the names of the tenants in the manor of Milton, and of the lands they held ; seem to be curious enough to claim a place in these pages.

* Among the miscellaneous Records of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, in the Public Record Office, Rolls House.

MANOR OF "GRAVESENDE."

1364-5. The above-mentioned roll is intitled "The Account of Laurence ate Reed, bailiff there, for one year, beginning from the morrow of St. Michael, 38 Edward III." He first renders account of "Rents" received, partly in money, and partly in kind; viz., 61s. 8½*d.* for rent of assize for one year; 15*s.* for 60 hens, sold at 3*d.* each; and 2*s.* 6¾*d.* for 614 eggs, sold at 5*d.* per hundred. Total 79*s.* 3¼*d.* Then he proceeds, under the following heads:—

"*Farm.*—And of 20*s.* received of the farm of pontage and ferriage* over the Thames, by the year, 20*s.*"

Sale of Corn.—£6. 1*s.* 10½*d.* for 12 quarters 1½ bushel of wheat at 10*s.* per quarter; £1. 6*s.* 10½*d.* for 5 quarters 6 bushels of 'curall' wheat at 4*s.* 8*d.* per quarter; 24*s.* for 4 quarters of barley at 6*s.* per quarter; 5*s.* 10*d.* for 1 quarter 6 bushels of oats at 5*d.* per bushel. Sum £8. 18*s.* 6½*d.*

Sale of Stock.—Sold 12 crone muttons at 2*s.* the head, and 2 crone ewes for 18*d.* Sum 25*s.* 6*d.*

Issues of the Manor.—6*d.* for the farm of 1 hen; 7*s.* 2*d.* for the lactage of 43 ewe sheep, and not more, because 2 died of the murrain directly after lambing; 14*d.* for 7 skins of sheep dead of the murrain, sold after shearing; 20*d.* for the hides of 2 geldings (*affr.*) dead of the murrain; 19*s.* 6*d.* for the sale of 78 fleeces; and 2*s.* 8*d.* for 32 lambs' fleeces.

Then follow, on the roll, some items of "Perquisites of Court," and "Sale upon account;" and the sum total of the receipts is set down at £18. 6*s.* 8½*d.* After which, the Bailiff's expenditure, for the year, is recorded under the following heads:—

"*Rent paid out, and decay.*—And the same accounteth as paid for the ward of the Castle of Dover, by two tallies against the constable there, this year, 20*s.* For loss of rent for an unoccupied tenement 'ate Smythes,' 12*d.*"

Cost of Ploughs.—For iron and boards, bought for the iron work

* This relates to the ferry between Gravesend and London, commonly called the Long Ferry, for which an annual rent is still paid to the Crown. The Hythe, (or landing causeway, see page 14 *ante*), is maintained by the Corporation of Gravesend, as will herein-after appear. The cross-ferry, or that over the river from Gravesend to Tilbury, in Essex, is an appurtenance of the manor of Parrock, now vested in the Corporation of Gravesend.

of the ploughs, 8s.—Smith's wages for the same, 'nil,' because John Galon and William Galon, tenants, ought to do it for the land which they hold, called Smythe's croft. For 32 horse shoes bought for the horses and geldings ('*affr.*'), 2s. 4d.;—300 nails for the same, 9d.;—one pair of wheels bought for a plough, 13d.;—2 "handles," 8d.; one harrow, 11d.;—beams, chips, rests, and other timber for ploughs, 18d.;—4 collars (*arc.*) for oxen, 2d.;—one yoke for oxen, 2d.;—one pair of wheels for a cart, 3s. 8d.;—white leather, for the repair of the cart harness, 12d.;—13 clout nails for the cart and "curtein," 20½d.;—200 "iron" nails for the same, and for the plough, 6d.;—grease for the cart "curtein," and plough, 6d.;—one axle-tree for the cart, 2d.;—and for divers ploughs hired there, in the times of the season this year, by the view and witness of John Page, Surveyor there, 13s. 4d.

Small necessities.—In the oblations and dinners of the servants, on the days of the Nativity of our Lord, and Easter,* 2s. For winnowing 112 qrs. 3 bushels of all kinds of corn, 4s. 8d.;—for 2 'stakeropes' bought for fastening horses at pasture, 8d.;—2 swivels for the same, 2d.;—shearing 83 sheep and 32 lambs, 14½d., for every 8 head one penny;—for pasturing 32 lambs in summer, 5s. 4d.;—tar and ointment, for anointing the sheep, 8d.;—one 'mattok,' 7d.;—one flail with iron, 4d.;—one winnowing fan, 5s. 3d.—2 sacks, 2s. 2d.;—one kettle, for the pottage of the servants, 20d.;—and one bucket for the well, 5d.

Purchase of Corn and Stock.—For 4 qrs. of mixture (mixed corn), for the livery (wages) of the servants, 20s.;—purchase of 1 cart-horse, 20s. 1d.;—2 little pigs, 2s. 10d.

Weeding.—For weeding all the corn, this year, 6s.

'Costs of Autumn.'—Four pairs of gloves for the servants, 8d.;—wages of one embanker ('*riperen.*') for five weeks, 5s. 10d.;—stipend of one stacking ('*meiator.*') corn in the grange, for 20 days, 5s.

Stipends.—The Bailiff's stipend for the year, 13s. 4d.;—shoes for the Bailiff for the year, 6s. 8d.;—and for his robe, 10s. Stipends of one carter and two ploughmen, for the year, 21s. Stipend of one shepherd, by the year, 5s. Wages of his clerk,

* The word Easter in the Roll has been struck out, the payment for that feast appearing to have been disallowed at the audit.

writing the account of the bailiff, by the year, 5s. Expenses of the steward there, in this year, 2s., holding two courts.

The front of the roll terminates with the following results of the account:—"Sum total of expenditure, £8. 15s. 4*d.*; and he oweth £9. 11s. 4½*d.*" On the back of the roll is recorded the bailiff's account of corn and store of the Manor, under the following separate heads:—"Wheat, rye, barley, drag, pease, vetches, oats, mixture, horses and geldings, oxen, muttons, hurtards (rams), ewes, shearhogs, lambs, pigs, cocks and hens, wool, lamb's wool, hides, fells." It is constructed in the form of receipts and deliveries, entered in quantities and numbers, a balance being struck under every head; and it affords interesting information, concerning the extent of demesne land in the Manor, then under cultivation by the lord, and the rate of seed-corn used upon each acre of the several kinds of grain, as shown in the subjoined table:—

<i>Grain.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Seed per acre.</i>
Wheat . .	45½	3 bushels.
Rye . .	9½	3 „
Barley . .	35	4 „
“Drag” .	12	4 „
Pease . .	12	3 „
Vetches .	9	2 „
Oats . .	10	4½

133 acres under tillage by the Lord of the Manor.*

By comparing the several parts of this Grange-account, a satisfactory explanation of the terms “drag,” and “mixture,” is obtained. The former was composed of almost equal quantities of barley and oats: there were 7 quarters of it, in the proportions of 3 qrs. 2 bushels of barley, and 3 qrs. 6 bushels of oats. The “mixture” consisted of rye, barley, and pease, delivered out as bread-corn for the subsistence of the servants (*famuli*) of the Manor; the proportions of which are here subjoined.

* It will be perceived that the account relates only to arable lands held in demesne, and does not include the Lord's pastures, or any lands held by his tenants, or by freeholders.

	Qrs.	Bushels	Pecks.
Rye	12	4	3
Barley	6	2	2
Peas.....	3	3	3
	22	3	0
Mixture purchased	4	1	0
Total mixture accounted for.....	26	4	0

It appears by the following record* of a payment made out of the Exchequer, 13th of November, that in the year 1370, the Crown then held in demesne in the manor of Gravesend, land called the King's Park.

“ *Tuesday the 13th day of November,*” (A. D. 1370.)

“ Michael de } To Michael de Sparkford, Keeper of the ‘King’s
Sparkford. } Park,’ at Gravesend, to whom the Lord the King, by his letters patent, lately granted 3*d.* daily, to be received at the Exchequer during his life, for the good service rendered by him to the said King. In money delivered to him, in full payment of the same allowance; to wit, from the 11th day of May last past, unto the last day of October next following, for 174 days, both days reckoned, by his writ of *liberate*, this term, £2. 3*s.* 6*d.*”

MANOR OF “MELTONE.”

The Rental of this Manor, recorded on the second of the above-mentioned rolls, is too elaborate to be given at full length in these pages; but a selection is made of such particulars, as may afford some means of comparing the circumstances of the Manor, in the fourteenth century, with its present state. It is thus entitled:—
“ Rental of the Manor of Meltone by Gravesende, made by the tenants on the morrow of St. Hilary, in the 16th year of the reign of King Richard II.” (A. D. 1393.) The first items are these:—

“ The hospital of Melton, or Gravesend, for its lands in the hundreds of Barstable and Rochford (Essex), 11*s.*”†

* From the Issue Roll of the Exchequer, Michaelmas Term, 44 Edward III. in the Public Record Office, Rolls House.

† See Note, page 60, *supra*.

“The Lord of Parokke owes for his gavelkind lands and tenements, at the four principal terms of the year, by equal portions, 58s. by the year, and at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, two pounds of pepper and fourteen hens.”

The following is a list of the tenants, in the order in which they occur, showing the extent of their several holdings :—

	Acrs.	Rds.		Acrs.	Rds.
William Morton, land . . .	5	1	Thomas Moraunt . . .	2	2
John Sprever, a messuage } and }	4	0	Richard Ballynger . . .	1	2
The Heir of John Pette, } a messuage }	0	0	Thomas Keche	2	1
John Page, a messuage and	12	0	Richard Jervays	4	3
John Pycot, a messuage and	0	2	John Jervays	5	1
Walter Tybe, a messuage and	0	2	John Gravesende	10	2
Philip atte Barre	4	1	John Robelard	1	1
The Heirs of Thomas Star- } lyng }	1	0	William Ballynge	1	3
Simon Skadebery	6	3	John Grygge	0	1
Sabina Stace, a messuage and	0	1	Thomas Wappelode . . .	3	2
Thomas Shad	7	1	William Attekyne	1	0
John Stouel, 15 day- } works,* and 12 day- } works, 2 <i>d.</i> }	0	0	William Rodyon	9	0
Adam Lench	1	0	Thomas Heryng	3	3
Adam Sengele	1	0	Hamon Goode	1	0
John Galon	6	1	Adam Taverner	3	1
John Acton	6	2	John Abell, a messuage .	0	0
William Wade, a messuage	0	0	The Heir of Richard Abell	0	2
The Heirs of Adam atte Barre	7	0	John Stoure	3	0
John atte Forde	6	2	John Hykeman	2	0
Richard Page, the elder . .	3	2	The Heir of Adam atte Noke	0	3
John Colle	2	2	Richard atte Noke	2	2
The Heirs of William Colle	0	3	The Heir of Thomas Andrew	2	1
			The Heir of John atte Wode	0	3
			John Bolt	1	3
			William George	2	0
			John atte Barre	1	3
			John Dangey	1	0

Acres. Roods.

Total quantity of land occupied, 146 2

Number of tenants holding the same, 45.

Then follow these brief passages :—

“Of Churchelands, for three acres by the year, 9*d.* The tenants of Tawnemanmersshe, owe at St. John the Baptist 5s. 3*d.* The Lord holds one rood near the marsh, and one piece of land near Agnes Clerk.

* This entry is as follows : “John Stouel holds 15 day-works of land upon the Cliffs, also 12 day-works of land at le Hale, and owes 2*d.* by the year.” Which probably signifies that he held as much of the waste land of the manor, which lay neglected during part of the year, when it was not cultivated, as might be worked in these numbers of days, for the season of cultivation only. Several other entries of the same kind occur in the rental.

Joan Abell renders to the Lord for a messuage 3*d.* by the year, &c. Sum 63*s.* 9¼*d.* besides the rent of the Lord of Parrok."

On the back of the Roll, it is recorded thus :—

" Be it remembered that William Morton pays for rent of one mill, 19½*d.*" Then follows a list of fifteen tenants, who rendered 24½ hens annually ; several of them rendering only half a hen each, or an equivalent, and others one or more each.

The annual payment in respect of the lands, appears to have been about threepence per acre : for instance, it is said, " John Sprever holds one messuage, late of John Gravesend, and owes by the year 4*s.* ; also he holds 4 acres of land, and owes by the year 12*d.*" The whole quantity of lands, of which the measurements are recorded, amounted to 146½ acres, exclusively of the day-works, which is a small portion of the Manor ; the rest of the lands must have been either in the hands of the Lord, or (perhaps) belonging to freeholders, who owed no rent to the Manor.

When a part only of the Manor of Milton was held by no less than forty-five tenants, whose names appear in the above list, it would have been found impossible to refer to the holdings without minute local appellations ; the names of the tenants being often changed, as appears by many interlineations in the Roll. Hence, the record affords a variety of curious names of fields, and other places, some of which are repeated again and again, as different portions of them were holden by different persons. The following is a complete list of those appellations or descriptions :—

Cokkyscroft.	Near Redehegghe.	Messuage called
Ferthyng.	Wodestrete.	Dame Anne's Halle.
Roudonhyll.	Bakerysland.	Robenescroft.
The Cliffs.	Barnpewethyes.	Bulpette.
Goselenyshagh.	Brettyscroft.	Melton Cherche.
Croydonland.	Sparwereed.	A messuage at
Pessyngbush.	Bronnacre.	Melton Street.*
Chapmandoun	Coppedon.	Le Knolle.
Shepland.	Prestyscroft.	Le Breche.
Near the Chapel.	La Ronesacre.	Nowlyngcote.
Wolcyesland.	Near the Marsh.	Normanfeld.
Near the Cross.	Derconsteyle.	Wormedale.
Thecherysdale.	Osbornesland.	Screwlane.
Colton.	Le Hall.	Le Wynton.
Streklane.	Radyonescroft.	
Peryland.	Knyrchtysdyche.	

* " Vico de Melton." Roll.

Nearly all these names are now forgotten. Darkinstyle is the present designation of a piece of land, lying on the south side of the high-road, about midway between the Town and Milton Church; and Roudonhyll was probably what has since been called Ruggon Hill, or Rouge Hill.*

As it has been already stated that the former of these Rolls is accompanied by Tallies, a short description of them may be acceptable here, and particularly as the use of them has been discontinued within the present century.

An Exchequer Tally was a squared stick of hazel, from half an inch to an inch in breadth; upon which a sum paid into the King's Treasury was denoted by notches, and the name of the payer, with the date of the payment, was written on two sides of the stick: this was cleft in two parts or pieces, one of which remained in the custody of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and the other remained with the payer until he rendered his account, when it served to discharge him for so much money as the notches denoted. The highest sum that could be denoted on one Tally, was ten thousand pounds. The stick was so cleft as to divide the notches, that one side might be a counterpart to the other, to serve as the vouchers for the two parties retaining them. Upon payment of the balance, or last sum due upon the foot of an account, the payer was entitled to receive back his Tally or Tallies, together with a *quietus*, or extract from the Pipe Roll, which served as his final release from responsibility.

There was another class of Tallies issued from the Exchequer, which authorised an accountant to pay a sum of money out of the King's revenues in his hands; so as to avoid the inconvenience of attending for it at the Exchequer, if the party to whom it was payable was at a distance. Such were the Tallies mentioned in the account of the Bailiff of Gravesend, in the transaction with the Constable of Dover Castle. They had the effect of a modern Bill of Exchange, or check upon a banker.

1366. The traffic produced by the armaments that have been mentioned, appears to have changed the circumstances of the

* See the *Treasure for Travellers*, by William Bourne, of Gravesend, 1578, 4to. page 28; and Pocock's *History of Gravesend*, page 112.

town: for the inhabitants, this year, obtained from the King the grant of a Market and a Fair; which, if no change had taken place in the locality, would scarcely have been required, particularly as the Lord of the Manor of Parrock had obtained a previous charter. It is observable that this grant was made to the Inhabitants, "or Men of the Town," independently of the manor of Gravesend. The following is a translation of the record.*

<p>" For the good men of the town of Gravesend.</p>	}	<p>" The King to all, &c. greeting. Know ye that We, of our special grace, have granted, and by this our Charter have confirmed, to the good men of our town of Gravesend in the county of Kent, that they and their heirs for ever shall have a Market weekly, on Thursday, at the said town of Gravesend, and a Fair there every year, to be holden on the day of the translation of St. Edward, King and Confessor; so nevertheless that such Market and Fair be not to the injury of the neighbouring Markets and Fairs. Wherefore we will and strictly command, for us and our heirs, that the aforesaid good men of our town aforesaid, and their heirs for ever, shall have a market every week on Thursday, at the same town of Gravesend, and a Fair there every year on the day of the trans- lation of St. Edward, King and Confessor, with all liberties and free customs to such Market and Fair belonging; unless such Market and Fair shall be to the injury of neighbouring Markets and Fairs, as is aforesaid. These being Witnesses, &c. Given by our hand, at West- minster, the 8th day of June.</p>
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"By writ of Privy Seal."

1377. Scarcely had Edward the Third breathed his last breath, when his feeble grandson, and successor to the throne, found the vessels of France and Spain committing ravages upon the coasts of his Kingdom. The enemy attacked and burned the town of Rye, putting to death such of the inhabitants as fell into their hands. The Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham were sent to Dover to defend it; and Southampton was committed to the care of the Earl of Salisbury. The enemy landed in the Isle of Wight; then burned Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth; and returned to Southampton; where Sir John Arundel drove them back to their vessels. They then proceeded to Dover;

* Records of the Court of Chancery, in the Tower of London, Charter Roll, 39 & 40 Edw. III. n. 9.

burned Hastings, and attacked Winchelsea; but were repulsed by the Abbot of Battle. They landed at Rottendean, where the Prior of Lewes, Sir John Cheney, and Sir John Fallesley, raised the country to resist them: but the Prior and both the Knights were taken prisoners, and more than a hundred of the English were slain; nevertheless, the enemy having suffered much in the conflict, decamped with their booty to France.*

During this short but harassing period, a general alarm prevailed; and means of defence were adopted at the ports and places where the enemy might be expected.

The alarm spread to Gravesend, as the enemy was looked for in the Thames.

On the 7th of July, writs were issued to the sheriffs of Kent and Essex, commanding them forthwith to carry into effect an ordinance of the Privy Council thereto annexed, the tenor* of which is as follows:—

“Ordinance for the protection of the countries of Kent and Essex, and especially for the towns being upon the river Thames, against perils that may suddenly happen through our enemies, (which God forbid,) and also for the defence of the shipping being in the ports of the said river.

“First be there ordained at the Isle of Shepeye, one ‘beken’ (beacon), and at Shoubery, in Essex, another ‘beken;’ also at Hoe, in Kent, one ‘beken;’ and at Fobbyng, in Essex, another ‘beken;’ also at Cleve, (Cliff) in Kent, one ‘beken;’ and at Tilbury, in Essex, another ‘beken;’ also at GRAVESEND, IN KENT, one ‘beken;’ and at Farnedon (Horndon) in Essex, another ‘beken.’

“Also, that by the special commandment from our dread Lord the King, it be charged on the Sheriffs, Constables, and other ministers in the said parts of Kent and Essex, that all the said beacons be quickly and conveniently furnished and perfected at the places above-mentioned, for the safety of the countries aforesaid, and of the said shipping.

“Also, that as soon as the said beacons are made, they be well and continually watched, as well by day as by night, without any default.

“Also that the watchmen, who for the time shall be at the said beacons, and especially at the ‘bekens’ of Shepeye and Shoubery, be from time to time warned and charged, that as soon as they can espy any vessels of the enemies coming, with sails or oars, toward the said river, they shall set on fire the said two beacons of Shepeye and Shoubery, and make besides all the noise by horn and by cry that they can make, to warn

* Southey’s Naval History, *sub anno* 1377.

† The original is in French.

the countries around, to come with their force to the said river, each to succour the other, to withstand their enemies.

"Also, that the countries aforesaid be warned and admonished, under grievous penalty, that as soon as they see the said beacons, or one of them set on fire, or hear the noise or cry, they come readily with their best array of arms, to the said river, to save as well the towns being upon it, as the shipping being in the ports, without damage from our enemies."*

This plan of defence seems chiefly designed for the protection of the shipping in the river, and to prevent an approach to London by the Thames, for the Medway is not mentioned in the Ordinance. It exhibits an early evidence, that either Gravesend was more considerable than Milton, or that the habitations in both parishes were regarded as constituting the town of Gravesend; for it is observable that the beacon was to be set up at Gravesend, although the only high ground for such a purpose was within the parish of Milton, and there was a beacon standing in the year† 1719, upon Windmill Hill,‡ most probably upon the same spot, whereon that in the reign of Richard II., was originally erected.

It does not appear that the enemy visited the Thames so soon as was expected; but they made an irruption two or three years later, and committed great ravages.

1380. According to Caxton, "in the thyrde yere of his [Richard's] reigne, cam certayne galeyes of warre, out of France, into diverse portes of England; and robbed, brente, and slue moche peple; in so much that they cam to *Grauysende*, and brente a grete part of the toun."§ Later Chroniclers|| relate that, on the opposite side of the river, they burned and spoiled many places, and retired without sustaining injury themselves, with rich spoil and many prisoners: and that this occurred in the month of August.

* See the record printed at length, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vii. 155–6; and Prynne's *Animadversions on the Fourth Institute*, 1669, fol. pp. 136–137.

† It is mentioned by Dr. Harris, in his *History of Kent*, published in that year.

‡ The summit of Windmill Hill is 179 feet above the level of the river at high-water mark, in spring tides; and that of Shorne Hill is 312 feet above the same level, as they were taken a few years ago by Mr. John Hollinsworth, of Gravesend, Surveyor.

§ Caxton's *Polychronicon*, fol 395. The *Polychronicon* was compiled in Latin by Ranulph Higden about the year 1360; it was translated by John de Trevisa, in 1387; and was continued and printed by Caxton in 1482.

|| Holinshed, Stow, &c. *sub anno*.

1381. The great commotion under Wat Tyler occurred in this year; and the first overt act of rebellion, in Kent, appears to have been committed at Gravesend; its origin, therefore, demands a place in this History. In the Parliament held at Northampton in November, 4 Ric. II, the Lords and Commons granted to the King, from every man or woman, passing the age of fifteen years, and being no beggar, twelve pence, to be levied of every person of every parish, according to their estate; so that the rich should bear with the poor; the richest, for himself and his wife, should not be set above twenty shillings, and the most poor for him and his wife no less than one groat.*

This poll-tax was let to farm; and the collectors exacted payment, in a manner that raised an universal indignation. Such was the resistance to the collection of the odious impost, that lives had been lost in conflict with the collectors. Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the circumstances, one of whom, Thomas de Bampton, sat at Brentwood in Essex, to pursue the investigation. The presence of the Commissioner put the whole neighbourhood into commotion; the people of Fobbing, Corringham, and Stanford-le-hope, went in a body before him, and flatly refused to pay the tax. The Commissioner commanded his officers to take the offenders into custody; but the malcontents were too powerful, and the Commissioner and his attendants fled.

1382. About Whitsuntide following, the like determination to resist the tax having been excited in Kent, Sir Simon Burley, attended by two sergeants-at-mace, came to Gravesend, where he saw and challenged one of his bondmen; (for at that time many tenants holding by villeinage had, by open defiance or by manumission obtained by menace, released themselves from that condition;) and upon the arrest of this bondman, the men of Gravesend interposed to obtain favour for him, but Sir Simon demanded three hundred pounds for his manumission; which not being complied with, he was sent to Rochester Castle for safe custody and process of law. Upon this the commons of Kent rose, and Canterbury, Maidstone, Rochester, Gravesend, Dartford, Deptford, and London, were the scenes of commotion, which have been so often described,

* Pryne's Exact Abridgment of the Records, 1657, fol. p. 189.

as to render it unnecessary to introduce any farther account of the progress of Wat Tyler's rebellion, in this place.

1396. At a time like the present, when the craving for rapid conveyance is little less than a mania; a peep at the mode of travelling in days of old, as it is elucidated in the following provision for the King's lieges, passing between London and Dover, through Dartford, Gravesend, Rochester, and Canterbury; may afford an amusing contrast.

"The King, to all and singular Sheriffs, Mayors, &c. greeting. Whereas it appears, by the petition of Reginald Shrowsbury and Thomas Athekot and others, called *hackneymen*, of Southwark, Dartford, Rochester, and other towns,* between London and Dover, for letting to hire a *hackney* from Southwark to Rochester for 16*d.*, and from Rochester to Canterbury for 16*d.*, but that some persons in the places aforesaid do daily take and travel upon the said horses, against the will of the petitioners, paying little or nothing for their labour and hire, and have rode them so that many of the said horses have been ruined and destroyed, and some have rode off with them; whereby such horses are likely to be kept in insufficient numbers, to the no small detriment of the petitioners, and to the subversion of the custom;—We, desiring reformation thereof, will and ordain, that for the hire of one hackney from Southwark to Rochester twelve pence, from Rochester to Canterbury twelve pence, and from Canterbury to Dover six pence, shall be taken, and no more; and so from town to town there, more or less, according to the said rate per mile. But neither the said Reginald nor Thomas, nor their associates, shall be compelled to let the said horses, unless the said hire be paid down. And for the greater security of the said horses, we will and ordain that a brand or iron instrument shall be kept, in each of the said towns, in the custody of a sufficient person, with which the

* Gravesend is not expressly mentioned in this document, but that this post formed a link in the chain, appears from a later ordinance upon the subject, for regulating the Posts to Dover, Sittingbourn, Rochester, Dover, &c.
* * * "And forasmuch as the tide so falleth many tymes, as many Cur-reors, taking the commoditie thereof, use to passe by the Ryver to Gravesend. It is ordeyned that there shall be a post there appointed to serve that turne from thence to Rochester and to Dartford, and to and from Gravesend when need shall be. * * * The post of Gravesend shall take for every horse xvi*d.*, and shall not be bound to the conveyance of the packet. To whom, in case of lacks, all other hackneymen there, shall be ready to furnish horses, receyving for every horse so appointed to ronne post xvi*d.* Neither shall any of them deliver any horse to ronne post, but by his appointment, neither take for any horse they shall hire out, to go in jorney pace, above 2*d.* at the most for the mile, as is aforesaid." Proclamation of Philip and Mary. See Proclamations, &c. vol. ii., fol. 159, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

said horses shall be marked ; and no one shall buy or sell, or unduly keep the said horses, nor cut off their ears or tails, nor put them to death, at the peril of being amerced at our pleasure. And the said Reginald and Thomas, and their associates, are hereby authorized to seize and take away all horses so branded, that may be sold or rode away with, wherever they may be found ; provided, that if the said horses, so to be let to hire, shall be unreasonably insufficient to perform the journey, then the parties letting them shall refund so much as shall be in proportion, in respect of such insufficiency, to the hire paid. Witness the King, at his manor of Chiltern Langley, the 5th of January." (19 Richard II.)*

Such was the accommodation for travelling by land, between London and Canterbury, past Gravesend ; besides which some cumbrous vehicles without springs, formed the whole amount of conveyance on this road, that travellers could obtain.

As for the travellers themselves, they may be considered in several classes. There were the miscellaneous groups, that contained some, whose practices made it expedient to provide against the riding off with the horses of Master Shrowsbury and Master Athekot, and against cutting off the ears or the tails of the hackneys, already sufficiently disfigured by the application of a heated iron instrument, by the impress of which they might be identified and recovered. Another class consisted of men-at-arms and archers, repairing to the coast on their way to France, even after the possessions gained by Edward III., with the exception of Calais, had been lost. There were also the traders, resorting thither to the Staple.

The companies of pilgrims formed another distinct class of strollers ; and merry strollers they were, according to the inimitable representation given of them, by the great father of English song, in his *Canterbury Tales*.

Befelle, that in that season, on a day,
In Southwerk, at the Tabard, as I lay,
Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage
To Canterbury, with devout corage ;
At night was come into that hostelrie,
Wel nine and twenty in a compaignie
Of sondry folk, by aventure yfall
In fellowship ; and Pilgrimes were they all,
That toward Canterbury wolden ride.†

* Patent Roll, 19 Rich. II., part 2, m. 8.

† Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* ; Tyrwhitt's Edition.

1401. A royal grant, this year, confirmed unto the men of Gravesend the right of the Ferry, or water passage between Gravesend and London. This important document recognises a pre-existent enjoyment of that privilege, from a period beyond memory, and establishes the great antiquity of a vested interest in the Long Ferry; the following translation of it is therefore given in this place.

“ For the Men of the
Town of Gravesend
and their heirs. } “ The King, to all to whom, &c., greeting.
Know ye, that We are informed, that, from
time whereof the memory of man is not to the
contrary, the Men of the Town of GRAVESEND, who in their times
have successively inhabited the town aforesaid, have been accus-
tomed, and were used, without any interruption, freely, quietly,
and peaceably to carry in their own vessels whatsoever persons,
coming to the town aforesaid, and willing to go thence by water to our
city of London; until now lately certain persons of our city of London
aforesaid, not having consideration for the said custom for so long time
without interruption used and continued, have come from our said city
of London with their vessels to the said town of Gravesend, and there
have shipped persons willing to go to our city aforesaid by water, and
have converted the money therefrom received to their own use, contrary
to the will of the Inhabitants in the said town of Gravesend, to the
grievous injury of the Men of the said town, and contrary to the cus-
toms aforesaid; so that they who now inhabit, whose vessels are the
substance of their livelihood, dare not (as they say) for fear of damage
and loss, ship any persons towards our city aforesaid, as heretofore they
have been accustomed: We, inclining to the supplication of our dear
lieges of the said town of Gravesend, to Us in this behalf made, of our
special grace, in relief of the same our lieges, and to the end that they
the better and more securely may live and inhabit the said town of
Gravesend, have granted, as much as in Us is, to them who now inhabit
the town aforesaid, and to their heirs and successors whomsoever, that
they, in their own Vessels, may for ever freely ship such persons coming
to the said town of Gravesend, and willing to go thence to our said city
of London by water, taking for every such person as in times past shall
have been duly used and accustomed, without disturbance or impedi-
ment of Us or of our heirs, or the ministers of us or of our heirs, or of
any others whomsoever. In testimony whereof, &c. Witness the King,
at Westminster, the sixth day of September.”* (2 Henry IV.) By writ
of Privy Seal.”

It has been supposed,† that this grant was obtained by the

* Patent Roll, 2 Henry IV. part 4, m. 8.

† Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, page 485.

intercession of the Abbot of St. Mary Graces, at Tower Hill, who then held the Manor of Gravesend, in consideration of the state to which the town had been reduced by the French gallies in 1380; and that the applicants sought an exclusive right to the Ferry for their special benefit, upon the condition of conveying passengers at the rate of two pence for each, with his fardel or pack, or four shillings for the whole fare of the barge. The grant, it will be seen, does not advert to either of these points; but evidently had for its object, the protection of a pre-existing prescriptive right, at a time when it is probable enough that an increased resort of passengers, between Calais and London, had produced competition among the boatmen on the Thames.

In a ballad called *London Lackpenny*, ascribed to John Lydgate, a monk of Bury, and supposed to have been written in the early part of the fifteenth century, there is an incidental notice of the resort to the Gravesend Barge,* at that time.

The ballad relates, that the writer being in London without money, he found it expedient to depart, and went to Billingsgate, the ancient rendezvous of the Gravesend barge, to be conveyed into Kent; the scene between the pennyless traveller and the bargeman being thus described:—

“ Then hyed I me to Belynges Gate,
 And one cryed ‘ Hoo, go we hence !’
 I prayed a bargeman, for God’s sake,
 That he would spare me my expence.
 ‘ Thou stepst not here,’ quoth he, ‘ under ij. pence.
 I lyst not yet bestow my almes dede,
 Thus lacking mony I could not spede.
 Then I conveyed me into Kent,
 For of the law would I meddle no more :
 Because no man to me took entent,
 I dyght me to do as I did before.
 Now Jesus, that in Bethlem was bore,
 Save London ! and send trew Lawyers ther mede !
 For whoso wants mony, with them shall not spede.”†

The relation that has been given of the destruction of the greater part of the town, by a foreign enemy in the year 1380,

* Stow says, “ gat him into Gravesend barge, and home into Kent.” Survey of London. Eastcheap. Thoms’s edit. page 82.

† *London Lackpenny*, Harl. MS. 367, f. 126, 127.

demonstrates the danger to which, at that period, Gravesend was exposed ; and the alarm which prevailed a few years later, and the measures deemed expedient upon such occasions, illustrate the propriety of being prepared, in the time of war at least, to counteract the facility of approach that the river affords to an enemy.

1401. In consequence of an alarm of invasion, writs* were issued by the Council, commanding the cities, ports and towns throughout England, to build new barges and balingers, and to equip and arm them, by the *quindena* of Easter in that year. Among the towns called upon to provide these vessels, Gravesend† and Tilbury were required to supply one balinger.‡

1402. There was the like apprehension of an attack, in the following year also ; for by the advice of the Privy Council a royal commission was on the 17th of July, 3 Henry IV., directed to Robert Gosholm, William Lee, Nicholas Denys, and John Archer, authorising them to take as many labourers and artificers as they should require, to erect certain works proposed by the men of East Tilbury, within one month from the date thereof.

The commission refers to a preceding attack by a foreign enemy, probably to the event in the year 1380, and recites the following considerations for issuing it.

“ Whereas our beloved lieges, the men of the town of East Tilbury in the county of Essex, considering the great losses, damages, and destructions which have happened in times past to the same town, by the arrival of French and other enemies there ; and dreading that greater may happen, in process of time, both there and in the neighbourhood, (especially as there is no other landing-place ‘ *applicatio*,’ thereabouts for a great space), unless remedy be quickly provided, for avoiding such losses, damages and destructions ; and that others dwelling on the coasts of the sea

* Dated 11th January, 2 Henry IV. (1401). *Rymcr's Fœdera*, vol. viii., page 172.

† “ Ballivis et Communitatibus villarum de Graveshend et Tilbury, pro una Balingera.”—*Ibid.*

‡ Every great ship must have in its company a barge and a balinger, and every barge must have in it 80 men, and a balinger 40 men. 20 Henry VI. A.D. 1441.—*Bree's Cursory Sketch of Naval Establishments*, page 116.

may be encouraged cheerfully to do the like, do propose and intend (as we understand) to fortify the town aforesaid, along the coast of the sea, with a certain wall of earth with garrets, ‘*garrettis*,’ and in such other methods as they can; we, considering the pious intention of the men aforesaid, and that many benefits and advantages may redound to the said town and ports by the execution of the said proposal; and that our enemies from day to day sailing before the said town,* when they shall have knowledge of the said fortification, may henceforth more fear, and avoid entering the waters of the Thames in warlike manner,” &c.†

This is the earliest notice extant, of a fortification at East Tilbury.

Another case of alarm at the time may be noticed. A few miles from East Tilbury stands Hadleigh Castle, erected by Hubert de Burgh in the reign of Henry III,‡ upon an eminence near Leigh, overlooking Canvey Island, and the whole mouth of the Thames. This castle, being then in the possession of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, son of the reigning King (Henry IV.), was, in the year 1405, replenished with weapons and military stores;§ and it was within view from it that the following circumstances occurred.

1406. “In this summer,” (says Hall), “the pestilential plague so infested the city of London and the country round about, that the King durst not repair thither, nor yet to the confines of the same; wherefore he, departing from the castle of Leeds, determined to take ship at Queenborough in the isle of Sheppey, and to sail over to Leigh in Essex, and so to Plashey, there to pass his time till the plague were ceased; and, because certain pirates of France were lurking at the Thames mouth, waiting for their prey, Thomas Lord Camois, with certain ships of war, was appointed to waft over the King. When the King was on the sea, in the midst of his journey, whether the wind turned, or that the Lord Camois kept not a direct course, or that his ship was

* Foreigners in trading vessels, conveying information to the enemy.

† Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. viii. page 271.

‡ The King’s license to erect this castle was granted in the year 1230-1.

§ See the Patent Roll, 15 Henry III. m. 4.

but a slug, the Frenchmen, which by all similitude had knowledge of the King's passage, entered amongst the King's navy, and took four vessels next to the King's ship, and in one of them Sir Thomas Rampston, Knight, the King's Vice-chamberlain, with all his chamber-stuff and apparel, and followed the King so near, that if his ship had not been swift, he had landed sooner in France than in Essex: but by God's provision and fortunate chance, he escaped the danger and arrived at his appointed post."* Lord Camois was put upon his trial, but was acquitted of all blame in the affair.

1434-5. The Gravesend bargemen experienced at this season one of those wintry visitations that occasionally obstruct the traffic upon the river, paralysing the arm of industry, suspending the comforts of domestic life, and rendering penury itself more intensely wretched. The communication with London by water was so obstructed by this frost, which continued from the 25th of December to the 10th of February following, that according to Stow, "the merchandize, which came to the Thames mouth, was carried to London by land."

1460. Persons requiring to have intercourse with London, by means of conveyance in the Gravesend Barge, were exposed, like others at the time, to experience the dangers of war, incidental to the contest between the royal houses of York and Lancaster. Lord Scales held the Tower of London for the King, which was assailed by the Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York, when, "they that were within the Tower, cast wild fire into the City, and shot many small guns, whereby they brent and slew men, women, and children, in the streets; also they of the city laid great guns on the further" (opposite) "side of the Thames against the Tower, and brake the walles in divers places."† Lord Scales, "suspecting the sequele of the delivery of the same, took a wherry privily, intending to have fled to the Quene; but he was espied by divers watermen belonging to the Earl of Warwycke, which wayted for hys forthcomyng on the Thames, and sodainly taken, and shortly slayne with many darts and

* Hall's Chronicle, sub anno 1406.

† Stow's Annals, sub anno 1460. Hall's Chronicle, page 244.

daggers.” There are many living, who daily or frequently travel in the same track, and can testify that the miseries of occasional detention and *short commons*, (which certain fastidious gentle folks cannot endure without lachrymose bewailings,) are, after all, nothing, compared with the dangers encountered in a trip between London and Gravesend, when men fell out about the “two Roses.”

1461. The grant of the Long Ferry, or right of conveying the public for hire between London and Gravesend, made by King Henry IV. in the second year of his reign, having been confirmed by his son Henry V. and by Henry VI. his grandson, upon their several accessions, was again renewed by King Edward IV. in the first year of his reign. It is not necessary to insert a copy of this patent, inasmuch as it differs little from the original grant, that has been already given: but there are two points in it, which claim some notice. The reader, aware of the disputes concerning the rival claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster to the Crown, will learn with interest, the studied repudiation of the claim of Henry IV. by whom the original grant was conferred; it represents him as late *in fact*, and not *of right*, King of England, evincing the like jealousy of the pretensions of his son and grandson. The King confers anew the grant of the Ferry upon the men of Gravesend, setting forth as a reason for the grant, “the good and gratuitous service which our dear lieges the inhabitants of Gravesend had done for us;” referring, no doubt, to some declaration or demonstration which they had made in his favour, under the critical circumstances which attended his accession to the throne.

1467. In the spring tide of this year, the inhabitants of Gravesend and their neighbours were, by the appearance of Garter King of Arms among them, with the King’s barges, apprized of the approach of a gorgeous retinue, attendant upon the Count de la Roche, commonly called the Bastard of Burgundy; who had accepted a challenge from Anthony Wydeville, Lord Scales, brother of the Queen of England, to perform a feat of arms with him at London.

This event had been preceded by the circumstances of solemn pomp, usual upon such occasions. In the month of October, 1466, safe conduct had been granted to ambassadors from the court

of the Duke of Burgundy; and upon their arrival they were met at Gravesend, by Garter, with the royal barge, as appears in a book* of the expenses of Sir John Howard, who acted as deputy of his kinsman the Duke of Norfolk, then Earl Marshal.†

The ambassadors reached Gravesend in January, 1466–7, according to the following items of the expenditure of Sir John Howard, upon the occasion.‡

- “A. D. 1466–7. Item, the ij day of Janevere, my mastyr§ paid the mastyr of the King’s barge, for bryngenge my mastyr to Grauesende, and ageyn to London wyth the ambasetors xxxs.
- “Item, the same day my mastyr paid to Gater fore heryng of a barge to London wyth the embasetors stuffe . . . vis.
- “Item, the same day my mastyr paid for Coles . . . viij*d*.
- “Item, the same day my mastyr paid to Mastyr Willyam Atelyffe, that he leid [out] at Gravesende for the barge-menne’s mete vs.”

The history of the origin of this celebrated passage at arms, and of the incidents occurring in the progress and at the conclusion of it, is curiously illustrative of the laws of chivalry, and of the manners of the age, as given in a most interesting introduction to a narrative of the event;|| of which the following passage alone is presented to the reader, as it contains the whole which comes properly within the plan of this local work.

“The coomyng of the Bastarde to Gravesende, the xxix. day of May, worshupfully accompanide; where Garter mett hym, to the Kynges commaundement.

“The Friday xxix day of May, the yere of our Lorde a M^cccclxviij.

* Manners and Household Expenses of England, in the 13th and 15th centuries. London (Roxburgh Club), 1841, 4to.

† “A. D. 1466–7. And at the tyme that the lord Skales and the Bastard of Borgoyen fowte, I was my lordes debyté at [h]is dessyre, wesche Koste me more than ccc marke. The wesche my lorde most alowe me. Also my lorde howeth me for the charge and the costes that I bere, to be as debewté, wane the lorde Skales and the Bastard of Burgoyen fowte,—cc marks.”—Ib. p. 170.

‡ Ib. p. 383.

§ These were the accounts kept by the Steward of Sir John Howard.

|| *Excerpta Historica*, 8vo. London, 1830, p. 171.

at the vijth yeere of the victorouse renomyd Prince Kyng Edward the iiijth; the Bastard of Bourgon accompanyde with many noble lordes, knyghtes, squyers and oothir, aboute the noombre of cccc, with foure kervelles of forstage,* richely apparailde and enforeid with alle maner abilmentes of werre, penons, banners, gytons, stremers; his gubon (*cabin*) also hangid with arasse within and withoute richely beseen; came before Gravesende aboute the houre of foure at aftir-noone: where, as was ordeyned by the Kinges commaundement, [was] Garter Kyng of Armes, and had ley there the space of iij wekes before to meete with hym at his landyng, where it evir had been, and to have conveide hym foorth; and also to certifie the Kynges highnesse of the same. The which assone as he came in sight, the seide Garter tooke and appareilde a barge clenly beseen, met with hym ij myle of, or he came there, and welcomyd hym thidir; and desirid hym yif he had lykyd, to come to London and to reste hym aftir his grete laboure; he answeyng, that he was not disposid to londe in any wise to tyme he came there where he shulde doo pforme his Acte: but there he wold abide that nyghte, and caste ankre before the towne.

“The metyng of the Bastarde at the Blak Wall, by the Constable worshupfully accompanied, &c. The xxx^{ti} day of May.

“On the morn’ aftir Satirday xxx^{ti} day of May, he sett up sail to London warde; and the space of a myle, or he came to Grenewiche, at the Blak Wall, came to resceyve and tomete with hym, Therle of Worcester, Constable of Englund, accompanied with many othir lordis, kynghytes, squyers, and many aldermen and rich comeners of the Citee of London, ordeyned in vij barges and a galy, and richely beseen and araide in coveryng with clothis of gold and arasse, to the nombre of And there welcomyd hym and conveide hym foorth to London. And when he had caste ankre a littil benethe Saint Kat’yns, resceyvid hym and his feliship of nobles and othir into theire barges, and loded at Byllynges Gate,† where as were also to welcome hym many othir lordes, nobles, knyghtes, squyers, and noble comeners of the seid Citee. And from thens [he] was conveide on horsbake by the seide Constable and lordis, thorough Cornhill and Chepe, and by Seinte Powlis of London, unto the bisshoppes place of Salisbury, in Fletestrete; the which was ordeyned by the Kyng, and richely apparailde with arasse and hongyd with beddis of cloth of golde, for his loggyng within the towne w^t all manner othir stuff in and withoute the towne for his disporte:

* Probably raised platforms or fore-castles.

† This presents evidence of two facts—first, that Billingsgate was then, as it had been of old, and continued for several centuries to be—the usual place of embarking and landing below bridge—secondly, that the vessels were of too large dimensions to approach the shore, and therefore it was that boats were employed for the intermediate passage of the train,* to the landing place,

and to say* his harnais secretely, was ordeyned the seide bisshoppes place at Chelchieth, twoo myle the toon from the toothir ; he to take his barge or his bote, at such tyme as it likid hym to doo, for his pleasure."

Thus were the inhabitants of Gravesend gratified with this magnificent spectacle of four gallant vessels, bearing to our shores four hundred Knights and their Esquires, the very flower of chivalry, to meet the most valorous of the nobles of England in combat, in the presence of the sovereign and a splendid assemblage of the brave and the fair.

Another local fact is elicited from the highly curious volume, which has afforded the several corroborative circumstances of the arrival of the Burgundian Fleet at Gravesend. Sir John Howard it seems, attended the Bastard of Burgundy on his return by the way of Calais ; and, in the accounts of the Steward of Sir John, the following item occurs—

" The last day of June my mastyr paid for ij sheppe at Gravesend, for to have into the shippe iijs."

This is perhaps the earliest distinct notice extant of trade at Gravesend with vessels resorting thither†

which is strongly exemplified in the account of expenses incurred upon the arrival of the Ambassadors from Burgundy in the month of January preceding.

" Item, my mastyr paid for botes for brynyng a lond the ambasetors men xvjd.

" Item, my mastyr paid for botes to set them aboard the barge at low water at Grenwych viijd."

Manners and Expenses, &c. page 383.

* " Say his harness ; that is, to assay or try his arms, and exercise himself." Note by the Editor.

The following charges for boat-hire at and from Gravesend, appear in the same accounts, pp. 527-8.

" A.D. 1468. Item, paid to a bark for bryngyng downe of vj pipes floure, ix pipes beere, iiij pipes fleshe, xiiijc fyshe to Gravesend vs.

" Item, to yonge Spense and his felishipe for havyng [taken] donne x pipes bere fro Redelif to Gravesend vs.

" Item, paid to a man at Gravesend that brought the bred aboard the John ijs.

" Item, paid to a man at Gravesend that shall brynge uppe tymber to Redelif xvjd.

" Item, paid for barge-hire of iiij of your men frome Gravesend to Blakwalle vjd."

The notes appended to the foregoing short relation of the “coming of the Bastard of Burgundy to Gravesend, worshipfully accompanied,” afford some proof of a trading intercourse with shipping, and show a practice then prevailing, as it does at the present day, of the transit of stores from London, to ships riding at Gravesend.

The contentions between the Royal Houses of Lancaster and York, at this era, were unfavourable to the trading interests of the country, as all events must be, which tend to render property insecure; but, although Gravesend might have been affected by these contentions, yet a change must have taken place in the condition of the inhabitants; who consisted no longer of persons engaged in pursuits of husbandry only, but of traders who supplied the shipping resorting to the town, as well as the inhabitants.

The principal trading companies of London had been incorporated; and many handicrafts were practised in England, to an extent that denotes an accession of mechanics and traders in Gravesend.

By a statute of the reign of Edward IV.,* the importation of the following articles, made abroad, was prohibited:—Woollen caps and cloths, laces, corses, ribands, fringes of silk and of thread, laces of thread, silk twined, silk in anywise embroidered, laces of gold, of silk or gold, saddles, stirrups, or any harness pertaining to saddles, spurs, bosses for bridles, and irons, any manner of locks, hammers, pinsons, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis-balls, points, purses, gloves, girdles, harness for girdles, of iron, latten, steel, tin, or alkemine (metals compounded by alchemists?), any thing wrought of tawed leather, any tawed furs, buscans, shoes, galoshes, or corks, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, shears for tailors, scissors, razors, chessmen, playing cards, combs, pattens, pack-needles, any painted ware, forciers, caskets, rings of copper, or of latten gilt, chaffing dishes, handing candlesticks, chaffing balls, sacring bells, rings for curtains, ladles, scummers, counterfeit (base metal?), basins, ewers, hats, brushes, cards for wool, blanch iron thread, commonly called white wire, or any of these wares or chaffers.

* Stat. 9 Edward IV., chap. 14., A.D. 1469.

This long list of articles, the greater number of them being in common daily use, and no longer to be imported, but to be made by English artisans, furnishes a view of the stock in trade of many classes of shopkeepers; and leaves no doubt, that at that time, drapers, ironmongers, haberdashers, sadlers, cutlers, leather-sellers and other traders, had their shops in Gravesend, making it a trading town, where artisans found employment.

For the better introduction of an account of the origin of the Royal Naval Establishments in the Port of London, it is proper to consider the great changes that took place in the structure and equipment of ships, in the fifteenth century.

The power of the loadstone had been applied to the purposes of navigation, by the invention of the mariner's compass; rudders had been invented; and gunpowder had been used in naval warfare;—before the close of the preceding age: but these most important discoveries and inventions had not the immediate influence upon the state of shipping, that might be supposed to have ensued.

The representations of two vessels, already given* in these pages, display novel features in marine architecture, consisting of a half-deck or forecastle, and greater capaciousness at the stern than is seen in vessels of more ancient form; with an apparatus at the mast-head for giving fire-light, and a vane or weathercock. The great antiquity of the latter, the *coronis versatilis venti index*, is unquestionable, but here it appears to be appropriated to a naval purpose, and, there being a light at the mast head, conveys evidence that the compass had been made available for the extension of maritime enterprise, beyond mere coasting voyages.

Respecting an armament in the year 1417, Stow says,† “the King (Henry V.) entered his ship, which was royally and sumptuously adorned, the sail thereof was of purple silk, right beautifully embroidered with the arms of England and France; and this ship they called the King's Chamber. He had another, the second, a carrack of like apparel, which, by the King's command-

* See page 97, ante.

† Stow's *Annals*, *sub anno*. *Archæologia*, vol. xi. page 154. Charnock, vol. i. page 363.

ment, they called the King's Hall; and these two were ordered to be the principal of all the navy." This description of the interior arrangement or ornament of vessels presents a strong contrast, to the rude form and workmanship of the vessels of antecedent times.

"In the year 1449, John Taverner of Hull, with the divine assistance, and the help of divers of the King's subjects, had made a ship as large as a great carrack; and the King, by reason of its magnitude, consented that it should be called the Grace-dieu-carrack, and that it should have certain privileges in trade. In 1474, William Canning of Bristol had one ship of 900 tons burthen, one of 500 tons, and another of 400 tons." *

These were merchant ships, but they were of greater dimensions than those of earlier construction, for Taverner's ship appears to have elicited the admiration of the King, on account of its magnitude; and this ship was built in England. Those of Canning, the renowned merchant of Bristol, may have been purchased abroad; but it is open to the presumption, that they were constructed in England; for if Taverner could, by the help of the King's subjects, build a ship at Hull, Canning might have built his ships, by the help of English shipwrights, at Bristol.

Edward IV., it is said,† had ships of his own, which he employed sometimes in war, and often in trade, in which he dealt largely. In the year 1481, he issued an order to Richard Symondes, master of his ship called the Grace-de-dieu, commanding him to arrest mariners to man it, as well within liberties as without, to serve against the Scots; giving the like commands to the masters of others, described expressly as the King's own ships; for example—"Roberto Nicholson, magistro navis *Regis*, vocatæ le Henry."

Charnock‡ quotes this document, and observes that it stands as an incontrovertible proof of the existence of an English state navy, previous to the accession of King Henry VII. These

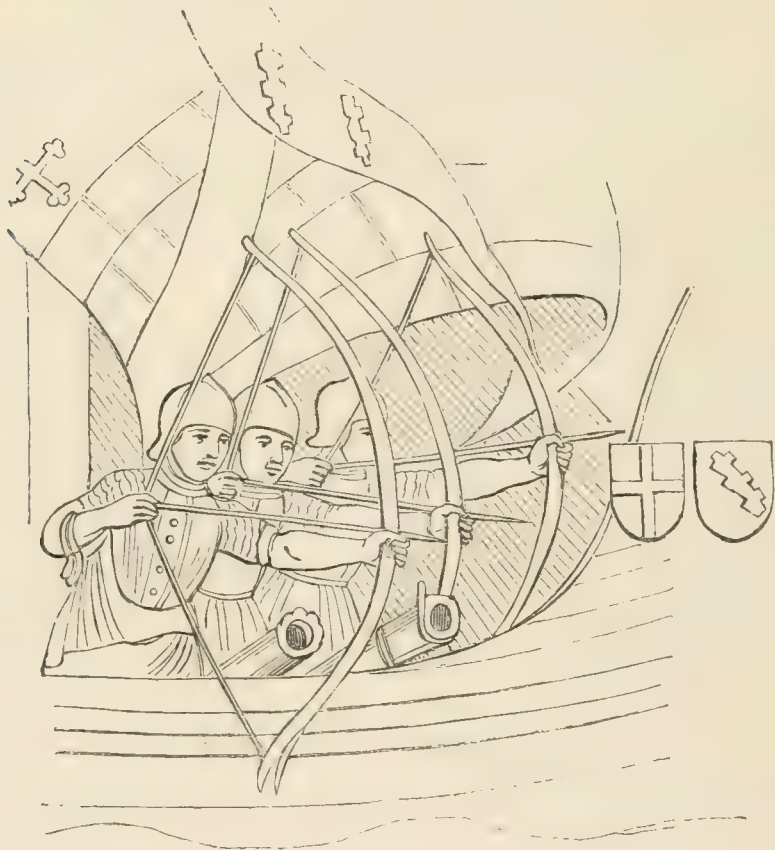
* Willett. *Archæologia*, vol. vi. page 200.

† Ibid.

‡ Charnock, vol. i, p. 363.

facts are indicative of a great epoch in the history of the Royal Navy of England, and of the shipping in the Port of London.

There is extant a pictorial description of ships of that period, which conveys some curious illustrations of their form and equipment: it is in a manuscript,* relating to the principal events in the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, written by John Rous, a Chantry Priest of Guy's Cliff, in the county of Warwick. They are introduced in the manuscript in chronological order; but the two following copies are placed with reference to the progress of improvement in marine architecture they display.



The above sketch shows that, when cannons were introduced into ships, archers and cross-bow-men, were not immediately discontinued in naval warfare.

* Cottonian MS. Julius E., IV.

The other represents a ship rigged and armed.



It has a cabin or round-house, such as is not found in more ancient vessels.* The bulwark or parapet with apertures, through which cannons are pointed, and the larger opening or port-hole in the side near the stern of the vessel, are very striking novelties. The sail† is braced up for sailing upon a wind, contrary to the earlier practice of sailing always before the wind. The streamer does not fly in accordance with the angle of the sail; but this anomaly, in the performance of the priest of Guy's Cliff, may be supposed to have arisen from his desire to make the best display of the cross of St. George, the ensign of England, and the bear and ragged staff, the device of the Earl of Warwick. This streamer has had

* See the description of the ship in which the Bastard of Burgundy arrived at Gravesend, in the year 1647, p. 127, ante.

† This vessel has a main-mast, and a mizen-mast; and another sketch of a vessel in the same volume, describes one with a foremast; therefore it must be concluded that some ships had three masts, at the period when the MS. of Rous was written.

its historian,* and the account given of it supplies the date when the original was made and the ship equipped.

“These be the parcells that Will. Seburg, citizen and peyntour of London, hath delivered in the month of Juyll (*July*) the xv. year of the regn of King Harry the Sext, to John Ray, taillour of the same city, for the use and stuff of my Lord Warwick.

* * * *

£ s. d.

“Item, for a grete Stremour† for the ship, of xl. yerdes lenght, and vij. yerdes in brede, with a grete Bear and Gryfon holding a ragged staff, poudrid full of ragged staves, and for a grete crosse of St. George, for the lymmyng and portraying 1 6 8

“Item, for a Guyton‡ for the shippe, of viij. yerdes long, poudrid full of ragged staves, for the lymmyng and workmanship 0 2 0

“Item, iij. Pennons of satyn entreteyllled with ragged staves, for the lymmyng full of ragged staves, price the piece, ijs. 0 6 § 0

The *gryfon*, mentioned in this account, does not appear on the streamer; but probably it was painted on the side that is not seen; and with this exception, the streamer of the ship is identified with that described in the bill, and shows that the ship was equipped in July 1437. This, however, does not prove that the vessel was constructed at that time; for Rous might, at a later period, have copied a drawing previously made, or have given the representation of one that existed when the manuscript was written and illustrated. He died in the year 1491; and this date establishes the interesting fact, that, if port-holes in the sides of ships had not then been formed, openings for guns in the bulwarks were in use, some years at least before the time when, it is said, they were invented by the French.

* Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. i. p. 408.

† Streamer. “Besides Banners and Standards, Guidehommes or Guydons, Pencils or Pennons and Streamers were likewise used: the streamer was confined to ships, and still exists in what is now called a pendant, which is very long and narrow, and in the upper part contains the cross of St. George,” &c. *Excerpta Historica*, p. 51. “Every Standard and Guydhomme to have in the chiefe the crosse of St. George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the crest or supporter, with the poesy, worde, and devise, of the owner.” *Ibid*.

‡ A corruption of *guydom* or *guydon*. See preceding note.

§ Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. i. p. 408.

It is evident that great improvements had been made in marine architecture; the slightest glance being sufficient to discover the difference between vessels with a single mast each, and no deck, as used in the preceding age, and that class which is represented in the delineation by John Rous. The art of rigging had not kept pace with that of the structure of the vessel, though it is supposed that top-masts and top-sails were added to the equipment, before the time when Rous died.

The naval force of England, which had consisted of hired ships and but few vessels belonging to the crown, was reduced to a very low state at the accession of Henry VII.; but circumstances soon followed, which gave a great impulse to navigation. Columbus sailed from Spain, on his first voyage, in the year 1492, in search of a continent beyond the Atlantic, which he discovered in his third voyage in 1498. Vasco de Gama left the Tagus on the 20th of June, 1497; and pursuing his voyage round the south promontory of Africa, which he named the Cape of Good Hope, he reached Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, on the 22nd of May in the following year. Newfoundland was discovered in the year 1492. These discoveries roused a spirit of enterprize in England, and naval affairs received an attention commensurate to their importance to this maritime nation, which speedily led to the formation of the establishments, of which the origin is now to be traced.

ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE PORT OF LONDON, AT DEPTFORD, AND WOOLWICH.

DEPTFORD DOCK-YARD.

With the advantages of deep water, a weather shore during the prevalence of westerly winds for a great portion of the year, and proximity to London; Deptford has, from a very early period, been a place of rendezvous for shipping, and the resort and residence of seamen, pilots, and others engaged in the traffic on the river. These facts may be established, without multiplying proofs. In an account of expenses paid by the steward of Sir John Howard, in the reign of Edward IV., the following entry occurs.

1465-6.—“ Item, the same day my master couenawnt (*covenanted?*) wyth John Yonge of Depford besyde London, that he schalle be lodes-man (*pilot*) of my said master’s shippe into Sprowse, (*Prussia*;) and he schalle have for his labour, in hand xls., and thereof my mastyr toke him in hand, xiis.”*

As to ships, it appears that Sir John Howard wrote to an agent or servant of his, concerning a vessel and stores belonging to him, which were at Deptford, in these words:—“ John Nores, I wol ge se my maste at Depeford be well kewfered and kepe, for there be ij. Spayn[iards] in the Dowenes have loste theyer mastes; were fore I trow they wol by (*buy*) myn, and ther for I wolde my maste were the beter kepete and dressed a genst they kome to se it. Also I have wreten to gow dyvers tymes to sel my holke at Depeforde, and also the bote that longethe to the same; also and ge kan sel wel the Mekel (*Michael?*) of Barstable, I wold ze sold it, and speke wethe on Scherwood.”†

These vessels and stores appear to have been the private property of Sir John Howard; but the present object is to ascertain the origin of the royal establishment at Deptford.

Lambarde says, that King Henry VIII., for the better preservation of the Royal Fleet, erected a Store-house at Deptford, and created certain officers there, whom he incorporated by the name of the Master and Wardens of the Holy Trinity, for the building, keeping, and conducting the Navy Royal.‡ But their charter of incorporation, which bears date at Westminster, the 20th day of May, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry VIII. (A. D. 1514), does not bear out the opinion of Lambarde, that the Corporation was charged with the preservation of the Royal Fleet. A like erroneous statement has been made by Camden, who says, “ at Deptford there is also a famous Store-house, and a place or incorporation” (calling it in the margin, The Holy Trinity House,) “ something like a College, for the use of the Navy.” § Whereupon his editor Bishop Gibson

* Manners and household expenses, &c. p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 173.

‡ Lambarde’s Perambulation of Kent, edit. 1596, page 428.

§ Camden’s Britannia, with Additions, by Edmund Gibson. London 1695, folio, p. 229.

remarks, in the following terms:—"We have to observe a mistake, relating to the neighbouring college, said by our author, to have been ordained for the use of the navy. Forasmuch as by a grant of Henry VIII. to the shipmen and mariners of the realm, they were indeed enabled to begin (to the honour of the blessed Trinity and St. Clement) a Guild or Brotherhood perpetual, concerning the cunning or craft of mariners, and for the increase and augmentation of the ships thereof; which, as the body corporate of the Seamen of England, still continues, (and this the seat of it,)* under the stile of the Trinity House of Deptford-Strand, but without the least share assigned thereto, either of trust or authority in the Navy Royal."† A later Kentish historian‡ takes a similar view of this institution, enumerating, however, among the functions of the corporation, the examination of the Masters of His Majesty's Ships; which might lead the reader back to the notions of Lambarde and Camden, that the corporation was charged with a share at least, in the administration of the affairs of the Royal Navy.

The charter§ granted by Henry VIII. at once removes these doubts and misrepresentations: for it declares that "We of our special grace, and on account of the sincere and entire love and likewise devotion, which we bear and have towards the most glorious and undividable Trinity, and also to St. Clement the Confessor, have granted and given license for us and our heirs, as much as in us is, to our beloved liege people and subjects, the Shipmen or Mariners of this our Realm of England, that they or their heirs, to the praise and honour of the said most glorious and undividable Trinity and St. Clement, may of new begin, erect, create, ordain, found, unite, and establish a certain Guild or perpetual Fraternity of themselves and other persons whatsoever, as well men as women, in the parish church of Deptford-Strand, in the County of Kent." It proceeds to grant authority to the Brethren of the Guild or Fraternity, to appoint one Master, four

* Now at Tower Hill, the premises at Deptford being also retained.

† Ibid. Additions, page 230.

‡ Hasted's History of Kent, 8vo. edit. vol. i. page 359.

§ Patent Roll, 6 Henry VIII. part 1.

Wardens, and eight Assistants, to govern the institution, and to admit any of the King's subjects, who would be of the Guild or Fraternity, as Brethren and Sisters of the same; and that they might have authority to make laws, ordinances, and statutes among themselves, "for the relief, increase, and augmentation, of the shipping of this our realm of England." But not one word does this charter contain, that can bear the construction that the Corporation was created for the administration of the affairs of the Royal Navy.

The passage referred to, in Hasted, enumerates among the functions of the Corporation, the examination of the mathematical scholars educated at Christ's Hospital, in London, and of Masters of the Ships of the Navy; and the appointment of Pilots, to take charge as well of the King's Ships as of Merchant Ships. But these powers were not given by the charter of foundation: for the authority of the Corporation was not extended until the first year of James II.; when by a new charter, the Master, Wardens, and Assistants, and every other Brother of the Corporation, were authorised to take apprentices to be brought up in the trade of Mariners, or seafaring men;—to examine and certify the proficiency of the mathematical children of Christ's Hospital;—and to appoint all Pilots, Loadsmen, and Guides, to and out of the River Thames, to be confirmed by the Lord High Admiral. Hence it has followed, that Masters in the Royal Navy must be examined, as well as all others taking charge of ships navigating the Thames, as to their proficiency. The same charter makes special reservation of all rights and authority of the Lord High Admiral. The charter of Henry VIII., therefore, served only to incorporate a Society of Mariners, that had been previously seated at Deptford; but throws no light on the origin of a royal establishment there; which is now to be ascertained by other testimony.

It has already been stated that Lambarde notices a Storehouse, built by Henry VIII. at Deptford. The site of a Storehouse there, within the boundary of the present Dock-yard, is pointed out by John Evelyn, in a plan drawn by himself, in the year 1623; and the building is designated by him "the Long Store-

house." About the year 1721, another building was added to this, parallel to it, on the north side; and when some reparations were effected in 1828, upon removing part of the wall between these buildings, the date of 1513 appeared upon the original work. This is the earliest authentic date of a royal establishment at Deptford, and it is one year earlier than the date of the charter of incorporation of the Mariners there.

The next subject for inquiry is, the construction of ships for the Navy Royal, at Deptford.

The reign of Henry VII. is considered an important era, in the naval history of England.

The ships belonging to that monarch, which have been mentioned by historical writers, are, the *Great Harry*, the *Regent*, and the *Sovereign*: but the accounts of their origin are very unsatisfactory; and, with respect to the first of them, it is doubtful whether it ought to be classed with the ships of that reign.

Charnock not only does not give a clear account of the origin of the *Great Harry*, but he actually increases the difficulty of the investigation concerning that ship. He suggests that it was not launched until a short time after the death of Henry VII., and that it was this ship that was represented in a drawing preserved in the Pepysian Library, at Magdalen College, Cambridge; which other writers consider to represent the *Harry grace-a-dieu* built by Henry VIII. He, however, adds, that the name appears to have been afterwards changed to the *Sovereign*, as it is called by Grafton, but by other Chroniclers, the *Regent*.*

No account, therefore, of this third ship of magnitude, that can be relied on, has been produced; the number of such ships of that reign, is reduced to two only—the *Regent* and the *Sovereign*. These two ships are separately and satisfactorily identified, as belonging to the period of Henry VII., in an account of the privy purse expenses of that King.†

“A.D. 1492.—March 4. To a Brutan, lodesman‡
of the *Regent* 13s. 4d.

* Charnock's History of Marine Architecture, vol. ii. page 28.

† Excerpta Historica. 8vo. London, 1830, p. 87, et seq.

‡ Note by the Editor.—“A Briton, who was lodesman, i. e. pilot of the *Regent*, one of the King's largest ships.”

“A. D. 1496.—March 13. To the clerks of the ships
for conveying of the *Sovereign* to Hampton . 100*l*.”

They both were in the memorable fight on St. Laurence's day, 10th of August, 1512; when the *Regent* was destroyed by fire. The *Sovereign* is frequently mentioned many years after that disaster.

The *Great Harry* cannot with propriety be added to these, as belonging to the reign of Henry VII. There is no proof of the time when, or of the place where, that ship was built; and as the name does not appear in the service, after the *Sovereign* and *Regent* are recognized, Charnock may be presumed to be correct in his assertion, that the *Great Harry* was not launched until the next reign, and that it was then called the *Regent*. There were, therefore, not three ships of that superior class, that may be termed first rates of the time; but two only, the *Regent* and the *Sovereign*, the former being of the burthen of 1000 tons, and the latter of 800 tons.

Although it does not appear that these ships were built by the Crown, or even that they were built within the kingdom; yet, as a ship “as large as a great carrack,” had been constructed at Hull, in the year 1449, by divers of the King's subjects, there can be little doubt that they were built in England by English shipwrights; and possibly one or both of them at Deptford. Whenever it may be ascertained that they were actually English-built ships, they must be considered the first ships of the permanent Navy Royal of England. Till then, the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, as it will presently appear, must be considered the first ship of the Royal Navy, properly so called, having been built by the Crown, within the realm.

The extent and importance of Deptford, as a station for the ships and vessels of the Crown, when the Storehouse had been established there, is exemplified by some extracts from a document* of the same period, purporting to be—“A note how many ships the King's Majesty (Henry VIII.) hath in harbour, on the 18th day of September, in the thirteenth year of his reign; what portage they be of; what estate they be in the same day; also where they ride, and be bestowed.”†

* Cotton. MS. Otho E. IX. f. 67*b*.

† Charnock, vol. ii page 105.

“The *Mary Rose*, being of the portage of 600 tons, lying in the pond at Deptford, besides the Storehouse there, &c.

“The *John Baptist*, and *Barbara*, every of them being of the portage 400 tons, do ryde together in a creke of Deptford Parish, &c.

“The *Great Nicholas*, being of portage 400 tons, lyeth in the east end of Deptford Strand, &c.

* * * *

“The Great Barke, being of portage 250 tons, lyeth in the pond at Deptford, &c.

“The Less Bark, being of the portage of 180 lyeth in the same pond, &c.

“The twayne Row Barges, every of them being of portage 60 tons, lye in the said pond, &c.

“The Great Galley, being of portage 800 tons, lyeth in the said pond,” &c.

Upon the facts here related, it may be concluded, that Deptford having long before been a rendezvous for ships, and a place of resort for shipmen, at length in the year 1513, became a Royal Station; which was eventually extended and improved, and became the most considerable of the Royal Dock-yards.

As the object of this account was, to show the origin of the establishment, and not to give a history of the progress of ship-building there, the subject may now be concluded; but not without a word upon a remarkable occurrence there.

King Edward VI. has left a Diary* in his own hand-writing, wherein, under date of 1549, May 4th, it is said that “The Lord Clinton, before Captain of Bolleyn, came to Court, where after thanks, he was made Admiral of England;”—and afterwards follows the story of a sham-fight at Deptford, which shall be told in the King’s own words, and in the original orthography.

“June 19. I went to Detford, being bedden to supper by the L. Clinton, where before souper i saw certaine [men] stand upon a bote without hold of any thing, and rane one at another til one was cast into the water. At supper Mons. Viedam and Henadey supped with me. After supper was ther a fort made upon a great lighter on the temps (*Thames*) which had three walles and a Watch Towre, in the meddes of wich Mr. Winter was Captain with forty or fifty other Soldiours in yelow and

* Cottonian MS. Nero C. X. f. 19.

blake. To the fort also appertained a galery of yellow color, with men and municion in it for defence of the castel; wherfor ther cam 4 pinesses with ther men in wight ansomely dressed, wich entending to geve assault to the castil, first droue away the yelow piness and aftir with clods, scuibs, canes of fire, darts made for the nonce, and bombardes assaunted the castel, length came with ther pices and burst the utter walles of the castill beating them of the castel into the second ward, who after issued out and droue away the pinesses sinking one of them, out of wich al the men in it being more than twenty leaped out and swamme in the temps. Then came th' Admiral of the nauy with three other pinesses, and wanne the castel by assault, and burst the tope of it doune, and toke the captain and under captain. Then the Admiral went forth to take the yelow ship, and at length clasped with her toke fier, and assaulted also her toppe and wane it by compulcion, and so returned home."

WOOLWICH DOCK-YARD.

The early writers on the topography of the county of Kent, are silent upon the origin of the royal establishment at Woolwich. Bishop Gibson notices the omission before his time, and expresses his surprise at this, the more because of its having contributed to the number of royal ships, equally with any other two establishments; and he asserts its right, by seniority, to the title of the Mother Dock of England, adding as a proof of this, that the ship *Henry-Grace-de-Dieu* was built at Woolwich in the third year of the reign of King Henry VIII.* This sketch has been copied, by a more recent authority,† without any additional information relative to the precise period of the origin of the establishment at Woolwich.

Concerning the ship *Henry-grace-a-dieu*, another late eminent writer says, "we come now in reality to the ship which has occasioned so much mighty controversy. It is truly said to have been built in consequence of the destruction of the *Regent*;

* Camden's *Britannia*, with Additions by Edmund Gibson. London, 1695, folio, p. 230.

† Hasted's *History of Kent*, 8vo. edit. vol. i. page 442.

and, we may naturally suppose, was launched in the sixth year of the King's reign, that is to say, in 1515, as we find an entry concerning it in a very curious MS. now preserved in the Augmentation Office."* As the MS. referred to bears date two years later than an authentic record of the construction of the ship, the opinion is not supported by it. The same writer says that the *Henry-grace-a-dieu* was built at Erith, and that it was supposed to have been constructed by contract in a private ship-yard.†

These contradictory assertions and vague surmises, may now be met and corrected, by the evidence of an authentic document, relating both to the ship, (which is a principal object in all discussions upon early English built ships of war for the service of the Crown,) and to the origin of a royal naval establishment at Woolwich.

The following is an abstract of this very important official record.

Extracts from a Book,‡ preserved in the Record Office at the Rolls House, containing an account of the costs and charges of building the King's great ship, called the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, and three galleys, at Woolwiche and Erith, beginning the 4th of December, 4 Henry VIII. [1512.]

£. s. d.

Page 5.	"Paymentes of money to bakers, for brede hadde for shippwrights and othir upon the <i>Henry-grace-dieu</i> , as Regis Henrici viij ⁱ	370	7	8
Page 9.	"Paymentes of money to bere bruers, for bere of them hadde for shippwrightes and othir officers, working upon the Kinges great shippe and galeys at Wolwiche.	525	19	11
Page 13.	"Paientes of money for bieffes, motons, porkes, and calves, as foloweth, for vitailing of shippwrights, maryners and other at Wolwiche and Ereth	752	18	11
Page 23.	"Payementes of money for lynge, codde, rede heryng, white heryng, buttur, chese, salte and othir			

* Charnock's History of Marine Architecture, vol. ii. page 42.

† Ibid, page 47.

‡ Formerly at the Chapter House, and there marked "A 3. 26."

	£.	s.	d.
vitaille* for shippwrightes, maryners, and othir artificers, at Wolwiche and Ereth	320	11	8
Page 41. " Bordwages of shipwrights, carpenters, and sawyers, fellyng, squaryng and sawyng of timbre in the woddes	257	2	5½
Page 69. " Iren wrought in spykes, clenche-nayle and ruffe, and iren unwrought, wt nayles of all sortes, as well for iij galeys, as for the grete shippe called the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> , anno iij ^o Regis Henrici Octavi	408	19	7½
Page 91. " Money paied for brasen shevers and copyr ketylles, as well for the iij. galeys as for the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i>	243	6	3½
Page 101. " Money paid for seecole and grynstones, bought for the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> , and the iij. galeys, made at Wolwiche	129	0	6
Page 107. " Money paid for cabylles, cabilettes, halsers, ropes, ratelyn, marlyn, calkinge, hempe, and okeham, for the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij. galeys made at Wolwiche	969	2	11
Page 119. " Money paied for thromes, oxe-here, whyte lyme and flokkes, occupied aboute the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> , and the iij galeys	4	5	5
Page 127. " Money paied for lath, rede, and lome, for the makynge of the long house, and houses of office, Robert Bregandynes chambre, and smythes forges, ordeigned for the makynge of the Kinges grete shipp called the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> , and for the iij galeys begonne anno iij ^o R. Henr. viij ⁱ	19	13	6
Page 133. " Money payed for pytche, tarre, and rosen, bought for the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij galeys made at Wolwiche	96	8	5
Page 139. " Money paied for beddes, bought for lodgyng of shippwrightes and othir artificers, workyng upon the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij galeys, at Wolwiche	39	8	0
Page 141. " Money paied for the hyre of beddes, for shippwrightes, smythes and other artificers, workyng upon the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij galeys, as well at Wolwiche as at Ereth, as hereafter foloweth, begynnyng anno iij ^o . Regis Henrici viij ⁱ	58	11	2½
Page 167. " Money payed to suche persones as watche			

* The items under this head, include a payment of 16*d.* to John Wodowse, "Steward in the *Henry-grace-a-dieu*," for "creme by hym purveied at sundry tymes for the Kynges grace;" whence it appears that his Majesty visited Woolwich to inspect the ship, while building.

	£	s.	d.
in the nyghtes, for the more safe garde of the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and in the iij galeys, and in the mayne maste belongyng to y ^e same <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> .	21	14	0
Page 175. “ Money paied for corke and orys, for the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> the iij galeys and the grete bote Cokke and Jolly Watte, belonging [to] the same Harry .	27	13	0
Page 179. “ Money paied for tymber, clovebord, plankebord, and elmynborde, occupied and emploied as well uppon the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and her grete bote, the Cokk and Joly Watte, as upon the iij galeys with their botys, made at Wolwiche, begonne anno iiij ^{to} R. Henr. viij ⁱ	437	17	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Page 201. “ Timber unpaied,* receyved from diverse woddes and parkys in Essex and Kente, occupied and emploied about the makyng of the Kinges grete shipp called the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and other iij galeys, made at Wolwiche, as hereafter foloweth. (Summa totalis of tymber unpayde, <i>quia de present</i> . 1987 tonne, 20 foote.)			
Page 205. “ Money paied for shovilles, spades, disshes, platers, tankardes, lokkes, lanternes, baskettes, and other stuffe, spent and occupied about the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij galeyys, begynnyng anno iiij ^{to} R. Henr. viij ⁱ	155	13	10
Page 227. “ Money paid for the grete maste, pollancres, double poleyys, parelles, and other takelyng, concerning the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i>	35	8	7
Page 231. “ Money paied for sundry colours, for peynting of toppes, sayles, and images, in the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> . Summa totalis of coloures and oyle, for peynting of the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> toppes and saylest†	16	7	1
Page 235. “ Money paid for the expenses of shippwrightes and other, being in busynesse concernyng the makyng of the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij galeys	91	15	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
P. 267. “ Money payed for the hyre of grounde, and wharfes,‡ occupied with tymber, borde, secole, and			

* The curious details of these contributions of timber, will be given at the end of the account.

† From this charge, it may be inferred, that it was a practice to paint devices or arms, on ship's sails, as they are seen in ancient drawings and paintings.

‡ The particulars under this head contain the account of a payment to “ Maryon Danyell, widowe, for the hire of her grounde and houses, occupied

- other stuffe apperteignyng to the making of the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, and the iij galeys, as foloweth, begynnyng anno iiij^{to} R. Henr. viijⁱ . . . 19 5 0
- Page 273. " Money paied for hire of pastures, and heye for beefferes and motons provided for the vitailing of shippwrightes, maryners, and other artificers, being in the workes upon the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, and and the iij galeys . . . 22 18 8
- Page 277. " Money paied for hyre of smythes' tooles occupied for making of cheynes, boltes, and other stuff belonging to the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, as foloweth, and the iij galeys in like wise . . . 4 12 0
- Page 281. " Money paied for weying of cables, halsers, hempe, ropes, and metyng of secole provided for the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, and the iij galeyces . . . 19 4 9
- Page 285. " Money paied, as well for cariage with lighters, and botes by water, as with cartes by lond, of almaner suche stuffe bought and provided, concerning the *Harry-grace-a-dieu* and the iij galeys, from sundry places, begynnyng the xxviijth day of October anno iiij^{to} Regis H. viijⁱ with other necessities . . . 46 10 6
- Money paied for the hire of hoyes, crayars, and other vesselles, for conveyance of ordynance, ankers, mastes, and other stuffe, along the sees, from Dertmouth, Suthampton, and Rye, to Wolwiche, occupied and employed to the use of the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, and for other costes and charges belonging to the same conveyance . . . 77 3 2
- Page 311. " Money paied for the hire of crayers and other vesseles for balastyng of the *Harry-grace-a-dieu* . . . 77 0 4
- Page 319. " Money paied in wages to maryners, for tarryng of cables and ropes, fetchyng tymber with the Kyngeshoy, and other hoyes, and doing other busynes concernyng the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, as foloweth, begynnyng the viijth day of Decembre, anno iiij^{to} R. H. viijⁱ. . . 55 6 3
- Page 329. " Money paied in wages to THOMAS SPERT, Master of the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, and other maryners with hym, makyng sales for the same, and

with the Kinges tymber and the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, a hoole yere, &c. £6." This seems to denote the ground upon which the ship was built, and the spot probably might be traced, by reference to the deeds relating to the property. The premises occupied at Erith, and a wharf in the Medway for shipping timber, are included under this head.

	£	s.	d.
other busynes concernyng the riggyng of the same shipp	254	9	1½
Page 337. "Money paied for cotys gevyn unto Shippwrightes, as well for workyng upon the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> , and the iij galeyes made at Wolwiche, as uppon the barkes made at Smallhede	24	11	0
Page 341. "Conduyt money paied to Shippwrightes and other artificers, comyng from their countreys to work upon the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and the iij galeys made at Wolwiche.	70	14	0
Page 363. "Money payed in wages, as well for the hyre of oxen and horses drawyng tymber from the woddes to the water-syde, and otherwise, as for wages of Shippwrightes, Sawars, and Laborers, hewyng, squaryng, sawing, and lading tymber into hoyes and lighters, to be hadde to Wolwiche, for the <i>Harry-grace-dieu</i> and iij galeys	287	3	3
Page 389. "Money paied for the hire of the hoyes, playtes, and lighters, for cariage of tymbre and clovebord, from sondry places, provided for the Kinges grete shipp and iij galeys made at Wolwiche, begynning the moneth of Novembre, anno iiij ^{to} R. Henr. viij ⁱ	333	16	4
Page 411. "Money paid for cariage of tymber by londe fro sundry wodes in Kent, Essex, Sussex, Surr., and other shires, for the <i>Harry-grace-a-dieu</i> and iij galeys made at Wolwiche, begynning the iiij ^{de} day of November, anno. iiij ^{to} R. H. viij ⁱ	197	7	4½
"Summa totalis of this Boke, amount to vjM ^{li} cccclxxij ^{li} . viii ^s . ob. q."			

This sum of £6472 8s. 0¾d. does not include any charge for the timber which had been freely given to the King, for the purpose of building his great ship,* by various eminent persons, the following particulars of which are extracted from the Book of Account :—

* To render more complete the description which may be gleaned from the above accounts, the reader may consult the following authorities. "Furniture of the ship *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, from the original MS. in the Pepysian Library, in Magdalen College, Cambridge," printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. vi. page 216. See also *Charnock*, vol. ii. page 44. According to the former, "this famous ship, being at Woolwich, on the 27th of August, 1553, the first year of Queen Mary, by the carelessness of the mariners, took fire and was totally consumed." —*Archæologia*, vol. vi. page 208.

"Furst, of the King oure souverain lord, from his park called Rayleghe in Essex, xxvij. tonnes tymber. Item fro Thunderley, out of a grove called Sopars Grove, viij. ton x fote tymber. Item from an hethe called Tippetre Heth, lxj. tonne, vij fote tymber. And fro a wodde called Court Wodde, in Kent, xij. tonnes iiij. fote tymbre ; in all cvijj. ton. xxj. fote.

"Of the Bishop of Canterbury, fro a wod called Westwode, in Kent, cccxix. tonne dim. xiiij. fote, squared tymber ; ciij. ton trenayle tymber ; viij. tonnes rafters ; lvij. tonnes tymber for shorys ; xliij. lodes aspe ; iiij. lodes asshe ; ij. lodes stakes ; and xix. lodes tenet ; in all vj^{cl}j. ton. dim. xiiij fote.

"Of the Erle of Oxford, fro a park called Jebbecrake Park, xvj tonne tymber. And fro an othir park called Moche Bentle, in Essex, cx. tonne tymber ; in all cxxvj. ton.

"Of the Priour of Saint Mary Spittel, fro a wodde called Rowhay, in Essex..... cxxvijj. ton. v. fote.

"Of the Priour of Crist Church in Canterbury, fro a wodde called South Chirch Wodde, in Essex, xvj. tonnes tymber. And fro a wodde called Farle Frethe, in Kent, v^cxxxix. tonne dim. xix. fote tymber ; in all..... v^{cl}lv. ton. dim. xix. fote.

"Of the Lord of Saint Johnes in London, fro a wode called Freren Wode in Essex iiij^{xx}j. ton. iiij. fote.

"Of the Busshop of London, fro a parke callede Crondon Parke, in Essex ; in all xiiij. tonne iiij. fote.

"Of the Dean of Powlys, fro a wodde callede Nawte Stok (*Navestock* ?) in Essex cxl. ton. xxiiij. fote.

"Of the Lorde of Burgaveny, fro a wode callede Est Anvelde, in Essex viij. ton. dim. xix. fote.

"Of the Abbasse of Barkyng, fro a hethe in Essex xxix. ton. dim. v. fote.

"Of the Abbot of Saint Oyses, ij. grete trees that served for the mayne maste to the *Harry-grace-dieu*, being in all, by estimacion xiiij. tonne.

"Of the Duke of Suffolk, fro Plumstede in Kent, a pese of tymber conteignyng lxxvijj. fote

"Of the Abbot of Stratford, vj. grete trees for the kele and sterne post to the *Harry-grace-dieu*, conteignyng by estimacion, in all ... xvj. tonne.

"Summa totalis of tymber unpayde, *quia de present* .. M^{li}. ix^c. iiij^{xx}. vij. tonne xx. fote."

The form of the *Harry-grace-a-dieu*, is said to be represented in an ancient painting in the possession of the Society of Anti-quaries of London : and in a drawing in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge ; but the figure of a vessel in the drawing of an earlier date by John Rous,* goes far to prove that the repre-

* See the print from this drawing, page 133 ante.

sentations of the great ship of Henry VIII., and another of the “*Sovereign*” built in 1637,* are exaggerations : for the art of ship-building cannot be supposed to have retrograded so much, as to have produced the two ships in 1512 and 1637 ; after a vessel, so much more appropriately formed for sea service, as that delineated by Rous, before 1491, had been constructed or designed.

The foregoing account must remove all doubts, and put an end to all controversy upon the question, where the ship *Harry-grace-a-dieu* was built : as it most clearly shows, that it was built at Woolwich, by artizans who were victualled and lodged at the expense of the Crown. The work was commenced on the 4th day of December, in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII. A.D. 1512 ; and this date corroborates the story, that it was built to supply the loss of the ship *Regent*, which had been destroyed on the 10th day of August in the same year.

These facts having been established, it is still necessary to consider other evidence, before the claim to the title of the Mother-Dock of England, which has been assigned to that of Woolwich, can be recognised.

It appears by the account, that premises at Woolwich, consisting of houses, ground, and wharfs, were hired and occupied with timber, boards, coals, and other “stuff appertaining to the making of the ship *Harry-grace-a-dieu* ;” and that pastures were hired, and hay bought, for the subsistence of the oxen and sheep brought thither, and to Erith, for victualling the shipwrights, mariners, and other artificers and labourers, “being in the works” there. Laths, reeds, and loam, were brought for making the long house and offices, and “Robert Brigandyne’s chamber, and the smith’s forges.” But the account does not contain any notice of a Dock at Woolwich at that time, either in the several headings, or in the details under that for the hire of premises.

There was a dock at Erith † at the same time that the *Harry-*

* The *Sovereign* of the Seas, built by Chas. I.

† “Allso the saide John Hopton hathe paied in lyke wisse for the wages of divers and sondre personns as shipwrightts, calkers and laborers that wrought and labored in carting and making of a new docke at Erythe, and for the brynging in of our soveryn lord the King’s reall schipp named the Soverin in to the sayed dock, as for amending, reparyng and caulkyng of the sayed ship as of heving [it] forthe afflote out of the same docke, by the tyme and

grace-a-dieu was being built at Woolwich, which was probably only for temporary use ; and that there was a dock at Woolwich as early as the year 1515, is shown by the following account of charges for docking ships of the Royal Navy there at that time.

“Here ensueth the expenses, costs, and charges, had and made by the commandment of the King our Sovereign Lord, Henry VIII., on his ships within the River Thames, from the second day of November, in the sixth year of his reign, until the twentieth day of April then next ensuing.”* [1514-5.]

	*	*	*	*	*	£	s.	d.
“The SOVEREIGN.—Costs of bringing her from Erith to Woolwich, and so into her Dock, and the charge of much repair, in which we find no matter of curiosity worth specifying						11	5	4
“Paid by the King’s command for the carting, cleansing, hedging, staking, and piling of the Dock at Woolwich, for the bringing in the ship called the <i>Sovereign</i>						26	0	0
“Costs of Carriage, and felling of <i>tynnet</i> stakes and piles, as well for the Docks, as for shutting the head of the same						2	14	2
“Costs of certain labourers dispatching the ballast† out of the <i>Sovereign</i> , and helping to moor the <i>Great Barbara</i> at Woolwich						2	9	0
“Paid to labourers for the shutting in the <i>Sovereign</i> ’s dock head						24	13	5
“Felling timber, and other expenses in the <i>Sovereign</i> and her dock						3	0	7”

An extract or two from another record, will show that the dock mentioned in the foregoing statement was not a temporary structure.

“A note how many ships the King’s Majesty hath in harbour on the 18th day of September, in the thirteenth year of his reign, [1521], what portage they be of, what state they be in, the same day ; also where they ride, and be bestowed.”‡

space of viij weks, to be accompted from the ixth daye of December, unto the iiijth day of February then next insuing, this parcell folowyn.” From a book entitled “Expenses of the Navy,” 4th and 6th Henry VIII. “B. 2, 3,” preserved at the Public Record Office, Rolls House.

* Charnock, vol. ii. pp. 96—102.

† Throwing out ballast to lighten the ship for going into dock.

‡ Charnock, vol. ii. p. 103. Cotton. MS. Otho E. IX, fol. 67^b.

"The GREAT HENRY. First, the *Great Henry-grace-a-dieu*, being of the portage of 1500 tons, rideth at Northfleet, between Gravesend and Erith; being in good reparation, caulking except, so that she may be laid in dock at all times when the same shall be ready,* and Brygandyn,† the Clerk of the Ships, doth say, that before the said ship shall be laid in the Dock, it is necessary that her mast be taken down, and bestowed in the great storehouse at Erith, and also he saith, that if the *Great Henry* be not housed ‡ over, in such wise that the same may be sufficiently defended from snow, rain, and sun, it shall be utterly destroyed within few years; and also he esteemeth that the charge to house it, will amount to the sum of 100 marks and above."

"The SOVEREIGN. Item, the *Sovereign*, being of the portage of 800 tons, lyeth in a Dock at Woolwich, the same being in such case that she must be new made from the keel upwards; the form of which ship is so marvelous goodly, that great pity it were she should die, and the rather, because many things be there in her, that will serve right well."

By the evidence that has been produced, it appears that a ship of war of the first class, was begun at Woolwich in the year 1512, and that about two years afterwards there certainly was a royal dock at that place, and probably earlier; and upon such testimony, the right to the title of the Mother-Dock of England claimed for that establishment, (as it consisted both of premises occupied as a building yard, and a dock,) must be admitted.

Additional premises were soon afterwards obtained by the Crown. Sir Edward Boughton conveyed two parcels of land called Bowton's Docks (Boughton's?) in the parish of Woolwich, to king Henry VIII. in the 37th year of his reign.§

In this manner, the establishment of the Crown at Woolwich has been extended, but it is impracticable here, to trace the steps by which subsequent improvements were effected; yet the

* This refers to an existing dock, in which, according to the next following passage, the ship *Sovereign* was then lying.

† Whose name was given to vessels, rigged according to his suggestion. Charnock, vol. ii page 106, note. See also, concerning Brigandine, *Excerpta Historica*, London. 1830, pp. 130-1.

‡ The traveller passing by water, between London and Gravesend, will now see the same method of preserving ships in use at Woolwich. In the year 1789, it was again suggested; and in 1793, several ships had a roof thrown over them, just as they were finished, and some were kept on the stocks in that state for two or three years. Some lying in ordinary also, had sheds put over them. Derrick, *memoirs on the Royal Navy*, pp. 287-8.

§ Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 450.

reader is presented with the accompanying view of Woolwich, engraved from an original drawing made in the year 1662, by Mr., afterwards Sir Jonas Moore,* Surveyor of the Ordnance, being no doubt a faithful representation of the Town and Dock, as they appeared at that time. The Church delineated in this view fell into decay, and another was erected in the 5th year of the reign of George II., as one of the new Churches built after the fire of London, in 1666, from funds supplied by an impost upon coals brought into the Port of London. The Royal Dock Yard now extends in front of the Church, where the ground appears in the view, uncovered. Of course no sign of the Royal Arsenal appears.

This graphic view, contrasted with the verbal description of the place in the reign of Henry VIII., the founder of the Dock Yard, exhibits an improvement: but how much more does the present appearance of Woolwich, as now seen from the river, excel the aspect presented in the drawing?

THE ROYAL ARSENAL.

To many who occasionally pass by water between London and Gravesend, an account of the origin of this important public department may be acceptable, and to some it may be interesting.

The Foundry, where brass ordnance for the public service had previously been cast, was at Moorfields, in London, where a dreadful accident occurred, that led to the removal of that establishment. The relation of this sad event was given in the public journals of the time, and from them the following particulars are obtained:—

1716. “ On Thursday, the 10th of May, about nine o’clock at night, while the workmen at the royal foundry near upper Moorfields, were casting a cannon, the metal that was running into the mould, flew up on a sudden, with very great noise and violence, and came down like drops of fire, not only upon all the workmen, but upon the spectators (of whom there was a great number to see the performance). Several attended from the Tower, particularly Mr. Hall, Clerk of the Ordnance, who was so

* See page 40, ante.





sorely wounded that he died next morning. The Master-Founder, and his son, with about twenty others, were also very much hurt. 'Tis generally agreed, that this sad accident was owing to the dampness of the mould."*

The following account appeared in another journal.

" Thursday night, about nine o'clock, a most terrible accident happened at the Great Foundry in Windmill Hill, by Moorfields, where, the workmen casting some brass guns in wet moulds, they burst, and killed one of the clerks of the Ordnance. Bagley, the Master Founder, has lost his eyes, and his son and sixteen others are desperately wounded, insomuch that it is thought several of them will die."†

This deplorable catastrophe was foreseen and foretold by Andrew Schalch, a native of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, who had arrived in England for the purpose of seeking instruction, to qualify himself for a profession.

It had been determined to re-cast the unserviceable guns which had been taken from the French in the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and this becoming generally known by the exposure of the cannon at the place, a great number of persons assembled to witness the operation.

Schalch being there, observed some latent dampness in the moulds, and being alarmed, he communicated his apprehension of the consequences to Colonel Armstrong, the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance; and, after explaining his reasons for believing that an explosion would accompany the casting of the metal, warned him to retire from the impending danger. When the furnaces were opened, the metal rushed into the moulds, and immediately the damp of the moulds was converted into steam, which occasioned a dreadful explosion, by which the roof of the building was blown off, and many persons killed and wounded, as it has been related.

A few days afterwards, an advertisement appeared in the newspapers, stating in substance, that if the young foreigner, who was in

* The Flying Post, or the Post Master, from Thursday, May 10th, to Saturday May 12, 1716.

† The Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer, Saturday, May the 12th, 1716.

conversation with Colonel Armstrong on the day of the explosion, would call on the Colonel at the Tower, the interview might be to his advantage. Schalch, having received an intimation of this, waited upon the Colonel; and eventually he received instructions to select a spot within twelve miles of London, (taking into consideration the extent of the works required, and the carriage of heavy materials,) to which the establishment might be removed. He inspected several spots, and at length fixed on the Warren at Woolwich, as the most eligible situation for the purpose.

This proposition was approved, and a new foundry was erected there. The buildings were designed by Sir John Vanburgh, and were finished in the year 1719.

The first specimens of ordnance that were cast under the superintendence of Schalch were so highly approved, that he was appointed Master Founder; and he continued in that office about sixty years. He died in the year 1776, when about ninety years of age, and was buried in the church-yard of Woolwich.*

The establishment founded by Schalch has been considerably extended, to meet the great augmentations that have, from time to time, been made in the Ordnance department.

1503. The following charges for dispatching a messenger by water to Gravesend, to summon Dr. Aylsworth, a physician in Kent, to attend Elizabeth of York, Queen Consort of Henry VII., occur in the "Privy Purse Expences of the Queen."†

"Item, the xxvjth. day of February, to James Nattres for his costes going into Kent for Doctour Hallysworth, phisicon, to comme to the Quene by the Kinges commaundement.

Furst for his bote hyre from the Towre to Gravysende and	s.	d.
again	iii.	iiij.
Item to twoo watermen abiding at Gravysende unto suche		
time as the said James come again, for their expenses .		viiij.
Item, for horse hyre and to guides by night and day .	ii.	iiij.
And for his owne expenses		xvj.

Summa, vij^s. viij^d.

* These particulars concerning Schalch and his proceedings, are derived from the *Beauties of England and Wales*, by E. W. Brayley. 8vo. London, 1808, vol. vii. p. 529.

† Privy Purse Expences of Elizabeth of York, &c By Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. 8vo. London, 1830, p. 96.

As the Queen died in the Tower, on the 11th of February, it should seem that the physician was sent for at a crisis, and it may be supposed that the most expeditious mode of bringing medical advice would have been resorted to; it appears, therefore, that a passage by water to Gravesend, was at that time preferred to a journey by land, even for expedition.

1505-6. Among the distinguished and remarkable personages who have availed themselves of the accommodation of the Gravesend Barge, *Wolsey*, afterwards the *Cardinal*, appears to have made good use of it, at the time when a treaty* of marriage was pending between the King, Henry VII. and Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, only daughter of Maximilian the Emperor.

The King having urgent occasion to send an Ambassador to Maximilian, who was then in the Low Countries, the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Thomas Lovell, who were high in the favour of the King, wishing to advance Wolsey, who was then Chaplain to Henry recommended him as the most fit person to be employed on the mission. This brought him into immediate communication upon the subject, with his Royal Master, who was so well pleased with Wolsey, that he was engaged to proceed to the Emperor.

“Having his depeach, he took his leave of the King at Richmond about noone, and so came to London aboute foure of the clocke, where the barge of Grauesend was ready to launch forth, both with a prosperous tyde and winde; without any abode hee entered the barge, and so passed forth with such happy speede, that he arrived at Grauesend within little more than three houres, where he tarried no longer than his post horses were providing, and then travelled so speedily, that he came to Dover the next morning, whereas the passengers† were ready under sayle to Caleis, into the which passenger without tarrying he entered, and sailed forth with them, that long before noone he arrived at Caleis, and having post-horses in a readinesse, departed from thence without tarrying; and he made such hasty speede, that hee was that night with the Emperor.”

* See Rymer's *Fœdera*, 21 Henry VII. A. D. 1505-6.

† Probably meaning passage-boat.

The energy of the aspiring Wolsey upon this occasion, and his adroitness in seizing the advantage of a favourable wind and tide for his conveyance in the barge to Gravesend, must be reckoned among the occurrences that led to his aggrandizement.*

WATERMEN AND WHERRYMEN OF THE THAMES.

1514. The Legislature provided for the first time, by a Statute† of the sixth year of the reign of King Henry VIII., for the limitation of watermen's fares, for conveying passengers between London and Gravesend, as well as to and from intermediate places, and above London Bridge, to and from Mortlake.

1555. The next step taken, was by another Statute,‡ to place the whole fraternity of watermen of the Thames under the control and management of eight Overseers and Rulers, to be selected by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London, from "the most wise, discreet, and best sort of watermen, being householders, and occupying as watermen upon the river Thames between Gravesend and Windsor." The preamble of this Statute gives a very unfavourable view of the boatmen, at that time exercising their calling on the Thames.

It alleges that, for want of good government and due order amongst the wherry-men and watermen, many misfortunes and mischances had happened to a great number of the King's and Queen's subjects, as well to the nobility as to others of the common people, that had been carried by water; by reason of the rude, ignorant, and unskilful number of watermen, who, for the most part, were masterless men, and men of all kinds of occupations and faculties, and many boys of small age and of little skill, and being persons out of the rule and obedience of any honest master or governor, and who for the most part of their time used dancing, carding, and other unlawful games; and, moreover, that such

* Stow's *Annales*, edit. 1631, p. 498. Stow gives this relation upon the authority of Cavendish, Wolsey's Gentleman Usher at a subsequent period, derived probably from a MS. copy of the Life of Wolsey, written by Cavendish.

† 6 Henry VII., chap. 7. Printed in Pocock's *History of Gravesend*, p. 174.

‡ 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, chap. 16.

persons did, in the time of pressing by commission for the service of the King and Queen upon the sea, having no known place of abiding, absent and convey themselves into the country and secret places.

With respect to the boats and wherries, it is recited in the Act, that most of them, then in use, had been made so little, and small in proportion, and so straight and narrow in the bottom, varying much from the old substantial sort, and sure making of boats, which was used before the space of twenty years then last past; and that at the time of passing the Act, they were so “shallow and tickle,” that thereby great danger of drowning had ensued, and was likely to ensue, unless speedy remedy should be provided.

It was accordingly provided by the Act, that no person should be carried in any boat or wherry by two watermen, unless one of them should have been exercised in rowing for the space of two years, and one of the two watermen, at least, admitted under the known seal of the Rulers, to be a sufficient and able waterman. That no single man, not keeping household, and not retained (probably this means retained in the permanent service of some person or persons) unless he be an apprentice, or in service with a master by the whole year, should exercise to row upon the Thames between Gravesend and Windsor.

That the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Justices of the Peace, within the shires adjoining the Thames, should have authority to punish offenders, upon the complaint of the Rulers, or of the masters of servants; and also by their good discretions and wisdom to correct and reform the said Rulers, and every of them that should unjustly and without good cause, punish any person by colour of the Act.

The dimensions of the wherries to be used, were prescribed as follows:—twenty-two feet and a half in length, and four feet and a half broad in the midship, to be substantially and well able and sufficient to carry two persons on one side tight; according to the old quantity, scantling, thickness of board, goodness, and good proportion theretofore had and used.

That watermen withdrawing in time of impressment, should be liable to imprisonment for two weeks, and to be “banished any

more to row," for the space of one whole year and day then next following.

That the Rulers should register the names of all watermen allowed or admitted to work between Windsor and Gravesend; take order and direction of the watermen according to the provisions of the Act; and inspect the wherries before they should be launched, to see that they were built in conformity with the Act.

That the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen should, at their discretions, limit, set, and assess the fares of the watermen; such fares to be allowed by the Privy Council; and when confirmed by two at least of the Council, to be exhibited in Guildhall and Westminster Hall, and elsewhere, as the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen should think fit.

Fares appointed under the authority of this Act,* are very similar to those allowed by the previous Act of the 6 Henry VIII. They were printed by John Cawood, without date, but from the names and titles of the Privy Councillors who confirmed them, it is probable that they were printed about August, 1562; when Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, and the others, were frequently together at the Council, as it appears by the Registers of the Board.

The following is from Cawood's Book of the Rates or Fares.

"The prices of fares and passages to be paid vnto watermen from London to Grauesend, and likewise from Grauesend to London, and to every common place betwene. And also betwene London Bridge and Windsoure, and to every common place of landyng betwene London and Windsoure.

"Imprimis, that no owner or occupier of the common fare of Grauesende barge shall take of any person from London to Grauesend, or contrarye, aboue two pence for every person, so as the same sume of two pence for every person amount to the sume of iiii^s.

"Item, that no owner or occupier of any tylte boate with iiii ores and a steresman, take for his fare from London to Grauesend, to or fro, aboue foure pence the person, so as the same foure pence a man do

* Miscellaneous Proclamations, &c. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ix. folio 40.

amount to vi^s. viii^d. and for everye ore aboute foure ores to have xii^d.—vi^s. viii^d.

“ Item, that everye owner or occupier of a tyde boate from London to Grenehue or Grayes Thorrock, or to any place of lyke dystaunce, shall not take of anye one personne to or fro aboute a peny, so as the whole fare amounte to xii^d.

“ Item, for a tilte boat with foure ores and a steresman to and fro, not aboute vi^s. and for everye ore aboute foure ores xii^d. an ore—vi^s.

“ Item, that no whyrrey with two ores take from London to Grenehue, Greys Thorock, or like distaunce, to or fro, aboute xx^d.

“ Item, that no owner or occupier of any tide boate from London to Purflete or lyke distaunce, to or fro, shal take of any one personne aboute a peny, so as the hole fare may amounte vnto x^d.

“ Item, for a tilte boate with foure ores and a steresman from London to Erith or Purflete, or like distaunce to or fro, not aboute fyue shyllinges for his whole fare, v^s.

“ Item, that no wherryman with two ores take from London to Purflete or lyke distaunce, to or fro, aboute xviii^d.

“ Item, that no occupier of any tyde boate from London to Rayneham or Erith, or like distaunce, to or fro, doo take aboute a peny of any one person.

“ Item, for a tylte boate with foure ores and a steresman, to or fro, not aboute fyue shyllinges for hys whole fare, v^s.

“ Item, that no wherrymanne wyth two ores take from London to Rayneham or Erith, or lyke distaunce, aboute xvi^d.

“ Item, that no owner or occupier of any tyde boate frome London to Wolwiche, or lyke distaunce, to or fro, take of any person aboute a peny.

“ Item, that no wherryman with two ores take for his fare frome London to Wolwiche, to or fro, aboute xii^d.

“ Item, that none of the occupiers of anye of the common tyde botes afore rehersed, shall take of any person, that shall come aborde of any of the sayde boates by the waye, betwene London and Grauesende, aboute the pryce for the same boate limited.

“ Item, that no wherryman wyth a payre of ores shall take for his whole fare from London to Grenewich to or fro, above viij^d, with the tyde, and against the tide xii^d.

“ Item, that no wherrymanne wyth a payre of ores shall take for his fare from Ratcliffe to Grenewich or contrarye, aboute iiii^d with the tyde, and against tide vi^d.

“ Item, that no wherryman wyth a payre of ores, take for his fare from London to Ratcliffe or Limehouse, or lik edistaunce to or fro, aboute iiii^d with the tide, and against the tide vi^d.

“ Item, that from Lyon Keye, or Saynt Oliffes, to St. Katharine or Radriffe, or like distaunce, no wherryman take for his fare aboute ii^d.

[*Then follow, fares above bridge.*]

“GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

“Bacon, C. S.	W. Northampton.	F. Bedforde.
Penbroke.	E. Clynton.	W. Hawarde.
E. Rogers.	F. Knolles.	W. Cessell.
W. Peter.	Ri. Sackefyld.	N. Wotton.

Several later acts for the regulation of the Watermen of the Thames have been passed, and by that of the 7 & 8 Geo. IV., they were incorporated. Such of the provisions as have particular reference to Gravesend, will be noticed in the order of time as they were enacted.

1522. The Emperor Charles V., being about to make a voyage from his dominions in the Low Countries, to his kingdom of Spain, and by the way to visit Henry VIII. in England, great preparations were made for his reception, and the inhabitants of Gravesend were gratified with the display of splendid processions upon the occasion.

On the 20th of May, Cardinal Wolsey departed from London with a numerous and brilliant train of Earls, Knights, Bishops, Abbots, and thirty Chaplains, with a hundred gentlemen, and seven hundred yeomen, to receive the Emperor upon his landing at Dover.

On Monday the 26th, the Cardinal reached Dover, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the Emperor landed, and was received by Wolsey on the shore. Henry reached Canterbury the same day, and on the following morning rode to Dover, where, “with much joy and gladness the Emperor and King met.” After remaining at Dover till Thursday, they commenced their journey towards Westminster, stopping at Canterbury two days.

On Monday, June 2nd, the grand cavalcade reached Gravesend, by one o'clock, where thirty barges were ready to receive the Emperor and King with their respective retinues, and they embarked for Greenwich.*

It is a notable circumstance, that the inhabitants had not then the means of testifying their joyousness and respect, through a

* Hall, *sub anno*, 1522.

municipal body as their representatives ; neither was there a salute of artillery upon the occasion, for there was as yet, neither corporation nor bulwark ; though presently there will be occasion to notice the origin of the corporation and the forts at Gravesend.

1528. In this year a most extraordinary occurrence was witnessed by the good folks at Gravesend. A French cruizer of thirty tons burthen, with a crew of thirty-eight men, was lying off Margate, to intercept Flemish vessels on their passage to or from the Thames, there being at that time war between those states. A Flemish vessel of twenty-eight tons with twenty-four men, appointed to protect the boats that were fishing between Grave-lines and Ostend, had been to Gravesend to procure some bread, and upon her return was intercepted by the Frenchman. A sharp conflict ensued, and the wind being east and blowing fresh (*"straynable"*), the Frenchman having the worst of it, made sail to the Thames, and a running fight between them was kept up. Off Gravesend the Fleming boarded the vessel of his antagonist, and there they fought again, says the chronicler,* and away again went the Frenchman, and the Fleming after him, until they reached the Tower Wharf, where Sir Edmund Walsingham the Lieutenant of the Fortress, saw them fighting, and took possession of both vessels.

THE BULWARKS OF GRAVESEND AND TILBURY.

1539. These Bulwarks, or Blockhouses, were erected by King Henry VIII. for the defence of the Thames, at a time when an invasion of the kingdom was apprehended.

The struggle in which Henry had been engaged for the reformation of the Church of Rome within his dominions, had raised potent enemies against him, who were no less disposed to support that church, than he was to suppress it ; and when the King had accomplished his purpose at home, matters were assuming a serious aspect abroad. It was apprehended that the Pope would succeed among the Roman Catholic Princes, in raising a strong confederacy for the purpose of reducing this country to obedience to the head of that church.

* Hall, edit. 1809, p. 748.

The Government was no less alarmed than the people. The King "in his own person took very laborious and painful journeys to the sea coast,"* in order to direct measures of defence; and the general feeling of danger, that had been created by other more important circumstances, was indicated by a trifling incident which seemed to warrant uneasy forebodings.

1539. On Easter day, three strange ships appeared in the Downs; and as it was neither known what they were, nor what they intended to do, all the able men in Kent rose, and mustered in armour the same day.†

In the same season of alarm, the King caused all the havens to be fenced with bulwarks and blockhouses; and riding to Dover, he gave order to have bulwarks made along the sea coasts, and sent commissions to have general musters made through the realm.‡ The Thames being a vulnerable point, bulwarks and blockhouses were erected at Gravesend, Tilbury, and Higham.

The following account of these erections is extant, and although it does not exhibit very critical accuracy in the amount of the cost incurred, it nevertheless affords clear evidence of the actual construction of the bulwarks, at that time of general alarm; which is confirmed by other statements that will follow.

"1539-40. Anno Reg. Hen. VIII. xxxio.

"A vewe of the Kinges charges appone his graces fortificacions as well at Grauesende and there abowtes as in other charges commytted by his highnes at London unto his Saruaunte Lyonell Martenne, begunne the vi day of March laste, and ended the xiiii daye of June.

	£	s.	d.
Imp. In the furste paymente .	108	12	8
Item. In the secunde paymente .	427	2	3
Item. In the third paymente .	396	9	7
Item. In the iiij th paymente .	392	18	8
Item. delyuered by way of preste to the Curveyor and Lyonell Mar- tenne at dyuers tymes for the expedeshone of the Kinges highnes cause	45	0	0
Item. in the v th paymente . . .	787	0	0

The Kinges block-
houses at Grauesende
and there abowtes.

* Southey's Naval History, vol. ii. page 202. Hall, p. 828.

† Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 946.

‡ Ibid.

Sum £2156. 10s. 3d. whereof

Receptes for the same.	{	Reacyved for the cawss aboue saide in	{	£	s.	d.
		ij Recepts by the handes of Sir		1933	13	2
		Thomas Hennage Knight . . .	}			

Et sic in surplus, £222. 16s. 1d.*

Furthermore hit maye please youre highnes to be aduertised that by youre Masters and Workemen there working, hyt ys extemyed that thre thowsande poundes more than ys ready dispursed shaull fynnysshe all manner cawss there redye begunne.

Allso to your graces pleasure to be knowne for cauces by the same commyted to Lyonell Martenne uppone which theare ys readye spentte uppone, the some of threscore and tenne powndes, lytull more or les. And his extimate ys by his booke here a fore shewyd a great summe of moneye.”†

The lands upon which the two Blockhouses at Gravesend, (both being within the parish of Milton,) were built, were not the property of the Crown at the time they were erected; which shows the precipitancy with which the military defence of the station was provided.

These lands were purchased of William Burston, of Milton, gentleman, and consisted of two parcels, called severally, Le Grene with a piece of pasture adjacent; and the Chapel Field; containing in the whole about nine acres.

The deed of conveyance, which is dated the 3rd day of June, 1543, describes the situation of the Blockhouse on the land called Le Grene, and recites that it had been built thereon, before the purchase was completed; as follows—“upon which certain piece of land called Le Grene, a certain House and Tower called a Blockhouse, by our Lord the King is just now built and constructed.”

This Blockhouse remains, at the water side in front or north of the Terrace, at the west side of the Terrace Garden and Pier. The other Blockhouse, in Milton, was built on the piece of land called the Chapel Field, probably because of its contiguity to the ancient Chapel or Chantry‡ of Milton.

* There is a difference of 13s. 11d. between the amount of the several charges, and the sum total and balance as stated.

† MS. Bibl. Reg. 14 B. xxxiv. Brit. Mus.

‡ See page 59, supra.

This was a secondary establishment, and has disappeared : but upon opening the ground in the year 1826, for the foundation of a stone to be set up, as a boundary mark of the Port of London,* there were found bricks similar to those used in the Blockhouse still standing ; and they were supposed to be remains of the materials of the second Blockhouse, erected upon the spot in Chapel Field.

From the following copies of official documents relating to the Blockhouse, on Le Grene, it may be surmised that William Burston, of whom the land was purchased, was the first Captain appointed to the command.

“ Instructions to my Lord of Suffolkes grace for the blockhouse of Milton, whereof Willym Burston is captayne.

First. Serpentyne powder halff a last, the which must needes be had.
Item, money for the performaunce of the platt.

Item, to haue a man skylfull to haue the suruey of the workes by the avyse of Mr. Lee.

Item, to haue a Comysson for the takyn of workmen vp.

Item, for ordynaunce to fornysh the rampar and ij new towres of earthe.

I beseche your grace in any wyse to remember the powder, and ij gonners more to my house yf it may be.

WILLYAM BURSTON.

Item in bowes x.”

The above is endorsed, “ Municion for the Bulwarkes at Grauesende ;” and it contains a separate paper, of which the following is a copy :—

“ Thes nessarys to be hadde for the kynges Maiestes Fortes of Gravesend, whereof Jamys Crane [is] captayne.

“ Item, a payer truckells for the bumbard.

Item, for x basketts & xiiii hurdles.

Item, for xii bowes.

Item, for x morris pykes.

Item, for vj dossen of strynges, (*bow strings*).

Item, for xij shott of stone for the bumbard of ix inches hye, thys same we great need of.”†

The foregoing records prove the construction of blockhouses at Gravesend, “ and thereabouts,” in the reign of Henry VIII. ; and

* See page 37, *supra*.

† From the originals in the State Paper Office.

here follow the accounts of the men necessary to their "saufe keeping," and of the arms and ammunition with which they were at the same period supplied. The first paper has no date, but as it is mentioned that the estimate refers to "the bulwarks of *late newe devised*,"* by his Ma^{ties} commaundement," it is sufficiently clear that the original establishment is therein described.

Sr Christopher Morris' Book.	{	" A Booke† of rates for Capitaines, Constables, Deputies, Souldeors, and Porters, and Gonners for the sauf kep- ing of the King's Castells and Bull- werks of late newe devised by his Ma ^{ties} commaundement.
---------------------------------	---	---

That is to saye,

First the Bullwerke at Graveshend.

Crane, Capitain.	{	Capitain . . . i at xij ^d per diem Deputie . . . i at viij per diem Porter . . . i at vj per diem Souldeors . . . ij at vj per diem Gonners . . . vj at vj per diem	}	xj men
---------------------	---	--	---	--------

Their wages per	{	Diem s. d. v j Summ iiij ^{xx.li} xv v
-----------------	---	--

Mr. Cobham's Bullwerk.

Mr. Cob- ham, Capitain.	{	Capitain . . . i at xij ^d per diem Deputie . . . i at viij per diem Porter . . . i at vj per diem Souldeors . . . ij at vj per diem Gonners . . . vj at vj per diem	}	xij men
-------------------------------	---	--	---	---------

Their wages per	{	Diem s. d. vj viij Summ cxx ^{li} ij xi
-----------------	---	---

Thermitage,

Johnes Bullwerk on Essex side over against Graveshende.

Fraunces Grant, Capten.	{	Capitain . . . i at xij ^d per diem Deputie . . . i at viij per diem Porter . . . i at vj per diem Souldeors . . . ij at vj per diem Gonners . . . iiij at vj per diem	}	ix men
-------------------------------	---	--	---	--------

Their wages per	{	Diem s. d. v j Summ iiij ^{xx} xii ^{li} xv v
-----------------	---	---

* This is therefore about the year 1539-40.

† Cottonian MS. Appendix xxviii. fol. 19.

The Bullwerk at Tylbery.

Beyfeld	{	Capitain . . .	i at xij ^d	per diem
		Deputie . . .	i at viij	per diem
		Porter . . .	i at vj	per diem
		Souldeors . . .	ij at vj	per diem
		Gonners . . .	iiij at vj	per diem

Their wages per	{	Diem	s.	d.
			v	i
		Summ iiij ^{xx} . li	xv	v

The Bullwerk at Heigham.

Jerley com of the gards.	{	Capitain . . .	i at xij ^d	per diem	} ix men
		Deputie . . .	i at viij	per diem	
		Porter . . .	i at vj	per diem	
		Souldeors . . .	iiij at vj	per diem	

Their wages per	{	Diem	s.	d.
			v	j
		Summ iiij ^{xx} . li	xv	v

In the original paper, similar accounts are given of bulwarks at Dover, Rye, &c.

Then follows a summary containing the following passages:—

“Besydes the sayd ccxx men according to warlike fashon, every hed-house to have a Trompetor or a Dromme, and the great Castell to have both a Trompet and a Dromme.

“Cranes Bullwerk is furnished with ordenaunce and artillery.

“Thermitage Bullwerk is furnished with ordenaunce and artillery.

“The Bullwerk at Heigham is furnished with ordenaunce and artillery.

“The Castel and iij Bullwerks at Dover be furnished with ordenaunce and Artillery.

“Touching further the sayd Castell at Dover, memorial to consider the garrison and nombre of souldeors there, and to knowe the Kynges pleasure, whether the same shal be any thyng augmented or no.”

In this summary, notice is taken of such of the Bulwarks as were already supplied with artillery, &c.—but the Bulwark at [East] Tilbury appears not to have been so supplied.

By this document it is clear that there were four Bulwarks at Gravesend and Tilbury, and one at Higham; namely:—

1. Captain Crane's at Gravesend, now called the Blockhouse.
2. Captain Cobham's at Milton, eastward of the former.
3. Captain Grant's “Thermitage,” which being over against Gravesend, was what is now called Tilbury Fort.

4. Captain Beyfeld's at East Tilbury, and

5. Captain Jerley's at Higham.

The number of officers and men, and the amount of their pay do not accord; but this arises from some alterations made in both, as marked in the paper, subsequently to the original statement.

The following account of the ordnance, &c. in the Forts and Bulwarks at and about Gravesend, is copied from a book preserved in the State Paper Office, marked "Ordnance Miscellaneous Papers, K. No. 1."

"A survey of Ordnance in all the King's Castles, Forts, and Bulwarks, taken in the 31st year of the Reign of King Henry VIII." (1539-40.)

"Ordynance beyng in the Bullwarkes besydes Gravesend; and furst at the Bulwark at Gravesend, Mr. Crane beyng Captain there.

Furst in Demy Culveryns of brasse redy stokkyd,	
and mounted upon unshod whelis	II
Sakars of brasse redy mounted upon unshod whelis	
oon of them w th a cutte nose	III
A Fawcon of brasse redy mountid, upon unshod	
whelis	I
A piece of brasse shotyng Fawcon shot	I
A port pece of yron, w th 2 chambers	I
Dowble bases of yron, w th 2 chambers to every of	
them	VI
Syngill bases of yron, w th 2 chambers to every of	
them	VI
A Bumbarde of Iron, w th 2 chambers	I
Hakbusshes of Iron, w th necessaryes	I
Shot of iron, lead, and stone, to furnish the above	
wrytten peces	III ^c LXX
Bowes of yough	XX
Bowstrynges	IIII ^{xx}
Levery arrowes	XX sheff.
Blak billes	XX
Moryssh pykes	XX
Dyce of Yron	II ^c
Serpentyne powder	XII di. barrells

MYLTON.

A demy Culveryn of brasse mounted upon unshod	
whelis, w th ladill and sponge	I
Sakers of brasse, redy mounted, upon unshod whelis	II

A chamber pece of brasse, wth oon chamber . . .	I
A Fawcon of brasse, mounted upon shod whelis . . .	I
Dowble bases of Iron, wth ii chambers . . .	IX
Syngill bases of Iron, wth ii chambers a pece . . .	VII
Slynges of iron, doble and syngill, wth ii chambers a pece . . .	VIII
A Bumbard of Iron, wth ii chambers . . .	I
Hakbusshes of Iron . . .	VI
Shott of iron, lead, and stone, to furnysshe the above namyd peces . . .	III ^c XX
Bowes of yough . . .	XX
Sheves of Livery Arrowes . . .	XX
Mawryssh pykes . . .	XXV
Blak bylles . . .	XXV
Bow stringes . . .	IIII ^{xx}
Serpentyne powder . . .	VI barrelles
Brasse peces	XII
Iron peces	LIX

THE ARMYTAGE,* MR. JOHNS, CAPYTAYNE.

Furst a demy Cannon of brasse, mounted upon unshod whelis, wth a ladill and sponge . . .	I
A Franche cut nose Saker of brasse, mounted upon unshod whelis, with ladill and sponge . . .	I
A Bumbard of Iron, wth ii chambers . . .	I
A Fawconet of brasse, mounted upon shod whelis . . .	I
Dowble bases of yron, wth ii chambers to every of them . . .	IIII
Syngill bases of yron, wth oon chamber a pece . . .	V
Fowlers of iron, wth ii chambers a pece . . .	II
Shot of yron, leade, and stone, to furnisshe said peces . . .	II ^c XL
Dyce of Iron . . .	I ^c
Serpentyne powder . . .	VI barrelles
Bowes of yough . . .	XX
Sheves of Livery Arrowes . . .	XX
Bowstrynges . . .	I ^c
Moryssh pykes . . .	XV
Blak billes . . .	IX

TYLBERRY.†

A Saker of brasse, mounted upon unshod wheles . . .	I
A Fawcon of brasse, mounted upon unshod wheles . . .	I

* Tilbury Fort.

† This refers to East Tilbury.

A Faconett of brasse, mounted upon unshod wheles	I
A Bumbard of iron with ii chambers	I
Doble basses of iron w th ii chambers a pece	III
Small bases of iron w th ii chambers a pece	V
Slynges of iron, w th ii chambers a pece	III
Serpentyne powder	IIII demy barrelles.
Shott of iron, lead, and stone, to serve these peces	I ^c IIII ^{xx}
Bowes of yough	XX
Sheves of Livery Arrowes	XX
Mawris pykes	XIX
Blak billes	X
Brasse v (there are vi.)	
Iron xxiiii.	

HYGHAM.

A Demy Culverin of brasse mounted upon shod wheles	I
A Saker of brasse mounted upon shod whelis	I
A Fawcon of brasse mounted upon unshod whelis	I
A Bumbard with ii chambers of iron	I
Doble bases of iron w th ii chambers a pece	IIII
Single bases of iron w th ii chambers a pece	V
Demy slynges of iron w th ii chambers a pece	II
A Fawconet of iron mounted upon bare wheles	I
Hakbusshes of iron	IIII
Serpentyne powder	VI barrelles
Shott of iron, lead, and stone for these peces	I ^c xxxvi
Bowes of Yough	XX
Cheves of Livery arrowes	XX
Bowstrynges	I ^c
Morys pykes	XX
Blak billes	XX

It seems to have been the practice, from the origin of these Forts, to dismantle them at the termination of a war; formerly, sending the guns to the Tower, and of late years to Woolwich.

"1553, June.—7 Edward 6. A letter to the Lord Admirall* to discharge the bulwarks of Estilbury and Westilbury in Essex, Sandshot bulwark in Dorcetsh, the bulwark of Hiham, Milton Bulwark, and Gravesend bulwark, in Kent; and to take order for the removing of the poudre, munition, and ordnnaunces, from them vnto the tower."*

* MS. Bibl. Reg. 18, C xxiv, fol. 361-b. Brit. Mus.

The following letter* addressed to Lord Cobham intimates an alarm, to which the inhabitants of Gravesend were exposed, and of the means of defence or precaution which they were wont to adopt, at the period of the reign of Edward VI.

Tem. Edw. VI. "My lord Forasmuch as the Kinges hyghenes perceyveth by a Letter sent from my lord Warden of the ports, that ther be many sayles at the northforland, hys grace not knowyng what they intend, prayeth you, and neuertheles comandeth you, to see unto yor charge, that is, that ye be in a readines wth a good companye of sodiars, both for the defence of Tylbery and Graueshend, also hys hyghenes pleaur is, that y^e proceyde for theise thyngs wth all diligence possible, and yet that ye do it wthout makyng any fiers, except ye shall see it very neadfull; and that my good lord I have me most hartely comended unto yor good lordship, ye may command me, as y^e know, when my servis may do you any pleaur. Out of the King's Chambre by yor assuredly,

Richard Morysine."†

1544. King Henry VIII. was again at Gravesend. The King engaged with the Emperor, to make a combined attack upon France. The former, having possession of Calais, was to enter France from that point; and the Emperor was to assemble his army in the Low Countries, and advance on that side.

The English forces being assembled at the theatre of their contemplated movements, the King departed to put himself at their head. On the 11th day of July, his Majesty left his palace at Westminster, and proceeded *by water* to Erith, where he remained that night. On the following day he continued his route by water to Gravesend, where he dined; and then took horse, and rode the same night to Faversham.‡

This expedition ended in a very inadequate result: for Henry, instead of marching to Paris, invested Boulogne and Montreuil, but soon abandoned the enterprise.

1553. It was provided by a Statute || of this year, entitled, "An Act to avoid the excessive prices of wine," that it should

* Harl. MS. 283. f. 168.

† An eminent Statesman. He was employed by Henry VIII. on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V., and was made a Knight by Edward VI.

‡ Cottonian MS. Caligula E. iv. fol. 90-100. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 52.

|| 7 Edward VI., chap. 5.

not be lawful for any person within the realm to keep any tavern, or to sell or utter by retail, by the gallon or greater measure, in any place, any of the said wines within any of the said dominions, except in cities, towns corporate, boroughs, port-towns, or market towns, or in the towns of GRAVESEND, Sittingbourn, Tuxford, and Bagshot. It was also provided by the same Act, that no persons having authority by the same to nominate, assign, or appoint what persons should "tavern," utter, or sell wine by retail, should nominate or appoint by their writing, any more or greater number of taverns, or wine-sellers by retail, to sell or utter wine, or keep or continue any tavern at one time, in any city, borough, town-corporate, port-town, or market-town, or in GRAVESEND, Sittingbourn, or Bagshot, (all and every such city and town expressly named in the Act only, excepted) than two wine-sellers, or taverns. Then follows a list of cities and towns, with the limited number of wine-sellers, to be licensed in each.

According to this Statute, therefore, wines were not to be sold by retail, save in cities, towns corporate, boroughs, port-towns, or market-towns, except in the towns of Gravesend, Sittingbourn, Tuxford, and Bagshot; hence it becomes necessary to inquire why Gravesend should have been so exempted.

This town was not incorporated, when the Act was passed, and a question might have arisen whether it was a market town; the market of Gravesend having been granted to the men of Gravesend, and that held in Milton, having been granted to the Lord of the manor of Parrock; so that Gravesend might not have been considered as a market town, within the terms of the Act; and therefore, it would not have been lawful to sell wines by retail within Gravesend, if this special exemption had not been provided.

WYATT'S REBELLION.

1554. In this year occurred the insurrection under Sir Thomas Wyatt, which broke out at Maidstone, and quickly extended to Rochester, and the neighbourhood of Gravesend.

The object and progress of that commotion have been so repeatedly discussed by many writers, that it is not necessary to

treat the events, as matter of general history, farther than may serve to introduce the local details which have been collected from sources hitherto overlooked, consisting of the original letters from the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Cobham, and others, to the Privy Council.* It was put forth by Wyatt, that his object was to prevent an influx of foreigners to this country, which he alleged was contemplated, and which would be dangerous to liberty; but his real design was to prevent the marriage then about to be concluded between the Queen and Philip, son of Charles V., Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain; whereby to avert the meditated restoration of Popery.

As soon as the intended marriage was formally announced by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England, to certain of the nobility and others assembled in the presence-chamber at Westminster, as a preliminary step to announce the Queen's intention to her subjects, through the Lord Mayor of London; the general dislike of the match was strongly manifested, and there were commotions in several parts of the kingdom.

The Bishop made this announcement on the 14th of January, and within a few days, Sir Peter Carew and others, of Devonshire, gained possession of Exeter Castle; and Sir James Crofts hastily departed from London, after consulting the heads of the confederacy, to join a body of malcontents who were ready to rise in Wales. Wyatt also was in London, to confer with the Duke of Suffolk; and upon his return into Kent, finding that one of his friends had been seized and taken before the Council, he felt it necessary for his own safety, to anticipate his time, and immediately to take arms.

Thursday, } At Maidstone, being market-day there, Wyatt
25th January. } having with him Thomas Isley and other leaders, with a body of insurgents, issued a proclamation, declaring that he took arms "only to withstand strangers, and to advance liberty;" but he did not avow a design to resist the re-establishment of Popery, lest in the outset, it might obstruct his cause. On the same day, with his followers well armed, and being joined

* Preserved in the State Paper Office.

by Sir George Harper, he marched to Rochester, and took possession of that city.*

Friday, } The rebels raised works at the east end of
26th January. } Rochester, and broke up the west end of the bridge
over the Medway. Strangers were allowed to pass through to
London and towards the coast of Kent, without farther inter-
ference than taking from them such weapons as they had with
them. Here Wyatt awaited the coming of the adherents he expected
to join him. Sir Henry Isley, Anthony Knevett, and others, were
at the same time engaged in raising the people at Tunbridge, Seven-
oaks, and other parts of West Kent. At Ashford, Milton near
Sittingbourn and other places, in the eastern division of the
county, proclamations were published by the friends of Wyatt,
for the purpose of exciting the people to support him.

On the evening before Wyatt issued his proclamation at Maid-
stone, he sent a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, the High Sheriff
of the county, seeking to induce Sir Robert to join him, by which
means he was apprized of Wyatt's plans. Upon this, the
Sheriff set about collecting the gentry and yeomanry, in concert
with Lord Abergavenny, not however without finding that some
on whose support he reckoned, had joined the insurgents; and
thereupon it was determined not to hazard an attack upon them
at Maidstone.

Saturday, } In the morning, Lord Abergavenny and the
January 27. } Sheriff left Malling, at the head of a force consisting
of six hundred yeomen, with a considerable array of the gentlemen
of the county. When they reached Wrotham Heath, they heard
the drums of the insurgent host, and pushed forward to meet
them; and, when arriving at Barren Green, through which lay
the road to a Mr. Clarke's house, whither the rebels were proceed-

* The principal facts contained in this account of the rebellion, are given upon the authority of Proctor, who published his *Historie of Wyate's Rebellion*, in 8vo., London, 1555. Proctor was a schoolmaster at Tunbridge, and in his work reprobated the proceedings of Wyatt. Christopher Goodman took up his pen on the other side, and vindicated Wyatt, saying, that he did but his duty, and it was but the duty of all others that professed the gospel, to have supported him, and that they were all traytors who did not take part with him. See his book, "*How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, &c.*" 12mo. Geneva, 1558.

ing, they halted to form, and “to abide the coming of the traitors, and there to take or give the overthrow.”* The enemy perceiving this, abandoned their previous intention to proceed in this direction, and to ascend Wrotham Hill by Yalding. The Sheriff quitted his ground, and pursuing the rebels, came up with them about a mile from the brow of the hill, at a spot called Blacksole Field, and falling upon them, put them to flight, taking about sixty prisoners. Being joined at the instant by Mr. St. Leger, with a body of friends well mounted, they pursued the fugitives, as far as Hartly Wood, four miles from the spot where the conflict began.

Sir Henry Isley sought safety by concealing himself in the woods, and effected his escape into Hampshire.† The two Knevetts in like manner fled to the woods for concealment, and for ultimate escape. Anthony Knevettt effected his escape to Rochester. Sir George Harper, who had been at head quarters with Wyatt, upon this disaster, took the occasion to leave his associates, and went over to the Duke of Norfolk; and Wyatt himself, it was rumoured, intended to take the earliest opportunity to fly from the storm he had raised.

During these events, the Queen’s Government was employed in sending an armed force against the insurgents. Sir Henry Jerningham, knight, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, and Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, arrived at Gravesend, where he found Lord Cobham of Cooling Castle, and Sir John Fogge, who, as well as the Vice Chamberlain, had brought some men to the spot.

Sunday, } After it had been intimated to the Lord Mayor,
January 28. } by Sir John Gage, the Queen’s Chamberlain, that Wyatt and his adherents were in arms; the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, went to Guildhall to obtain from the city the aid of an armed force, and accordingly 600 foot were immediately sent to Gravesend by water, under the orders of one Captain Bret and others.

* The historie of Wyate’s Rebellion, &c. by John Proctor.

† “Sir Henry Isley fled into Hampshyre, where he was taken in the apparell of a maryner, hys face dysfigured with cole and dyrt, and so brought captyve to London.” A breviat Chronicle, printed by John Mychell, at Canterbury, 1553-4.

The Duke of Norfolk himself repaired thither the same day; and on his arrival, ascertaining the state of affairs in the neighbourhood where the rebels were posted, he despatched a report to the Council, of which the following is a copy.

“ My very good lordes,

“ Theis shalbe t’aduertise you, y^t this daye aboute foure of the clock I arryved here at this towne, fyndeng here my L. Cobham, Mr. Vice-chamberlaine and Sr Ihon Fogge, without any cumpany savyng suche as the same Vice-chamberlaine and Fogge brought with them, not passinge CCC. And whereas Sr George Harper did sende before to Mr. Vice-chamberlaine to have his pardon, as I dowte not ye knowe by the purporte of the said Mr. Vice-chamberlaines l’re. This night at v of the clock, the said Sr George Harper arryved here, and is stollen frome the rebells, and hath given in commaundement to all men being in nomber as he saieth above CC. to steale away from Rochester before day, sayeng farther y^t he dowlth not, that there shalbe to morowe by none, right fewe of the rest lefte in Rochester with the rebells. And to morowe by none with gods grace I will not faile to be at Rochester. I here no worde of my L. Warden, nor what power he hathe, I have y^s present houre wrytten to hym aduertiseng hym to be vigilant yt Wyot nor Isley escape not out of the realme by water. And to cum with his power towards Rochester. I here no worde of my brother W^m his cummyng but I have put order of his intended purpose, in prepairenge of botes to beate the brydge at Rochester. And as for my L. Abergevenny, I here say he is gone to Senock to saue a gentlemanes house yt Henry Isley is mynded to destroye and robbe there.*

Now my Lords I must accuse my self of my folishe demeanor, which was yt uppon frydaie, at my cuminge frome ye court I met with Kyndlemerche whom you my L. knowe I sent for, by your consent my L. Chancelor, bycause I knewe he was y^e man y^t haue his good will unto Sr George Harper. And so devised with hym how I might wyne the said Sr George from their ill cumpany, and so wrote hym a l’re, sayeng yt if he wolde cum vnto me, I had gotten his pardon of the Quenys highenes; uppon which trust he is cum hither to me, and hathe done as is before expressed. I acknowledge my offence, and most humbly beseacheth her gracious pardon, which my presumption shall turne I trust to good purpose. This is the furst offence yt euer I did her grace. And rather than my promes shoulde turne to his hurt, I had rather suffer an C. tymes deathe than by my promes he shoulde have any hurte.

Post Scripta. Arryved here with me a servante of Sr Percyvall Hartes, who hathe reported vnto me (as I dowte not your L. doe knowe or this) the ouerthrowe that my said L. Abergevenny hath gevin to Isley and other rebells. From Gravesende this Sonday night x. of the clock the xxviii. of Januarye. Y^{rs} assewredly,

“ T. NORFOLK.”

To my veray good Lords the
L. of the Quenys Matie her
most honourable Counsaile.

* The house of Mr. Clarke : see page 174, ante.

Monday, } The Duke of Norfolk, having with him Sir Henry
 January 29. } Jerningham, Dr. Griffith (soon afterwards Bishop
 of Rochester) Sir Edward Braye, Sir John Fogge, knight, John
 Coverte, and Robert Appulton, esquires, Thomas Swan, gen-
 tleman, and others, among whom was Sir George Harper; the
 force consisting of 300 men under Sir Henry Jerningham and
 Sir John Fogge, with 600 under Captains Bret, Bryan Fitz-
 william, and others, provided with six pieces of ordnance, left
 Gravesend about noon, marching towards Rochester, against the
 rebels.

Before the Duke left Gravesend, he despatched the following
 letter to the Council:—

“ My veray good L. theis shalbe t'aduertise you that I haue bene here
 redy for the departyng out of this towne since sonne rose, but for
 asmoche as I haue none other here with me, but Mr. Vicechamberlaine
 and his cumpanye and Mr. Fogge. And that dyvers others were
 cummyne to me from Dartford, I wolde not go hence till they were cum.
 And now being furnisshed with vii or viii^c men, woll departe out of y^s
 towne towards Rochester within little more than an houre. And my
 L. Cobham shall mete me on the waye with at the leaste cc of his cum-
 pany. I here no worde from my L. Warden, nor from my L. Abur-
 geynye, they have fortified the bridge at Rochester, so that I think it
 wilbe harde passinge there, howbeit we shall do the best we can.
 This present houre I have receiued a letter from my L. Cobham, which
 you shall receiue herewith. And by the same you may perceiue of
 Wyott's braggs, and wherein I byleve he will breke promes, and not to
 feight it out. And where his trust is, y^t the garde and pentyoners
 with the Londoners woll take his parte. I pray God contynewe his
 purpose in yt behalfe. I shall with God's grace be within theis iiij houres
 at Strowde, where if he will haue free passage with his hole companye I
 shall give hym and them leave to come over the bridge to trye y^e
 matter, and if he will not, I shall make hym ill rest in y^e towne with
 sending messages of such sorte as I have here with me. If my L. Abur-
 geyny, M. Southwell, and other gentlemen with them woll go over the
 water, and cum in ouer the back side of them, and so joyne with my
 L. Wardeyn, of whome as yet I here no newes,* I dowte not ye shall
 shortely here of their repulse out of the said towne of Rochester.
 Desiryng y^or good L. to conceyve no ill opinion of such lordes and
 gentlemen as were appoynted to cum hither vnto me, for I thinke they
 have an honest excuse, the wether being so terryble y^t no man can

* See letter of Lord Abergaveny, dated the 31st of January, *infra*; in which
 also, the absence of the Lord Warden is noticed.

stire by water or yet well by lande. And thus most hartely fare you
well from Gravysende this xxix of Januarye

Yo^r lordeships asseweredly,

"T. NORFOLK."

"To my veray good lordes
the lordes of ye quenys
Maties most honourable
pryvie Counsaile
in hast post
hast
hast

From gravesende at xi of
the clock."*

The Duke, upon reaching Strood Hill, about four o'clock the same day, advanced into the town of Strood, to see that his guns were properly placed to act against the rebels who were stationed on Rochester Bridge; leaving his men, consisting, (as it has been said,) of the party under Sir Henry Jerningham, and the Whitecoats from London, under Captain Bret; when "perceyuynge Wyat and the other Traytours, by hanginge out theyr flagges upon the bridge wall, to be in great bravery,"† he opened a fire upon them from his great guns. At that instant, the son of Sir John Bray came in haste to the Duke, and pointed to Bret at the head of the Whitecoats, shouting, "we are all Englishmen, a Wyat! a Wyat!" and indicating a determination to form a junction with the rebels, in defiance of the Duke's authority, and his means of prevention; upon which he felt himself compelled to retire, leaving them in possession of Rochester, with the accession of the six guns, which were abandoned. This treacherous conduct was of course hailed with satisfaction by the rebels; and Wyatt himself, with two or three of his chosen associates, came forth to meet the six captains of the Whitecoats, and with them the detestable renegade, Sir George Harper. So elated was Wyatt by this occurrence, that he dispatched a messenger with the tidings to the Duke of Suffolk, but his letter was intercepted at the Ferry at Gravesend over to Essex.

It was unfortunate that the Duke of Norfolk should have pressed on to attack the rebels at Strood, without taking the

* This is inserted as a specimen of the addresses of letters at the period.

† Proctor, p. 38.

precaution to secure the junction of the force under Lord Cobham, who on the same day wrote the following letter to the Duke for orders, and to apprise him of the probable defection of Bret, the receipt of which is acknowledged by the Duke in the preceding letter.

Lord Cobham to the Duke of Norfolk.

"Pleasith yt youre grace to be aduertisyd at my comyng home from you, Wiat Percyuyng of my departure [*did*] sende an espiall vnto my house and made an errande to speake with on (*one*) of my house, when he kam ther, my stewarde Percyving that he talkyd and whisperyed amongste my Tenaunts, toke hym aparte into his chamber, and examyned hym and serched hym and founde a letter upon hym wherein is declaryd that bothe pentioners,* Garde,† and Londoners wolde tak suche parte as he dyd. And also trusting that his cosyns wolde not se his blod shulde perishe. It may please your grace, if he be not gone this mornyng, he intendeth to fight yt out, for he maketh rekenyng of the saide pentioners, garde, and Londoners with diverse other of your company: therfor my opynion is that youre grace be not to forwarde vnto such tyme your company come together. And that Harpar do not practise to (*too*) moche with some other, beseching your grace to sende me worde, whether ye will remove this day or noo, and whether ye will, I bring my men vnto your grace to Gravesende: for I haue no weapons for them, but a fewe blacke bills. I have written to my lorde Warden according to your commaundement. thus the lorde preserve your grace with moche honor. From my house at Cooling the xxix of January. Your graces to commande,

"G. COBHAM."

"The carrier of this letter unto the Dukes grace
is Downyn of Gravysende."

Monday, } In the evening of the same day, Lord Cobham
January 29. } sent direct to the Queen an account of the proceedings, in a letter of which the following is a copy.

Lord Cobham to the Queen.

"It may please yo^r most excellent Mat^{ie} to be aduertysed that yesterday the xxviiith of this moneth, beyng at Gravesend with Mr. Vice-chamberlayne conferyng with hym for our setting forth towards the rebelles, we then thought good to deferre our purpose vntill the comyng of my Lord of Norfolk with his force; vppon whose repayre thither we then consulted with hym what was ferther to be don, who vppon consultacon determyned to do nothyng vntill my Lord Admyrall's comyng thither with his assembly, whereuppon the next mornyng early I repayed to my Castell, puttyng my self in a redynes with my men, and at my comyng thither I did vnderstand that ther had byn in myne absence [*a spyall*] sent from wyat to my sonnes who were with me

* Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

† Yeomen of the Guard, so stated, in the above letter to the Duke of Norfolk.

at Grauesend. I then forthwith did wryte vnto my Lord of Norff. the copy wherof I send vnto your highnes herin inclosed aduertysyng hym aswell of the sayinges of the spyall which your mat^{ie} may perceyve by the seid copy, as also admonyshyng hym that in no wyse he should not be to (*too*) foreward to make ageynst the rebelles vntill my seid Lord Admyralles assembly came, desyryng his grace by the same L're that I might be aduertysed with spede of the tyme of his remove from Grauesend towards the rebelles, to th'end I might either mete with him with my force by the way, or elles come vnto him to Grauesend, and so to joyne forwardes together. So resting vppon his ferther aduertysement therin, he, contrary to his former determynacion with me, marched with his small power towards Rochester immediately after my departure from hym, not sendyng me eny knowlege therof vntill he was almost at Rochester. And I beyng then in a redynes when the messynger came, I forthwith, with all spede, made to hym, but before I was half wey I was aduertysed that his men had forsaken hym and were fledd to the rebelles; so that his power beyng gon, he was compelled to retyre, and I heryng thereof retyred also to my castell ageyne. Also your highnes shall resceyve a L're sent to me by wyat* yesternight herin inclosed, wherby your grace may perceyve his meanyng, entendyng to marche towards London shortly; wherfore it may please your highnes that I may vnderstand your graces pleasure what I shall do herin, which accordyng to my allegeaunce which I shall contynually beare vnto yr highnes I will accomplysshe effectually to the vttermost of my power. Thus prayeng to God for the preservacion of your mat^{ie} with the victory ouer your enemyes I most humbly take my leave of your grace.

"From Cowlyngcastell the xxixth of Janurij 1553. [1554.]

"Your most humble and true

"To the Queenes most
excellent ma^{tie}."

"Subject & servaunte.

"G. COBHAM."

Enclosed in the above was Wyatt's letter,* as follows:—

"My Lorde you vnderstande in what state we now are, thanks be given to God, I am right sorye that you are so far be hinde hande, yet I will not forsake you in this my ioy, but wolde wishe you to be parteners of the same. I pray you to be her to morowe for we will march then to london. far your Lordship well, from Rochester the xxix of Januarie 1553. [1554.]

"Youre frend and cosyn,

"THOMAS WIAT."

"I pray you take some order for the taking of the Duke whereso that he be between this and london, wherein you shall gratifye the state of the realme."

The ill concerted measures of the Duke of Norfolk, and the disastrous consequences of his precipitate march against the rebels at Rochester, are described in the following letter:—

* From a copy in the State Paper Office.

Lord Abergavenny to the Privy Council.

"After my very hartie commendacions unto your good and honorable Lordships. Theis maye like the same to understand that receyving your letters datyd the 30th of this present, willing me therbye to followe Wyat and others the Quene's Ma^{tes} ennemys on the backe, and for the better service thereof to call upon the L. Warden for his ayde : from whome in all this trobelousome tyme I have not herde, nor yet from the L. Cobham. I notwithstanding, with the companye that I hadd made, to the nombre of ij^m at the leaste, lying yesternight at Maydeston, to have marched towards Rochester, receyved knowledge about mydnight that the Duke of Norff: whole bande hadd forsakyn hym, with the whiche brute (*bruit or report*) my souldiors some repayed to Wyat, some to their habitacions, and the resydue being not many besydes my houshold servauntes, accompanyd me to my cosyn Southwells' howse, where I looke hourelly they will assault me, as I am informyd. Yet sorye I am that the Duke of Norff. dyd this enterprise without making me and other gentlemen in the partes where I am pryvie, that wer redye to have assisted hym yf wee hadd heard from hym in tyme. Howebeyt by reason my souldiours ar dissperst as aforesaid, leving me in manur withowt armour, artillerye, and money, am hable to do nothing sodenlye, wherof I am right sorye that I cannot do my dutye accordingly. And thus I take my leave of your good and honorable Lordships for this tyme. From Mereworth the last of Januarij [1554.]

"Your L. assuryd to his poore (power)

"HENRY DE BURGAVENNYE."

After the disaster at Rochester, the Duke of Norfolk was no more heard of in arms against the rebels; and Wyatt, encouraged by the event, and having received an accession of numbers, resolved to proceed to the attack of Cooling Castle, and ultimately to march direct to London.

Tuesday, } Wyatt left Rochester in the morning by a cross
January 30th. } road to Cooling Castle, which he summoned to
surrender; but Lord Cobham having some force with him there, though badly provided for a defence, made so much resistance that some lives were lost, and the Castle itself was much damaged by the guns which had been gained from the Duke of Norfolk. Upon which it was surrendered to the rebel leader, under circumstances that are stated in the following interesting letter.

Lord Cobham to the Queen.

"It may please your most excellent ma^{tie} to be aduertysed that this day at xi of the klok, wyat with his hole force of ij^m men and above, removed from Rochester and approched to my castell, assalting the same in most forcible manner they could: but I declaryng my true subiection towards your highnes and calling them traytours, made to them defy-
aunce, resysting their force, and defendyng my castell with such power

as I had vntill v of the klok at after none, havying no other munycions or wepons but iiij or v hand gones, pykes, and the rest blakbylls, the fault whereof I may well ascrybe vnto your graces offycers of the bulwerkes and ships, makyng earnest request as well to my lord of Norfolk as to theym for the same, howbeit I could never get none.

The rebells perceyving that I was bent to resystt theym, havyng ij great peces of ordynnaunce that the Duke of Norfolk left amongs theym at his retyre, layd battery to the gate of the castell, and also did fyre the same and leyd foure other peces to another syde of the castell, which did so sore batre the castell and the gates, that without that they could neuer have prevayled, at which assault iiij or v of my men were slayne and diuers hurt, which did so discourage the comons that I had thyre assembled for the servyce of your highnes, that they begonne to mutney and whisper one to another, and I their standyng in defence at the gates, with my sonnes ageynst theym in a doubtful assalt, vntill my gates with the drawe-bryges were so batred and fyred downe that they were redy to invade me, I perceyving behynde me both my men to shrynke from, and my shote to be wasted, was then compelled to yeld, whereof if power had seruyd to my true hart and servyce towards your highnes, I wold have dyd in your graces quarrell. If your grace therefore, will assemble such force in convenyent tyme as were able to encounter with so fewe in nombre beyng not above ij^m, and yet not v^e of theym able and good armed men, but rascalls and rakehells as lyve be (*by*) spoyle; I doubt not but your grace shall have the vycctory of theym, so that they be guyded and man handled by such an approved Captayne as can discretely lede theym. They enforced me to promyse them vppon myne honor, to be with them to morowe at Gravesend, yet notwithstanding I will remayne faithful in hart towards your highnes, aduertysyng your grace from tyme to tyme of their proceedyngs. And for the better tryall of my good servyce towards your highnes to be don unfaynedly, yea and more effectually then I have wryten. It may please your grace to send some one whom your grace shall appoynt, to viewe my house, wherby your grace shall vnderstand that I have, as well in this as in all other your graces former commaundements, showed myself a true and redy servyteur towards your highnes, although I understand I have byn otherwise reported to your highnes, wherin my doyngs and the contrey shall vtter and witness the truth, as my conseyne hath inwardly ment good fayth towards your grace, which I shall so continually beare whiles lyfe doth last. Thus makyng my continual prayer for the preservacion of your highnes with strength and fortune to subdue your enemyes, I most humbly take my leave of your grace from Cowling Castell, in hast the xxxth of January, 1553. [1554.]

“Your graces most humble and true
subiect and seruante to th’end,
“G. COBHAM.”

“To the Queenes most
excellent ma^{tie}.”

Upon his success at Cooling Castle on Tuesday, the 30th of January, Wyatt moved the same evening to Gravesend where he halted for that night.

Wednesday, } He marched to Dartford, distant seven miles
January 31. } from Gravesend on the direct road to London.
Here he was met by Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, two Privy Councillors, commissioned by the Queen to negotiate with Wyatt, with instructions* to intimate only to him and such gentlemen as might be with him, that understanding they had assembled to impeach the marriage concluded with the Prince of Spain, alleging that it would be to the prejudice of "the commonwealth of the realm;" if this was the only cause, then the Councillors were to signify that it is the duty of good subjects to make suit by petition, rather than by force of arms, yet, as the Queen had always preferred the benefit of the commonwealth before any her own cause, and being married to the realm, did not mean the second marriage, (which her Majesty took to be both honourable to herself and beneficial to her and the realm,) to prejudice "the commonwealth of her subjects:" she was content to appoint fit personages to commune with them; and if any probable reason should appear to her, why the marriage should be either not fit to be concluded, or to be otherwise provided for than it had already been, she would not refuse to give ear to any such reasonable proposition, as might be for the benefit and surety of her realm and subjects. If, however, Wyatt and those with him should pretend other reasons for the unnatural stir and commotion, the said Councillors were to pursue, at their discretion, the best means to dissuade and stay their farther proceedings.

Wyatt, upon reaching Dartford, found that Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis were at the west end of that town; and he went, armed with a partisan in his hand, towards them, taking with him a few of his band. The Commissioners from the Queen having dismounted from their horses, Wyatt advanced somewhat before his companions to meet them, and a conference ensued. The Commissioners offered pardon to the insurgents, upon the condition that they should immediately retire; but Wyatt assumed a tone of defiance, demanding that the Tower, (the Queen

* See Copy of Instructions, preserved in the State Paper Office.

first taking her abode therein,) should be placed in his custody, saying "he would rather be trusted than trust," requiring also that certain of the Queen's Council should be removed, and replaced by others, whom he would appoint.

The insolent demeanor of the rebel chief, and the extravagance of his pretensions, put an end to the conference, and the Commissioners returned to the Queen; who, upon the same day, proceeded to the City, and was loyally received by the Lord Mayor and citizens at Guildhall, where her Majesty related the position, circumstances, and designs of the insurgents, and measures were taken accordingly against them.

Lord Abergavenny, in his letter of the 31st of January, to the Privy Council,* having intimated that in all the troublesome time he had not heard from Sir Thomas Cheney, the Lord Warden; the following letters are added, as they contain his explanations; and it is observable that the last of them is dated at Sittingbourn, on the 4th of February, when Sir Thomas Wyatt had reached Southwark.

Sir Thomas Cheney to the Privy Council.

"Forasmuch as I have sent letters to the Quenes Matie and also to your Lordeshippes as well by Mr. Everhed, Gentleman Huisher, as by thre or foure of my servaunts at sundrye tymes, and as yet have receyved no woord of aunswere agayne, whereof I do not a litle marvaile, being therfor in great doubte they be staied or apprehended by the waye, which hath byne my onely staye, and for that I am not sure of ten of my nowne men that will take my parte in this quarell: all this notwithstanding vpon her Highnes pleasour or commaundement signified unto me, I will give thadventure against these rebelles, althoughe I shuld not have one man to take my parte but myself, let God doo with me what shal be his will: for I had lyver dye if I had a thousand liefs, in this quarell against theis traitours, then lyve otherwise. Yt is a great dele more then straunge to see the beastlyness of the people to see how earnestlye they be bent in this theyr most develishe enterprise and will by no meanes be persuaded to the contrary but that it is for the common welthe of all the Realme, and they say and protest before god they meane to her grace no hurt, but for all that I pray god kepe her out of their daungier, as my verrey trust is He will: most humbly desireng to here from your lordeshippes by this bearer my servaunte whom I trust verrey well, and that he will not deceyve me. The abhominable treason of those which came with my Lorde of Norffolke hath wonderfully discouraged almost all serving men and others, that I wold to god my said Lord had forborne but that day and then I am out of doubte

* See page 180, *supra*.

they had all ryn away the same night, for I had suche woord the next morneing from thence. Thus I beseeche almighty god to preserve the Quenes matie and your lordshippes and to send us a more quiet worlde, and that shortly. From Sherlond this first of February aboute 3 of the clock in the afternoone.

“at your Lordshippes commaundement
to th’uttermost of my lief and powre,
“T. CHEYNE.”

“Postscript. Being enfourmed that my Lord Penbroke is comeng against them with a great nombre, which I think shall abasshe them wonderfully, I wold wisshe he shuld not be to hastye, for the longer he taryeth the more will theyr company waiste. If my men forsake me not, I will not be farre from theyr backs with as many as I am hable to make. Yt shall not be best to goo to rasshley to woorke, for there is an old sayeing, that haste oftentimes maketh waiste. I have no waye to conveye my l’rs but onely by water.

Sir Thomas Cheney to the Privy Council.

“It may please yours honours that, I have receyved the Quenes Maties proclamacion and your lordeshippes l’res of the third, and have sent copies of the proclamacion to Canterbury, Dovor, and to diverse other townes along the coste: assuring, your said l’res hathe somewhat revived me trusting my slacknes shall well appeare yt was not for wante of goodwyll, for lack of stomake, or for the savyng of that litle I haue of my nowne; but onely for lack of trew and trusty men to take my parte, as, by any thing I could perceyve, I had verely few, and then if I shuld have set furthe and have byn takyn or slayne, I think it shuld have byn but a small furtherance for the pacefieng of theys abhominable traytors and the rankest rebells that ever was. I wold be full sory for my parte that any one of them shuld escape, and in especiall any one that beareth the countennaunce of a gentleman or substanciall yeoman that, is woorth any maner way C^{li}. I was yesterday at my comyng out of th’yle (Isle of Sheppey) fayne to leave the most parte of my best horse and geldyngs standing at the watersyde, where as I think they are yet, and whether they have a good standeng there or no, in suche a night as this hath byn, my lord Privie Seale and others that doth knowe the place can tell. Thus I betake your lordeshippes to god. Frome Sittingborne, this 4th of February, as I was setting my foote in my stirrop to Rochester ward, from whence I hope to asserteyne your lordeshippes of suche nombre of horsemen and footemen as shall be of our company. Your lordeshippes alwayes at commaundement,

“T. CHEYNE.”

Here the local occurrences in this rebellion terminated. Wyatt left Dartford, and stopping some days at Deptford and Southwark, he reached Westminster on the 7th of February, when the final struggle was made; and the forces collected against him, under the Earl of Pembroke prevailing, the rebellion was crushed. Wyatt, and many of the gentry who had joined him, with a considerable number of their followers, were made prisoners, and

sixteen of the rebels were killed in the conflict, near St. James's Park. Wyatt was brought to trial, and being convicted, was executed on Tower Hill, on the 11th of April. Lord Cobham, and his two sons, were seized on suspicion of having been concerned with Wyatt in the rebellion; but they were released from the Tower, without a trial. Sir George Harper, who for his multiplied offences, and exceeding baseness, might with justice, have been subjected to extreme punishment, was released from confinement in January in the following year. Alexander Bret, the treacherous captain of the Whitecoats, who went to Wyatt, at Rochester, was executed and hung in chains in that city. Many of the followers were executed, but a considerable number received the Queen's pardon, under circumstances with which every reader is acquainted.

Thus was the armed resistance to the marriage of the Queen overpowered; but there still lingered an ill feeling against the match, and considerable apprehensions that the Protestant religion would be utterly suppressed.

A strong manifestation of discontent is contained in an order of Council,* directed to Lord Cobham, requiring him to take measures to protect the menials of the King, upon their passage through Kent to the continent in the following year.

The reverend Thomas Mountain,† Rector of Milton, having become obnoxious, for his fidelity as a minister of the Protestant religion, was compelled to seek refuge at Antwerp, and passing Gravesend in a vessel, was encountered by the Searcher who

* After our right heartie commendacions to your good Lordship, forasmuche as the tyme of the Kinges Mats departing from hence approacheth now at hande, and for that divers of his traine being of the meaner sorte are to be sent towards Dover before his Maties removing, we have thought good, *considering the lewd disposition of such as be evil*, to pray your Lordship to give order to the Justices of Peace and Constables dwelling nigh unto the highwayes by which they must pass, to see them honestly entreted, and such as shall attempt the contrary, poonished. Wherein your Lordship shall do their Mats right acceptable service. The Kinges Matie mindeth to remove to Sitttingbourne on Tuesday next. Thus we bid your good Lordship right heartily farewell, from Hampton Court, the xxij of August, 1555." (Signed)

"Winchester, William Paget, Jo. Bourne."

Harl. MS. 248, f. 129.

† Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 147. Strype's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 194.

visited the ship: but happily for Mr. Mountain, his father had been with the Searcher in the service of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and on this account he was permitted to depart in safety.

The domestic history of Gravesend derives no accession of facts from the narrative of events during Wyatt's rebellion: but the order given in the next following year, by the Privy Council to Lord Cobham, for the protection of the menials of the royal household, on their journey through the county, discloses a view of the state of local affairs, about that period.

There was at that time, no resident magistracy in the town, and such matters as required the interposition of a Justice of the Peace, were disposed of by Lord Cobham, as the highest magistrate. The inconveniences resulting from this defective system of police, are illustrated by the two following letters from Lord Cobham, reporting cases which he had investigated, in the exercise of his judicial functions.

*Lord Cobham to the Lord Privy Seal.**

"My good lorde, after my hartiest commendation. To advertise yo^r good Lordeshippe, when I arryved at Gravysende this present Saterdaye, the xix day of Maye, Willym Buston, (*Burston*?) Richard Porter, constable, and Mark Dogitt of Gravesend, did present vnto me a lewde felowe, both of his wordes and dedes, concernynge the assessyng of men for collection of the Kyng's subsidie. And bicause the matter appereth to me very haynouse, specially in such a towne of Resort and wild people, as to bryng hym upp to yo^r good Lordeshippe with the bills of his own confession, and other mennes reporte that herde him confesse the same. And if yo^r Lordeshippe doo not loke straitly on such lewde persons which [*it* ?] hereafter may grow to inconveniences. And further if yo^r Lordeshippe wold commande the cheif men of Gravesende to bryng up vnto you such lewde and unruly persons, as they can espie them, it shuld cause moore quietnes and better rule to be kept in the same towne. Praying yo^r good Lordeshippe to advertise me of yo^r pleasure, what I shall doo whan such chaunces happen amongst any lewde persons nye vnto me. Thus the holy goost have yo^r good Lordeshippe in his blessed kepyng. At Cobhamhall the xixth daye of Maye.

"by your assurdyly

"GEORGE COBHAM."

The second letter refers to the same period as the preceding, but it is addressed to another officer of state.

* These letters are in a collection of the correspondence of Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, *temp.* Henry VIII.; lately preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, and now at the Rolls House.

Lord Cobham to the King's Secretary.

" Master Secretary wth hartly commendations. If it please you to be advertised, that oone Swayneland, a felow of myne, the Kings servante and Sercher of Gravesende, came to me this xxvijth day of October at iij of the clocke afternone, desiringe to speake to me aparte. And then he shewed me, that the xxi daye of this present month came a gentilman, by similitude, with ij Servants to Gravisende vnto this Swaynelande the bringer hereof, saying that he came from you and hadde appoynted a Shipp to receyve hym at Gravesende. And bicause it pertayned to this bringer to serch all shippes passing by, this gentilman in yor name caused hym to make the more hast to lett the Shipp goe forwarde. But so sone as he was a Shippe borde, he spake obprobrouse wordes agaynst the Kinges hyghnes and the quenes. Whereof this bringer will shew you the effecte. Sir I am informed that many straungers have passed lately that wayes, if ye wold commande some way to loke more straitley to that passage I think it were very well done. Moreover if it please you, Doct^r Layton hath visited the Abbey* of Rochester, and if it would please you to send yo^r L^res to the Prior of Rochester I thinke at yo^r request he wold be contented that myn Uncle S^r Edward Cobham should be Receyv^ror unto the Abbeye, whereby you shold not onely bynde my said Uncle to be yo^r dayly Servante and beydman, but also have me at all tymes at yo^r own commandement, praying you to lett me be advertised of yo^r pleasure of the contents hereof. And thus o^r lorde have you in his blessed kepynge. At Cobhamhall the xxvij daye of October.

yo^r assuryd frynd

" GEORGE COBHAM."

To the Right Worshippfull Maister Secretary vnto
the Kings highnes be this delyvered.

These letters resemble police reports. The noble writer, like a faithful magistrate, and a good courtier, informs the Lord Privy Seal, that he considers the offence of resisting the payment of a subsidy as *very haynouse*; but what follows is "the unkind cut," for he represents Gravesend to be "a town of resort, and wild people." The hasty emigration reported in the second letter, and the suggestion to make provision to prevent similar practices in future, indicate that Gravesend was then the resort of other classes, than those following the legitimate pursuits of trade; and the representation given of lewd and unruly persons, wild

* More properly the *Priory* of the Cathedral. Previous to the suppression of this and other religious houses, two general visitations of them were made by the King's command, one in the year 1535, the other about two years after. The commission to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury to accept the surrender of this House, is dated the 20th of March, 1540, and on the 8th of April following the seal of the Convent was fixed to the instrument of resignation.—*History of Rochester*, Edit. 1772, pp 75, 77.

people, and of a man bold enough to resist the payment of a subsidy, claimed in the name of Henry VIII., is enough to show that inconveniences had arisen, from some defect in the frame of local government ; the remedy for which should be something more effective than the commitment of offenders to be dealt with by the authorities at Court. These irregularities were in some degree incidental to the great traffic between London and Calais through Gravesend ; but this connexion was drawing to a close. Calais was invested by the French on the 1st of January, 1558, and after a short resistance, and a gallant effort made by Sir Anthony Agar, in which he lost his life, the town was surrendered on the sixth day of the same month.

Upon this event, Stow saith, plaintively, “ the losse of this towne seemed strange to many men of great experience, that the same town being so many yeres so strongly fortified with all munitions that could be devised, should now in so short space be taken of our enemies without fight, or slaughter of any man, more than Sir Anthony Agar.”

The French taking possession of Calais, the English to the number of 4200 persons, passed through the gate, and wended their way home to England. The retreat of the ruined English inhabitants bore the appearance of a flight from a burning city ; and many, having lost all they had possessed, died on their route, borne down by grief and penury.*

By this disaster, the interests of Gravesend suffered the loss of the beneficial intercourse they had enjoyed for two centuries, which however had imparted a strength, equal to endure the blow ; and four or five years afterwards, a Charter of Incorporation was obtained from Queen Elizabeth, in the preamble of which the effect of this event will be found described.

* Extracts from the Register of Burials at Gravesend.

“ 1558. February 7.—A yonge man of Calys, buried.

18.—Alice, wife of Humfrey Bond, of Calis, buried.”

Another sufferer languished till the following year.

“ 1559. April 7.—John Heathe, of Calis, buried.”



THE FIRST CHARTER OF INCORPORATION.

1562. A new era in the condition and affairs of the parishes constituting the town of Gravesend commenced, when for their better government, they were incorporated by a royal charter, dated the 22nd of July, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

No preceding royal grant to the inhabitants had reached this point. The rights and profits of the ancient water passage, or "Long Ferry," between London and Gravesend, had been conferred upon the "Men of Gravesend;" a market in Milton had been granted to Robert de la Parrok, and a fair in Gravesend, to the Men of the town: but this charter of Queen Elizabeth, was the first grant of municipal power and privileges, to the inhabitants of these parishes, or of the town of Gravesend, for want of which their former privileges had fallen into disuetude and decay.

The preamble of this charter affords some information relative to the state of the town, at that period, in the following words:—
 "Whereas our towns and parishes of Gravesend and Mylton, in the county of Kent, adjoining together, are in great ruin and decay, by reason that they have not a common market holden in

the town, because of the diminution or discontinuance of the common passage between the town of Dover and the city of London, of old time much frequented and used; so that the inhabitants of the said parishes are much distressed among themselves, and cannot obtain the means of support, and repair the said towns and parishes. Whereas also, the common passage by water between Gravesend and London, by virtue of the letters patent of our progenitor, Henry the Fourth, made concerning the said passage, and by force of the letters patent of confirmation of others our progenitors, and by us, to certain inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton, is not rightly governed; to the great damage of our liege subjects, as on the relation of divers credible witnesses in this behalf, and on the humble petition of the said inhabitants, for certain, we are informed." Hence it appears, that the town had suffered much decay, undoubtedly from the loss of Calais, of which the French had regained possession in January, 1558, about four years before; and that the common passage, or Long Ferry, had fallen into some irregularities, because of defects in the preceding grants, which provided no sufficient means to enforce salutary regulations.

By this charter the Inhabitants were made and constituted "one body corporate, and one perpetual community of themselves, for ever, by the name of The Portreves, Jurats, and Inhabitants, of the Towns and Parishes of Gravesend and Milton, in the county of Kent;" and the governing body was constituted of twelve members; two *Præpositi*, or Portreves, and ten Jurats; the names of these appointed by the charter, being as follow:—

PORTREVES.

Edward Darbyshire.

James Bate.

JURATS.

John Maynard.

William Bourne.

George Tucker.

Thomas Kensey.

William Bounde.

Robert Martin.

John Hammond.

John Persy.

William Pool.

John Frier.

There is no record extant, of any municipal proceedings of the corporation established by this charter; and it is probable that disagreements soon arose, which prevented the effectual working of it; for before six years were over, it was surrendered, and another was obtained, the preamble of which recites, that inconveniences had happened from the nomination and appointment of *two* Portreves, who (for anything that appears to the contrary) might hold their offices for life, as there was no provision made for an annual or other periodical election of successors. To avert these evils the Queen granted this Charter, at the request of Sir Henry Sydney, K. G., Steward of her Honour of Otford; in which Honour the towns and parishes of Gravesend and Milton were declared to be, at that time.*

The new Charter appointed but one Portreve, who should serve

* An Honour is a superior Seigniorie conferred by the Crown, to which it reverts in cases of attainder, in failure of heirs if granted in succession, and for other causes; and it is paramount to Manors which are included in the royal grant. The Honour of Otford, according to Hasted (vol. iii. p. 1), extended over the entire hundred of Codsheath, containing several Parishes and Manors. And Seymour in his Topographical Survey of Kent (p. 297), points out that the manner of creating these Honours may be seen in some of the Statutes of the realm, as 33 Henry VIII. c. 37 and 38; also 37 Henry VIII. c. 17. The Honour of Otford was held with Gravesend, at an earlier period than the date of the charter of Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the following record:—"L're to Mr. Chauncellor of the Augmentacions, signifying to him the Kings Mats pleasure to be, that Sir James Wilford shuld have the Baillywic of Gravisend and Milton, and the custody of Otford Parke, with the harbage and pannage thereof, and th' arrerages dew syns th' atteyndour of the late L. Seymour."—*Registers of Privy Council*, 3 Edward VI. vol. ii. p. 89, under date 13th February, 1549. Sir Henry Sydney held the paramount Honour of Otford, and the Manor of Gravesend, under Queen Elizabeth; and at his death there was a struggle between his son, Sir Robert Sydney, and Lord Cobham, for the succession, upon which occasion some finesse was employed, in the attempt to obtain the desired object. Upon the marriage of Mrs. Russell, one of the Ladies of the Court, the Queen was to be present at the ceremony: but the house of the bride at Blackfriars not being sufficiently capacious to accommodate the Queen, as well as the bridal party, her Majesty was to be received at the house of Lord Cobham, which was in the neighbourhood. Upon this Mr. Rowland White, a correspondent and in the service of Sir Robert Sydney, wrote thus to his patron:—"The feare I have Lord Cobham might take this opportunity of the Queene's goinge to his house, made me beseech the Countess of Warwick to have an eye unto Otford, and to continue an honorable care unto you, which is faithfully promised."—*Letter to Sir R. Sydney*, dated 14th June, 1600. *Sydney Peters*, by Collins, vol. ii. p. 202.

In the year 1602, the Manor of Sargeants' Otford, was conferred upon Sir R. Sydney.—*Hasted*, vol. iii. page 627.

for one year; and provision was made for the annual election of successors to the office; the number of the municipal body was increased by the addition of the class of Common Councillors, consisting of twenty-four members. With these amendments, the authority of a municipal institution was re-established, with rights and immunities similar to those of the former repudiated grant, as will appear by the following abstract of the contents of

THE SECOND CHARTER OF INCORPORATION.

DATED 5TH JUNE, 10 ELIZ. 1568.

The preamble of this charter recites the inconveniences that had arisen from certain provisions and omissions of the former grant, and then it is declared, that the Inhabitants are incorporated by the name of "The Portreve, Jurats, and Inhabitants of the Towns and Parishes of Gravesend and Milton;" to have perpetual succession, and be able in law to hold, purchase, and possess lands, &c., to themselves and successors, in fee and perpetuity, and to give, grant, and demise the same;—to plead and be impleaded, by the name aforesaid;—to have a common seal, and to break, change and make new, the same. James Bate was nominated and appointed to be the first Portreve, and capital officer of the said towns and parishes, to have the said office from the date of the charter, to Monday next after the feast of St. Michael, then next following, and thence until some other person should be chosen and sworn. Twelve of the principal inhabitants, were to be designated Jurats, and twenty-four others to be designated "Capital Inhabitants," who together should constitute the Common Council of the said towns, for the good government thereof; and to assist the Portreve. The said Portreve, Jurats, and Capital Inhabitants were to meet annually, on Monday next after the Feast of St. Michael, at eleven o'clock, in some convenient place within the town, to nominate and appoint one of the Jurats, to be Portreve for the year next following.

The Portreve, so chosen, was to take an oath to exercise his office duly, and until another should be chosen. The Corporation to meet and appoint all other necessary officers, within the said

towns, and administer an oath to them. Provisions for electing successors, on the death or removal of any of the Jurats, or Capital Inhabitants. To have and keep a common market within the said towns, or either of them, on Wednesday in every week ; and a Fair in every year on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, for the whole of that day, and on the three following days, together with a Court of Pie Powder, in the time of the said Fair, and all the profits of the said Market and Fair, with toll, stallage, pickage, &c. A Court of Record to be holden on Thursday, in every month, in some convenient place within the town, before the Portreve or his deputy, and four Jurats, or before Sir Henry Sydney, Steward of the Honour of Otford, or his deputy ; which Court should be called “ The Portereves Courte of Gravesend and Milton ;” and to hold pleas therein, as well of the inhabitants of the said towns as others of the Queen’s subjects, not exceeding in amount the sum of £100. The Portreve to be Clerk of the Market ; and all fines levied before him, as such, (as also other fines and forfeitures subsequently,) granted to the Corporation. Power to make ordinances, as well for the market as for the good government of the towns, not being repugnant to the laws of England ; the same being allowed by Sir Henry Sydney, or his deputy, during the time that he should be Steward of the Honour of Otford. Power to tax the inhabitants, with their assent, for the exigencies of the town. Power to inquire, in the Portreve’s Court, by juries, concerning transgressions within the towns, to hear and determine the same, and to commit offenders to prison for correction. To have a gaol in and for the towns, wherein to confine all persons arrested or condemned. To choose one honest person to be Serjeant at Mace, in the towns, for making proclamations and arrests,—in as ample manner as any Serjeant at Mace in the City of Rochester,—who shall be sworn, and shall bear the mace ; with provision for appointing his successors.

The Market and Fair aforesaid, and office of Clerk of the Market, to be holden in fee farm, rendering to the Crown five shillings yearly, payable on the feast of All Saints. Confirmation of all former grants of the Water Passage or Ferry between London and Gravesend ; and authority given to the Portreve,

Jurats, and Inhabitants, with the assent of Sir Henry Sydney, to make laws and regulations for the government thereof; the said Ferry to be holden in fee farm, at the like yearly rent of five shillings.

The following are the names of the Members of the Corporation of Gravesend, nominated and appointed by the second Charter:—

PORTREVE.

James Bate.

JURATS.

Edward Darbyshire.
William Morris.
John Maynard.
George Tucker.

Robert Martin.
William Bourne.
Ambrose Potter.
John Perse.

William Bownde.
John Hamond.
Thomas Kensey.
John Fryer.

CAPITAL INHABITANTS.

John Love.
John Organie.
John Clegent.
Nicholas Bennett.
Richard Williams.
Hugh Burneham.
Gilbert Williamson.
Gilbert Graye.

Robert Thompson.
William Hatton.
Robert Leyston.
John Woode.
John Pownce.
Richard Warde.
Francis Sparrow.
William Astyn.

John Bawdewyne.
John Clarke.
John Beche.
Thomas Wright.
Thomas Bodelowe.
William Corner.
William Gyles.
Thomas Tynsley.

The municipal body being constituted, the members required for themselves, their officers and servants, proper apartments and offices, wherein to administer the magisterial functions, and transact the general public business of the town.

At first, temporary arrangements were made; for, according to an entry in the register of burials in the parish of Gravesend, dated the 22nd day of October, 1571, “Lewes Monge, a prisoner in y^e Town House was buried.” This was clearly a temporary erection, and it will presently appear that it was subsequently to this time, that a permanent establishment was provided.

1573. The Corporation proceeded to make provision for raising funds for the purposes of their administration; and following the practice in other towns corporate, they instituted a class of inhabitants, called Freemen, upon whom the burthen of maintaining the local government should rest; this class of inhabitants being

permitted to carry on trade within the corporate jurisdiction, upon the condition of becoming freemen, either by pre-emption, that is, the purchase of the franchise by the payment of a fine, or by serving an apprenticeship within the town, or by patrimony, as being the son of a freeman.

This system is explained in a code of local ordinances, formed at that time, from which the following are selected :—

1573. { An Abstract of all the Laws, Ordinances, and Decrees,
Gravesend { ordained and set forth for the good government of the
 { and { Towns and Parishes aforesaid, by Robert Leyston, Portreve
Milton. { and the Jurats and Chief Inhabitants thereof, the 10th
day of June in the 15th year of the happy reign of our most gracious
Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by Sir Henry Sydney,
of the most noble order of the Garter, Knight, &c. according to the tenor
and effect of her Majesty's letters patent, &c.

“ That, for the better government of so great a multitude as is inhabiting within the towns and parishes aforesaid, and for civility and humanity to be used and continued therein,—the whole inhabitants (in name and not in deed) shall be nominated into two Companies or Fellowships, (Mercers and Victuallers,) and every inhabitant now being, or that shall be, having first compounded and paid for his freedom, such sum of money as shall be taxed and assessed upon him, shall be called a Freeman of one of the said Companies, and shall take a corporal oath, as Freemen of other corporate towns usually take.

“ That for the obtaining and provision of a convenient Court House, every inhabitant shall contribute and pay such sum of money as shall be assessed upon him by the Portreve, Jurats, and Chief Inhabitants, or the greater number of them, to the minister appointed for collecting and receiving thereof; and that within sixteen days next after the request thereof made.”

Then follow many ordinances for the appointment of officers, and servants, assigning their duties and emoluments,—for averting fires, by the precaution of sweeping chimneys quarterly,—for every inhabitant to pave the street before his door,—against casting noisome things in the streets,—for regulating victuallers,*—to restrain hackney-men from taking more for their horses let for hire,

* Special reference being made to lighting the streets, and to the movement of the Barge departing with passengers, at every low water;—“ Every Inn-Keeper and Victualler, shall nightly and at all other times when the tide falleth in the night, between the feast of All Saints, and the feast of the Purification of our Lady, hang out light at his door, upon pain to forfeit *iiii*d.”

than the rates set forth by her Majesty and the Lords of the Privy Council,—that no hackneyman should bring his horses to the common Town Quay, there to let them for hire,—to regulate foreign* Butchers and Bakers coming with their provisions to the market and fair,—to inhibit other traders, dwelling out of the town, from selling woollen and linen cloth, haberdashery wares, grocery wares, or mercery wares, by retail, within the town, except on market days, there being a market weekly, on Wednesday;—to fine parties refusing to serve office, or to appear upon summons,—with many others, devised for the better rule and government of the town.

Neither did these municipal law-givers fail to provide, most stringently, for the maintenance of good order among all the inhabitants, and among themselves, by other enactments in the local code, of which as they have become obsolete, it may be well to preserve some accessible record.

It was provided, “that for every offence and fault, by word, deed or unlawful usage committed by any inhabitant or resident, the Portreve or two of his brethren (in his absence) may correct and punish the offender by imprisonment. And farther, with the consent of the Common Council or the greater number of them, may set on him such reasonable fine and amerciamment, according to the offence, as shall be thought meet; and if such offender refuses to come before the Portreve to answer for his offence committed, he shall forfeit x^s. or be committed for xxiiii [hours.]

“The Portreve, with consent of four of his brethren, may imprison any of the Jurats or xxiiii Chief Inhabitants by the space of three days or under, as the case shall require, for his or their evil demeanour, so that the party imprisoned may have the liberty of the house, and the cause of his imprisonment delivered to him in writing. And if the Portreve and his brethren shall think the party imprisoned, his fault to be such and so heinous, as that he deserveth farther imprisonment, then the Portreve shall cause an assembly to meet according to the letters patent, and there, in that present assembly, in the presence of the party imprisoned, shall declare his fault, when the party shall be suffered to say for himself what he can; whereupon, if the party shall be thought worthy of further imprisonment, he shall suffer the same, and pay such fine as the greater number of that assembly shall think meet. To this assembly all or as many of the Jurats and xxiiii as be in town shall be warned, and no farther imprisonment to be granted, unless the

* Butchers and Bakers not being freemen.

third part of the xii [Jurats] and third part of the xxiii [Chief Inhabitants], be present, upon pain for the Portreve to lose to the use of the town v^{li}.

“ If any inhabitant or other person shall assault or strike another, within the liberties, with dagger, sword, or any other weapon, where blood is drawn and shed, against her Highnes’ peace, he or they offending shall pay a fine of iii^s. iiiid.

“ That all persons that undecently and unreverently shall behave him and themselves before the Portreve or his deputy sitting in Court, shall fine for every time so offending vi^d., and farther at the discretion of the Portreve to be committed to ward.”

If there is matter in some of these provisions to startle the sensitive upon questions of personal liberty, there is also much to admire, in the constitutional protection against the assumption of power, when capriciously exercised.

The immediate practical results of the foregoing ordinances, respecting the organization of fellowships or companies of freemen, and for providing a Court House and other premises, for the purposes of the Corporation, are explained by the records of the Corporation, which follow :—

1572-3.—“ A note of all the inhabitants, reseant and dwelling in the parishes of Gravesend and Milton, the xxth day of September, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth ; which have paid for their freedoms of the said towns and parishes, either of the companies of Mercers or Victuallers.

“ ROBERT LEYSTON, Portreve.

“ Jurats.

M* William Morris	V Ambrose Potter	M John Hammond
V John Maynard	M Robert Martin	V John Fryer
M George Tucker	M John Perse	V Nicholas Bennett
M William Bourne	M William Bounde	V John Organey

“ Chief Inhabitants.

M John Clegent	M William Austen	M William Fisher
V Hugh Burnam	V John Bawdewyn	M William Clegent, sen.
V Gilbert Gray	M John Beech	M Roger Bower
M John Wood	V Thomas Wright	M William Bradband
V Robert Thompson	V Thomas Bodelowe	V Roger Oliver
V John Pounce	V William Corner	M Edward Darbyshire
V Richard Ward	V Thomas Tynsley	V Thomas Mayer
M Francis Sparrow	V John Bennett	M John Carpenter.”

* M for Mercers’ Company — V for Victuallers’ Company.

1572-3.—The inhabitants being Freemen of Gravesend and Milton.

VICTUALLERS.

John Golding	John Jones	John Harding
Thomas Aman	John Gamble	John Brooke
Peter Miller	William Fieldinge	John Moyce
William Pierson	Rowland Bellydowne	Richard Thompson
Christopher Browne	John Room	John Whight
Robert Wallis	John Sampson	Thomas Fairfield
Nicholas Middleton	William Crossewyche	Richard Cole
Thomas Hudson	John Mason	William Watson
John Peacock	Robert Curtice	

MERCERS.

Randolph Crew	John Arkinson	John Bellinger
Thomas Higham	Anthony Miller	Robert Dod
James Dyer	Jasper May	Mark Willingham
John Bear	Francis Thompson	Robert Hart
Robert Steere	Robert Matthew	Hugh Stringer
Thomas Pratt	Richard Montgomery	Edward Clegent
Thomas Gray	Thomas Man	Peter Johnson
William Browne	John Norman	John Brown

THE FIRST TOWN HALL.

“ A. D. 1573. Monday next after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, being the 5th day of October.

“ In this year was the Town House purchased and paid for; the Butchery (shambles), Market Place, Market Gates, and Gate House builded; the Corn Market furnished; and leathern Buckets and iron Hooks for the suppressing of Fire provided.

“ Mem^d. That the Town House was fully paid for the xxvijth day of October, A. D. 1573; Mr. Ambrose Potter being then Portreve, and Mr. Francis Sparrow, Chamberlain.”

The ground upon which the Town Hall was erected was held upon lease, the details of which will be hereinafter given; and the cost of the erection was, of course, defrayed by the contributions of those whose names appear in the above list of the first Freemen, with probably some pecuniary aid from other inhabitants, who by the bye-laws were subject to contributions demanded for “ the utility and necessity of the parishes.”

The armorial bearings of the Corporation, represented in the print at the head of this account of the charters, and the design

of the Common Seal, at the end, have been thus described ; First, the Arms ; Vert, a Boat with one mast, Or ; a sail furled, proper, rowed by five rowers hooded and cloaked, with oars and anchor, Sable ; steered by a Porcupine, Azure, chained and quilled of the third. Secondly, the Seal, thus, a Boat with one mast, lying at anchor in the river ; on the hill beyond, a Porcupine.* This is a mistake as regards the animal, which is intended to represent a Hedgehog ; the latter being the device or badge of Sir Henry Sydney, and it refers to his authority in the government, and regulation of the Barges and Boats.

THE LONG FERRY.

The authority to regulate this water passage between London and Gravesend, being conferred by the Charter upon the Portreve, Jurats, and Chief Inhabitants of Gravesend, they being owners of the Tide barges employed in the Ferry, together with twelve other inhabitants being owners, subject to the confirmation of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G. ; they proceeded to make a code of regulations for that purpose.

These ordinances contain a description of the establishment of Barges and Boats employed, and a relation of many circumstances connected with them.

By the first ordinance, the right of the owners of the Barges to the profits of the conveyance of passengers in turn, was recognised and confirmed to them. These turns were twenty-seven in number, the greater part of them belonging to individuals ; the other turns being severally divided between two persons, who were described as owners of half-tides. The property in these turns was obtained by purchase, gift, or inheritance ; and the parties coming into possession, paying a fine or fee of five Pounds to the Portreve, for the use of the Corporation.

The traffic in the Ferry must at this time have increased, for the owners of the Barges were authorized by the Corporation to appoint seven Tiltboats, properly manned and equipped to take turns as auxiliaries to the Barge, “ for serving the Nobilitie and

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 178.

Worshipfull, and their attendants ;” and from the terms in which this arrangement is expressed, it seems that the Tiltboats were first recognised and admitted to a participation in the Ferry, at that period.

“ Owners of Tiltboats nominated and appointed, by virtue of the said ordinance, to take their turns as followeth, to begin the 1st of July, 1573.

“ 1st turn, John Clegent, and William Clegent, jun. 2nd, Thomas Pratt. 3rd, Thomas Bodelow. 4th, William Roberts. 5th, John Mason and Anthony Miller. 6th, John Richardson. 7th, Hugh Stringer.

“ Ratified in that order to be taken, by Sir Henry Sydney, Knight.”

Care was taken that these Tiltboats should not injuriously interfere with the profits of the Barge. It was stipulated that no master of a Tiltboat should take of any person (“ other than of the Nobilitie or Worshipful in the last constitution specified,”) to be carried from Gravesend or Milton to London, more than sixpence ; paying out of this, the accustomed fare in the Barge, which was twopence, to the owner of the turn, the same tide that the Tiltboat was engaged ; provided, however, that if the earnings of the Barge in that turn should amount to thirteen shillings and fourpence, then the payment by the Tiltboat master to the Barge was to be only one penny in respect of each passenger.

If the Barge, by reason of foul weather, did not proceed from the bridge at Gravesend towards London to the distance of three miles, then the Tiltboat might proceed without making any payment to the Barge.

It was enjoined, that the bargemen should call passengers to the Barge, in the West Street ; namely, the second call as low as Robert Leystone’s house,* and the other three calls in the High Street, according to the old custom used.

* This call or notice was extended to the west end of West Street, as appears by the description of the premises of Mr. Leystone in a deed of conveyance, dated the 25th of November, 1567, *penes me*. “ William Lovedie, of London, citizen and grocer, and Joan his wife, in consideration of the sum of fiftie pounds,” granted and sold to Robert Laistone of Gravesend, Shipwright, “ all that their messuage or tenement with the wharf adjoining, sometime

It was provided, that for the better serving of the Queen's liege people passing in the Tide-barges, and for the better order and government of the same, the owners should be divided into three Companies, and out of every of them to choose yearly on the Monday before Michaelmas, at least two persons, owners of tides, to be called Wardens to every of the said Companies; to have the government, rule, and order, severally of their Barges to them appointed, for mending and maintaining them, and for providing mariners, sails, oars, and masts, and all other ornaments and furniture necessary; for receiving and bestowing of money, and to account for the same.

This ordinance is somewhat ambiguous upon the number of Wardens to be appointed; but as there are entries of two in each year for a considerable period, it may be presumed that two only were appointed to superintend the whole establishment of Barges.

Every master and rower of the three Barges was required to give diligent attendance with their several Barges at every low water in his turn, wind and weather permitting, and there being a sufficient number of people and stuff, to make the fares of the Barge four shillings.

For the farther protection of the profit of the barge, it was provided, that if a tiltboat master should transport in his boat, any stuff or cattle, (the Queen's stuff and cattle only excepted) he should hand over the money he should receive for their conveyance to the owners of the barge, having the turn of the same tide.

The rates for the conveyance of such "stuff and cattle," and which it seems had been the charges, time out of mind, disclose

called Spalding's Wharfe, situate, lying and being in the weste parte of Gravesend, abutting upon the river of Thames on the north parte, the Water Gate or Dock on the east parte, the Quenes highwaie towards the south, and to the tenemente and wharf now or late in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Woombell, towards the weste," &c. It is observable that Leystone's tenement is described, as situated in the west *part* (not in the west *street*), of Gravesend; and being on the west side of a *Water Gate or Dock*, it was just beyond the end of West Street, though on the line of the street. The Water Gate or Dock mentioned, means the public water course, now running down through Bath-street, Pipe-street, and under the Star wharf and warehouse into the river, which water-course was originally open, but is now covered.

the character of the cargoes with which the passengers were occasionally mixed.

For every score of lambs	viii ^d .	A quarter of corn	iiii ^d .
A calf	ii	A hogshead	iiii
A boar alive viii ^d , dead.	iiii	A barrel, filled	iii
A [piece of?] broad cloth	ii	A firkin	i
A dicker* of leather, tanned	vi	A saddle	i
A dozen of calves skins	i	A barrel of Herring	ii
A pack of wool	viii	A pack of cloth, cross mailed	iii
A great hamper, or basket	iiii		

To give effect to these ordinances, parties offending against them, were amenable to a process of law before a local tribunal; and the following record of the proceedings at a Court held on the 23rd day of September, 1573, before Robert Leystone, Portreve, and the twelve Jurats, abundantly proves the necessity of the protective regulations against the extensive encroachments of the masters of the Tiltboats upon the rights of the Barges; and it shows also, that there was a considerable traffic in the Long Ferry at that time.

A Jury, consisting of

John Wood,	Thomas Wright,	John Rome,
William Corner,	William Austen,	William Pierson,
Robert Clere,	John Pounce,	Rowland Bellydowne,
James Dyer,	Thomas Higham,	Christopher Browe,

being duly sworn, to inquire into offences against the regulations made for the good government of the Long Ferry, made the following presentments:—

“ We do present John Thompson and Francis Fletcher, Tiltboatmen, for that they did take away from the tide course and turn of John Perse and Agnes Darbyshere, on the 28th day of June last, the number of twenty persons, being common passengers, and therefore either of them the said Thompson and Fletcher hath forfeited x^s.

“ We do present John Thompson, Tiltboatman, for that he, on the five several days herein mentioned, did ply and carry the common passengers, therefore he hathe loste xi^s.

“ We do present Edward Porrege, Tiltboatman, for that he did take away from the tide course and turn of Robert Clere and John Derry, on the 22nd of August last, the number of xxx common passengers, and therefore he hath forfeited x^s.

* Consisting of ten hides.

“ We do present Anthony Miller and Edward Clegent, for that they have brought one other tiltboat to the town, contrary to, &c., therefore they have forfeited ”——

At the same Court, many similar presentments were made. The last of these Courts of which any record is extant, was held on the first day of July, 1574, but whether this discontinuance arose from the suppression of the practices which seem to have been met with the infliction of the penalties, or from some other arrangements among the boatmen, or whether such Courts were held, but that the records of them are lost, does not appear.

When a new barge was required, the necessary funds for it were raised by the owners, under a rate allowed by the Portreve, so that the public should not be left without the means of conveyance, for want of co-operation among the owners to provide one.

“ 1586. Assessment made before Mr. John Bere, Portreve, the xviith day of Decembre, for and towards the building of a new Barge, assessed and taxed ; as followeth :—

Mr. Fryer	xv s.	Thomas Nicholson . .	xv s.
Mr. Bere	xv	Henry Pynnock . .	xv
Francis Sparrow . .	xv	John Bellinger . .	xv
John Bennett . .	xv	Henry Albery and	} xv
Samuel Bere . . .	xv	Widow Albery*	

There were two other assessments of 20s. upon each owner, levied for this new Barge ; the amount of the three rates being £24 15s. ; and in the general accounts for the year, it appears that the old barge was sold to Samuel Bere for twenty two shillings.

In a book containing the accounts of the barge, the following entries appear :—

PAYMENTS.

1591. Paid at Mr. Potters for wine given to my Lords' men when the Water Court was kept	£	s.	d.
Paid Master Steward for making our books and for breakfast	0	0	8
Paid for wine given to Mr. Lambarde and Mr. Williams at the giving up of our verdict	0	2	4
Paid to Mr. Fryer for making of our presentments for the Water Court	0	1	0
Paid for wine and sugar given to Mr. Steward of the Water Court	0	0	7

* These being owners of half a share each.

These charges are for expenses incurred in holding a court before the steward of Lord Cobham, who held the manor of Gravesend, which is explained in the following passage from Lambarde.

“ For the ordering of this passage, and government of the watermen labouring therein, there is belonging to the manor a proper court, intituled, ‘ *Curia cursus aque*,’ which was sundry years discontinued by the niggardly negligence of the Fermors of the manor of Gravesend, but now lately hath been revived by the honourable care of the Lord Cobham, Lord Chamberlaine of her Majesty’s householde, owner of the same ; and by the example hereof, they of London obtained (upon like offer) the like privilege of transportation, which also to this day they enjoy accordingly.”*

Every effort has been made to obtain farther evidence of this grant, but without success, and the original document containing it, is probably consigned to oblivion, by the loss of muniments consequent upon the attainder, in the Cobham family, that ensued. The Court is recognised in the statute of 11 and 12 Will. III. c. 21, and others.

	£	s.	d.
1574. For hire of barge to serve the Lord Mayor	1	2	0
1575. For hire of our barge at Simon and Jude	1	2	0

Similar items occur in other years, when the Gravesend barge was engaged to attend the water procession on Lord Mayor’s day, then held on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, the 18th of October, but altered, by the introduction of the New Style, to the 9th of November.

That the account of this ancient and famous water passage, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth may be complete, and in a connected form, an abridgement of a second series of regulations is added.

In this code it appears, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London were concurring parties to the enactments ; and it is provided that persons to be employed in the barges, were first to be approved by the eight Masters and Rulers of the Watermen upon the River Thames.

The descriptions of the classes of boats named in these regula-

* Lambarde’s Perambulation of Kent, edit. 1596, p 486.

tions, are curious. Their relative dimensions may be ascertained, by the number of passengers which they were respectively thought competent to carry.

Gravesend and Milton, 19 ^o Junii, 37 ^o Eliz. Reginæ, A.D. 1595.	}	Orders made by the Portreve, Jurats, and Inhabitants of the Towns and Parishes of Gravesend and Milton, in the County of Kent, and agreed unto by the Lorde Maior and Court of Aldermen of the Citie of London; to be observed for the Ferry or Passage of her Maj ^{ty} s subjects from Grauesend to London, and from London to Grauesend.
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1. The common barge called the Grauesend Barge shall serve every tide, if wind and weather will permit, for the transportation of her Majesty's subjects from Grauesend to London, and from London to Grauesend.

The passengers shall pay for the passage, two pence and no more, for each passenger with a male or small fardle, or four shillings in all, if the passengers being four will make it up; according to the ancient custom, the owners shall every tide lay their barge to the common and usual stairs or bridge, and shall take all such passengers as shall desire to go with them; and if the Fermer of the Ferry of the city of London, do refuse to observe the tide, he shall forfeit ten shillings to the Lord Mayor. And if any of the owners of the tides from Grauesend refuse to serve the tide to London, he or they shall in default, forfeit the like sum of ten shillings, to such of Grauesend and Milton as the same shall belong.

2. Whereas of late years the said common passage between Gravesend and London, by the common barge, hath been much hindered by the multitude of tiltboats, lighthorsemen, and wherries, used in each of the said Ferries, who, for their private gain, take upon themselves to ply and carry passengers, before the common barge be furnished and departed, by reason whereof many go in tiltboats, lighthorsemen, and wherries, and leave the barge unfurnished, whereby the said barge hath not served the ordinary tides, and the poorest passengers, not able to pay sixpence for their passage, have been constrained to come and go on foot, and if remedy be not sooner taken, the ordinary ferry will be drawn from twopence to sixpence, and is like thereby to be abandoned;—for remedy whereof it is ordered, that the owners and Fermers of the barges called Grauesend Barges shall, both at Londen and Grauesend, have the pre-eminence to take in all the passengers that shall be willing to pass by barge, and shall not be hindered by the laborers in any tiltboats, lighthorsemen, or wherries.

No tiltboat, lighthorseman, or wherry, shall ply or take into any their boats, any passenger, until the Grauesend Barge shall be first furnished with passengers, launched forth and gone, from the stairs at

Billingsgate, to Tower Wharf,—and from the bridge at Grauesend, to Hang-dog-Tree ; and if any of the afore-mentioned boats shall offend herein, they shall pay to the owner or fermer of the common barge, that serveth the same tide, towards her better maintenance, twopence for every passenger, that he or they shall take : provided always that if any nobleman, knight, officer, or messenger of the Queen's Majesty, or known merchant, or Alderman of London, Master or Warden of any Company or Mystery there, or Justice of the Peace, shall for his or their more speedy passage, hire any tiltboat, lighthorseman, or wherry, or take the tide before the common barge be departed, the owners of such tiltboat, &c. shall pay for every such passenger, twopence, to the owner of the common barge that serveth that tide.

3. Ordered, that each common barge shall be made strong and substantial, having in length and breadth, as in old time it hath been used ; and that such common barge shall be rowed with four men in fair tides, and five in foul weather, and a steersman at the least ; and shall be furnished with sufficient masts, sails, and sail-yards ; and shall carry a good and sufficient hauser and anchor to serve in time of distress.

4. No tiltboat, of what bigness soever, shall carry at one time, above thirty passengers, over and above the watermen that row, and the steersman, and shall be rowed with five rowers at the least, and shall not be over-masted or sailed, whereby the passengers shall be in danger of drowning ; which tiltboat, for herself, the steersman, and five watermen, shall be allowed for one such passage, fifteen shillings and no more.

5. If any will, for his or their more ease, hire a tiltboat, to carry the number of twenty passengers or under ; the tiltboat serving with five rowers and a steersman, should be allowed ten shillings and no more.

6. If any tiltboat do carry above the number of thirty passengers, he or they shall forfeit ten shillings.

7. If sundry passengers under the number of seventeen will hire a boat known by the name of a Lighthorseman, served with four rowers and a steersman, they shall pay for the hire thereof eight shillings.

8. If such Lighthorseman be hired by a private man for himself and wife, or his servants and followers, not exceeding the number of ten passengers in all, the hire of that lighthorseman, with fours rowers and a steersman, shall be but six shillings and eight-pence.

9. No wherry shall carry in her above the number of five passengers at once besides the waterman, and the hire or fare shall be three shillings and fourpence.

10. And forasmuch as owners of barges, &c., have employed boys and other of small skill and evil nurture, whereby many passengers have been drowned, and some escaped with great danger :* it is ordered,

* The following melancholy cases have been recorded.

“ 1553. The 25th of October, the barge of Gravesend was overturned, and fourteen persons drowned.”

1568. “ The 28th of March, through vehement rage and tempest of winds

that none shall be allowed to row as a waterman between the places aforesaid, unless he hath been a rower by the space of one year, at the least, and shall be allowed by the eight Masters and Rulers of the Waterman upon the river Thames, upon pain, &c.



The print of the Arms of the Corporation at the head of this account of the institution, and the above print of the impression of the Seal, indicate the authority and influence of Sir Henry Sydney in their affairs ; the prominent heraldic figure in each, being a hedgehog, which was his badge or device.

WILLIAM BOURNE.

William Bourne, the author of several treatises, whose name appears in the list of the members of the Corporation of Gravesend, as one of the Jurats, was the son of William Bourne of Gravesend, who died in the year 1560. The subject of this sketch was nominated in the first Charter of Incorporation, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and again in that granted in the year 1568 ; and he was subsequently elected to the office of Portreve, or Chief Magistrate.

W. Bourne was a man of regular habits, and of great application ; for, besides the works he published, he was particularly diligent and active in the discharge of his public duties. The

many vessels in the Thames, with two tiltboats before Gravesend, were sonke and drowned."—*Stow*.

" 1576. John Pounce was buried the fowerth daye of April, 1576 ; Richard Jackson, B.D., and Parson of Milton, was buried the eleventh daye. Theis two were drowned, in the tiltboate, on Shrove Sondaye before, at night, what tyme also, all that were in the boate (to the number of fortie persons or there-abowte) were drowned."—*Pocock's Gravesend*, p. 179.

" 1598. The 4th of May, a tiltboat of Grauesend, having in the same boat about the number of fortie persons, was over-run by an hoy, so that the greater part of those people were drowned, over against Greenwich, the Court then being there."—*Stow*.

only records of the measures taken for the regulation of traders, in his time, under the authority of the Charter, are in his handwriting. The presentments of the juries empannelled to inquire into and discover offences against the local regulations, are given in a form characteristic of the habits and pursuits of Mr. Bourne, as they are manifested in his works. He was an adept at diagrams, and he arranged his record in a tabular form.

A second presentment of a Jury as touching the office of Clerk of the Market, the xv day of March, in the xiv year of the Queens' Highness' reign, A.D. 1571.

The names of the Jury :—Roger Bower, Foreman 1.

Wyllm Broadbent . . . 2	Nicholas Middleton 6	Peter Johnson . 10
Francis Sparrow . . . 3	Robert Thomson . 7	John Norman . 11
Gilbert Gray . . . 4	Richard Ward . . 8	John Rome . . 12
Wyllm Clegent the younger 5	John Thomas . . 9	Thomas Cole . 13

The names of the Innholders and Tiplers that are amerced for selling Beer and Ale in Pots of stone, and Cans not being quarts full measure.

MILTON.	d.	MILTON.	d.
Thomas Wright ii		John Jones ii	
Mr. Morris vi		Mr. Bourne, Portreve vi	
Widow Morgan iiiii		Mr. Maynard vi	
Gilbert Watkinson iiiii		Wyllm Crossnych iii	
Roger Oliver iiiii		John Bawdine iiiii	
Hugh Bournam iiiii		Mr. Organey iiiii	
Thomas Tinesley ii		Mr. Potter vi	
		4s. 9d.	

The names of those Bakers yt are amerced for baking their bread too light, not keeping the Assize.

	s.	d.	Bakers of Dartford* amerced.	s.	d.
John Frier x			Thomas Edwards vi		viii
John Wood v			Tremling v		
Rowland Belliden iiiii			32s.		
John Justes' Widow ii					

The names of those that are amerced for not having ob.+ bottles of Hay.

d.	d.	Those that are amerced
Mr. Bennet ii	Mr. Organey ii	for that their ob bot-
Roger Oliver ii	Mr. Fryer ii	tles of Hay be too light.
John Badwin ii	Thomas Wright ii	d.
Mrs. Bates, Widow ii	14d.	Hugh Bornams iiiii
		Gilbert Watkinson ii
		Widow Morgan ii
		8d.

The Beer Brewer is presented for selling his Beer at such excess of price by the Barrel. xs.

Sum^a xlviii^s viii^d."

The worthy Portreve's name appears among others, for having sold Beer in short measures; which, however, is no impeachment of his integrity, for if he had been cognizant of the practice at his Inn, he might have evaded detection; but it probably arose from

* Bakers who brought bread from Dartford, for sale in Gravesend.

† Bundles of Hay sold at one halfpenny each.

the negligence of his servants, or at the worst, by his own oversight; and the frankness with which he records the circumstance, is stronger evidence of his conscientious and independent impartiality, than of any improper design.

List of Works by William Bourne.

1567. Rules of Navigation. See the next article.

1571. An Almanacke and prognostication for three years, that is to saye, for the yeare of our Lorde 1571, 1572, and 1573 now newlye added unto "*my late rules of navigation*" that was printed iiii years past. Practised at Gravesend for the meridian of London, by William Bourne, student of the mathematical science. Printed by Thomas Purfoot, London, 12mo. Ames, page 333.

1573. A Regiment for the Sea: containing most profitable rules, mathematical experiences, and perfect knowledge of Navigation, for all Coastes and Countreys: most needfull and necessarie for all seafaring men and Travellers, as Pilots, Mariners, Merchants, &c.; exactly devised and made by William Bourne. London, printed by Thomas Hackett. It is without date, but it contains an astronomical Table, calculated for 1573, &c. It is dedicated to the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral.

1578. A Booke called the Treasure of Traueilers, divided into five bookes or partes, contayning very necessary matters for all sorts of Trauailers, eyther by Sea or by Lande; written by William Bourne, London, small Q°. 1578. Dedicated to Sir William Winter, Knt., Master of the Queen's Majesty's Ordnance at Sea, &c. This book contains wood-cuts and diagrams, several of them showing the positions of objects at and about Gravesend. The text has many references to the town and neighbourhood.

Another edition was printed in 1641, with the same cuts, under the title of, A Mate for Mariners, and a Treasure for Travellers. Small Quarto.

1578. Inuentions or Deuises, very necessary for all Generalles and Captaines, or Leaders of men, as well by Sea as by Land: Written by William Bourne, An. 1578. Printed by Thomas Woodcock. Small Q°. Dedicated to Lord Charles Howard, K.G.*

The two works printed in the year 1578, were published in the order in which they are placed; for in the last, the author refers to the former.

Among the Inventions and Devices noticed by Bourne, there are several that have recently been presented as new discoveries, and

* This work may be classed with the Century of Inventions, by the Marques of Worcester, 12mo., 1663.

some of peculiar interest, for having been brought into use upon late occasions, at Gravesend ; and as the work has become scarce, a few of the devices may be given.

8th Device, Fire Ships,—16, A chain for defence of Harbours,—17, A False Keel,—19, “ A Boate to goe without Oares or Sayle, by the placing of certaine Wheeles on the outside of the Boate, in that sort, that the armes of the wheeles may goe into the Water, and so turning the wheeles by some prouision, and so the wheeles shall make the Boate to goe,” —20, A Tide Mill, on a floating Vessel, as then used in France, and in the Thames, according to Stow,*—21, A Ship’s Log. This was the invention of Humphrey Cole ; see Walpole’s Catalogue of Engravers,—22, A Diving Bell, then used by the Venetians and Italians,—23, A Dress and Apparatus for Divers, to be used for recovering sunken bodies lying in deep water,—53, And also there is devised by John Skinner, one of the Queen’s Majestie’s men, *a certaine Screwe*, to set underneath the taile of a piece of ordinaunce, so that you may bring her into what level that you list without any Coynes, &c.,—59, The Steelyard, introduced from Spain,—75, a Night Signal, or Telegraph.—107, Reflecting Mirrors.—110, A Device for magnifying distant Objects by means of Glasses ; which might have suggested the Telescope.

1581. William Bourne his Almanack for ten years, beginning at the year 1581, with certain necessary rules. Printed by James Roberts with Watkins, 8vo. Ames, page 340.

1584. Another edition of the Regiment for the Sea ; described at large by Dr. Dibdin. Typograph. Antiq. vol. 4, page 375. No. 2509.

1587. The Arte of Shooting in great Ordnaunce, containing very necessary matters of all sorts of seruitours eyther by sea or by Lande. Written by William Bourne. London, printed by Thomas Woodcocke, small quarto. Dedicated to Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwick, K.G. Generall of the Queen’s Maiesties Ordnaunce. There appears to have been another edition of this work, published in 1596,† quarto.

There is in the British Museum,‡ an unpublished work, by Bourne, in MS., which is described as follows:—“ Book of Ordinance, giving directions for casting, boring, and charging Ordinance ; with rules for measuring heights, and distances, land, superficies, and solids, and proportions of ships.” In the first page is a dedication to William Lord Burghley ; which is written and signed by Bourne. The body of the work is in another handwriting. At the back of page 40 is a very rude sketch of a plan

* Stow’s Survey of London, Thoms’ edition, p. 135.

† See Gardner’s Catalogue for 1813, Part i. No. 877.

‡ Sloane MS. No. 3651.

of the town of Gravesend, very imperfectly showing the positions of the bulwarks, and a beacon on the Hill, by Bourne's own hand. This manuscript was probably once in the possession of Lord Burleigh, to whom it is dedicated ; as a MS. in folio, by William Bourne, entitled, " A Book of Geometry and Perspective, with his Treatise of the Use of Artillery," was among the Burleigh MSS.; and on the dispersion of that collection, by auction, in November, 1687, was sold for three shillings. That this MS. contains a work by William Bourne of Gravesend, is established, by the identification of his signature to the dedication, upon being compared with his autograph in the records of the Corporation. Few circumstances relating to him are known, except such as may be gleaned from his numerous publications. It is certain that he was an inn-holder at Gravesend, and served the office of Portreve of the town. In his " Almanack," published in 1571, he describes himself " A student in Mathematical Science." In the dedication of his " Treasure for Travellers," to Sir William Winter, whom he designates, Master of the Ordnance by Sea, and Surveyor of the Queen's marine causes, Bourne says, " I have most largely tasted of your benevolence towards me, being as a poor Gunner, serving under your worthiness ;" and in the same work, he says, " some wyll think that I doe meddle with those matters that I have no skyl in, for that I am neither Naupeger or ship carpenter, neither usual Sea man." If therefore Bourne served under Sir William Winter, who was Master of the Ordnance by Sea, and Surveyor of the Queen's marine causes, it was as a gunner, not as a seaman ; and as these offices were of a general nature, and were not to be discharged at sea, it may be, that Bourne served under him on shore. The circumstances of another inhabitant of Gravesend, at the time, may explain the position of Bourne. Mr Jasper May of Gravesend, was a Shipwright ; and in the register of burials in the parish of Milton, he is described as one of the Gunners of Gravesend Bulwark : in like manner W. Bourne may have been one of the Gunners of Gravesend Bulwark, and at the same time have kept an inn in the town.

His works appear to have been composed at Gravesend. In his

“*Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnance*,” the following passage occurs, —“as for example, *heere with us at Gravesend*, there is two Bulwarkes, y^e one right against the other, the river Thames running between them, &c. In his “*Regiment for the Sea*,” he takes an example from the action of the tide at Gravesend; and a colour is given to the surmise that he was one of the gunners of the Bulwark, by his observation, that “all those castles and forts that were builded in the time of Henry VIII. were rounds, or parts of rounds, which are of no force, for that they cannot flank the ditches.” Evident proofs of this were before his eyes at Gravesend and Tilbury Bulwarks; and he described their position in another of his works. Many similar indications occur of his residing at Gravesend, when he composed his works: but two more extracts will suffice. In the chapter on Land-surveying, in his *Treasure for Travellers*, he illustrates his text by diagrams describing the positions of distant places and objects, as they were seen from the Windmill-hill at Gravesend. He says in the same work, “and now suppose that the water was of our water, here at Gravesend, and that is not of the lightest sort, neither of the heaviest sort, and a foot square (*cubic?*) of that water weigheth fifty-five pounds, most commonly,” &c.

From these scanty materials, but little can be deduced respecting the life of William Bourne, beyond the facts that he was an inhabitant of Gravesend, engaged in business as an inn-holder, and that he was held in so much estimation among his neighbours, that he was raised by them to the office of Portreve, or chief magistrate of the town; that, according to the practice of the period, he might, notwithstanding his occupation in business, have held the post of one of the Gunners of the Bulwark at Gravesend; and that he wrote his several works there. Nevertheless these notices of his literary or rather scientific labours may serve to revive his name in the municipal body, and introduce his merits to a larger circle.

Mr. Bourne died in 1582,* leaving a widow and four sons, to whom he bequeathed some freehold property. The concluding

* 1582, March 22nd, was William Bourne a householder buried:—and, December 13th was Dorothe Bourne, widow, buried.”—*Gravesend Register*.

passage of his will* exhibits a trait of his character which is worthy of one who had so sedulously applied himself to intellectual pursuits, and is in accordance with the sense he frequently expressed of the value, and on the want of education. The passage in his will is,—“ Dorothy my wife to have the profits of my houses and tenements, to bring up my children in the fear of God, and to set them to schole, whereby that they may have some facultie to live.”

SHIPPING AT GRAVESEND.

When ships of war of the first class were built within her borders, England may be said to have commenced a career which gave her the sovereignty of the narrow seas, and then the dominion of the ocean, with the envied possession of “ ships, colonies, and commerce,” to supply the means of supporting her naval superiority.

The route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to America across the trackless Atlantic, having been discovered, voyages to the latter country were frequently made by the English, and a passion for transmarine undertakings was excited. The north became the point towards which this spirit was turned, for the purpose of seeking a passage in that direction to China.

Such of the vessels as were prepared in the Thames for these expeditions, made Gravesend a rendezvous, where the commanders mustered their crews, completed their preparations, observed certain solemnities, and “ kept good cheer” with the friends who attended them upon their departure.

It is not proposed to offer here a history of these early voyages, but only to notice such of them as produced an intercourse with the town ; beginning with a brief account of the departure of an expedition to Newfoundland and Cape Breton.

“ 1536. One Master Hore, of London, a man of goodly stature and greater courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, encouraged divers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the King’s favour, to accompany him on a Voyage of Discovery upon

* Dated the 2nd of February, 1573.

the North-west parts of America ; wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space, many Gentlemen of the Innes of Court and of the Chancerie, and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, in the Admyrall called the *Trinitie*, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein Mr. Hore himself was imbarcked. In the other ship, whose name was the *Minion*, went a very learned and virtuous Gentleman, one Mr. Armigil Wade, afterwards Clerke of the Councils of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., and father of the worshipful Mr. William Wade, now Clerke of the Privie Council ; Mr. Oliver Dawbeney, Merchant of London ; Mr. Joy, afterwards of the King's Chapel, with divers others of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, were about six score persons, whereof thirty were Gentlemen ; WHICH ALL WERE MUSTERED IN WARLIKE MANNER AT GRAVESEND, AND AFTER THE RECEIVING OF THE SACREMENT, they embarked themselves in the ende of April.*

The spectacle of a numerous body of agricultural labourers and artisans, occasionally embarking at Gravesend in the present times, to seek some amelioration of their circumstances by emigration to distant settlements, will create more sympathy than surprise ; but it is surprising that gentlemen of the Inns of Court, and other worshipful persons, should have accompanied the hardy seamen in these hazardous voyages, to see the strange things of the world.

1553. An expedition for the discovery of a north-west passage to China was sent forth, in this year, by Sebastian Cabot, son of John, the celebrated navigator, a Venetian who had settled at Bristol, and was an enterprising seaman, “ much given to the studie of Cosmography ;” to whom and his sons, Henry VIII. had given licence to navigate all seas, under the banner of England, and to set it up in such lands as they might discover. This little fleet consisted of three vessels, respectively of the burthen of 160, 120, and 90 tons. They sailed from Deptford

* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 129.

on the 20th of May, and passing Greenwich, where the King (Edward VI.) was, they saluted with their ordnance; and reaching Gravesend they remained there till the 18th day of the month, stopping again in the Lower Hope two days, a practice which has been followed in recent times.

The next voyage to be noticed, claims special regard for the curious account of the sayings and doings of the parties at Gravesend, given by the same indefatigable collector,* from whom the preceding notices have been obtained.

1556. "The navigation and discoverie towards the river Ob, made by Master Steuen Burrough, Master of the Pinnesse called the *Searchthrift*, with divers things worth the noting, passed in the year 1556."

"We departed from Ratcliffe to Blackwall, the 23rd of April."

"Saturday, being St. Mark's day, † we departed from Blackwall to Grays.

"The 27th, being Monday, the right worshipful Sebastian Cabota came aboard our Pinnesse at Gravesend, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboard, they went on shore, giuing to our Mariners right liberal rewards; and the good olde Gentleman, Master Cabota, gaue to the poor most liberal almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the *Searchthrift*, our Pinnesse. And then at the sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banketted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheere; and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entred into the dance himself, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, hee and his frends departed, most gently commending us to the gouernance of Almighty God.

"Tuesday, we rode still at Gravesend, *making provision for such things as we wanted.*

"Wednesday, in the morning, we departed from Gravesend, the wind being at south-west, &c.

* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 274.

† The anniversary of St. Mark's day is the 25th of April, which accords with the dates given.

The reports of these expeditions are voluminous, and extracts from them might be extended to a great length, for the purpose of proving the resort of shipping at Gravesend, to the advancement of the interests of the inhabitants; but, as this may sufficiently appear from a selection, the following account of the voyages of the famous Master Frobisher only will be added.

“ 1576. The first voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, to the North-west, for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, master in the *Gabriel*, and made in the year of our Lorde 1576.”

“ The 7th of June, being Thursday, the two barks, viz., the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, with our Pinnesse, set saile at Ratcliffe and bare down to Detford, and there we ancred; the cause was, that our pinnesse burst the Boultspret and Foremast, aboard of a ship that road at Detford, else we meant to haue past that day by the Court then at Greenwich.

“ The 8th day being Friday, about 12 of the Clocke, we wayed at Detford and set saile, all three of us, and bare down by the Court, where we shott off our ordnance, and made the best shew we could. Her Majesty beholding the same, commended it, ande bad us farewell with shaking her hand at us out of the window.

“ The 12th day, being over against Gravesend, by the Castle or Blockhouse, we observed the latitude, which was 51 deg. 33 min. and in that place the variation of the Compasse is eleven degrees and a halfe.”*

In these brief extracts, are several points of interest, beyond the main fact, that the vessels remained as others had previously done at Gravesend, to make all things ready for final departure. The graphical description of the Queen, graciously bidding farewell to these gallant adventurers; the circumstance of refitting the Pinnace that had lost her bowsprit and foremast, so that she proceeded on the day next following that on which the accident had occurred, showing at a glance the description of this vessel, destined to encounter the perils of an arctic voyage, for the

* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 29.

reinstatement of these material parts of her equipment, could not have been so soon effected, unless they had been very diminutive ; and the observation taken at Gravesend, with a notice of the variation of the compass ; will excite an interest in the tale of Master Martin Frobisher and his associates, among those at least, that appreciate the information they afford concerning maritime transactions at that period.

The vessels returned from this voyage in safety, bringing with them a piece of ore, from which it was fondly expected to extract a rich portion of gold ; and this was sufficient to encourage another expedition in the next year, when a fleet was fitted out, consisting of the following vessels :—" One tall ship of her Majesty's, named the *Ayde*," of 200 tons burthen, with 100 men, whereof thirty or more were gentlemen and soldiers, the rest being sufficient and tall sailors. The second was the *Gabriel*, a small bark, with five soldiers and twelve mariners. The third vessel was the *Michael* of thirty tons burthen, with five soldiers and eleven mariners.

1577. On Whit-Sunday, the 26th of May, early in the morning, these vessels departed from Blackwall, and " fell that tyde down to Gravesend," where they remained until Monday night.

On Monday, morning the 27th of May, on board the *Ayde*, they " all received the communion by the Minister of Gravesend, and prepared as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes, and towards night departed for Tilbury Hope."*

Dionise Settle, the historian of this voyage, says, (the fleet having reached its destination,) " our Captaine on the 19th of Julie, returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which showed itself in the bowells of these barren mountains, wherewith we were all † satisfied." He then describes the position of the Fleet, showing that they had reached far north, but omits the more desirable information of the latitude in which they were. He proceeds thus,—“ the Generall certayne dayes searched this supposed Continent with America, and not finding the commoditie to answer his expectation, after he had made trial thereof, he departed thence, with his little barks to the east shore, being the

* Hakluyt's Voyages, edit. of 1600. vol. iii.

† From this it appears that the writer was in one of the ships of the fleet.

supposed Continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, Souldiers and Sailers, until such time as he thought good to send or come for them ;”—and he adds, “ the stones of this supposed Continent with America be altogether sparkled and glister in the Sunne like gold, so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old proverb, all is not gold that glistereth.”

The worthy scribe appears to have had some misgivings, but there were others who were sanguine ; for he relates, that “ they departed from the west shore, supposed firme with America, and proceeded to Warwick’s Sound and Isle, where the General thought good for the voyage, to freight both the ships and barks with such stone, or supposed gold mineral, as he judged to countervaille the charges of his first voyage, and this his second to these countries.”

Without stopping at present to give the account of the steps taken upon the importation of the precious cargoes of the vessels in this voyage, it is well to state, that another expedition was undertaken in the following year, under the same gallant leader.

The narrator of the occurrences of this third voyage of Martin Frobisher, says that the fleet, consisting of the “ *Thomas Allen*,” and the *Hopewell*, with certain other ships, came to Gravesend on the 25th of May, 1578 ; where they anchored, and waited for some of the fleet that had not then reached Gravesend. On the 27th, the ships being assembled, and in readiness, the wind favourable, and the tide serving, the fleet, consisting of eight vessels, weighed anchor, and proceeded to Harwich, to join the Admiral, and the other ships that had waited there for them.

The expeditions, of which these brief accounts have been given, were no doubt contributory to the welfare and extension of the town of Gravesend ; and the proceedings upon the return of the ships, laden with ore, will be found locally interesting, for Dartford was the scene of the experiments made to ascertain the value of the mineral which they had imported.

The following is an official report* of the proceedings at Dartford, when the ore, brought in the third voyage, was submitted to the usual process or assay.

* State Paper Office.

“ Account of smelting the Ore that came from the North-West, 17th February, 1578 (9) :—

“ The xxvijth daye of February, 1578 (9) of x^c of ore meltyd at Dartforde.

Acownt made of x^c of Ore meltyd w^{ch} came out of the *Judeth*, and 13^c of Ore w^{ch} came out of the *Northe*, and 3^c of lectarge* w^{ch} came from Tower Hyll; 26^c in all.

Whereof came iij^c $\frac{1}{4}$ of rych leade, and that beyng fynded downe there cam viij oz. of silver lackynge 10^d weight,† whereof beyng parted, came of gowlde one qr. of oz. and xviii grans.

Whereof came out of the leade and lytarge w^{ch} was xvij^c $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. w^{ch} is x oz.

They meltyd the lytarge with the flags, where out is come ij^c of leade, w^{ch} ij^c of leade howldes v oz. Allso there dothe remayne in stene iij^c $\frac{1}{2}$ w^{ch} houldyth in all 5 oz.

There remaynes iij^c of leade at 30^s.

Whereof all is xvij oz. of silver wth gowlde; the gowlde w^{ch} is therein is $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 40 grans. w^{ch} is 35^s. in value.

There remayns xvij oz. 1 qr. iii^c weight $\frac{1}{2}$ of silver, whereof we take out x oz. for the xvij^c ore and lectarge: rest in silver of oure own Ore 7 oz. 1 qr. 3^d weight $\frac{1}{2}$.”

“ Howe myche the x^c dothe make.

	£	s.	d.
Furst in Sylver 17 ^{oz} 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d weight at . . .	4	7	0
Then the gowlde $\frac{1}{2}$ oz 40 grans at . . .	1	15	0
Then 3 ^c lede left at . . .	1	10	0
	<hr/>		
	7	12	0

Whereof abate for 10 oz. w^{ch} came out of the Ore

and letharge of the <i>Northe</i> . . .	2	10	0
	<hr/>		
	5	2	0”

It is certain that neither this assay, nor one that had been made in the preceding year, realised the anticipations of the parties concerned: for the means of the adventurers were so reduced,‡ that

* Litharge.

† 10 dwts.

‡ See Letter of the Adventurers to the Privy Council. State Paper Office, “ Domestic.” 28th March, 1579.

they were compelled to sell their ships to satisfy the claims of the mariners for arrears of wages, and they had not funds wherewith to continue the works at Dartford.

Let not the reader pronounce an unqualified condemnation of the proceedings here narrated, nor consider them altogether absurd or useless; but let him reflect, that an Almighty Providence is ever in operation for the welfare of mankind; and remember the story of the fabulist, and the moral to be deduced from it:—A father bequeathed his lands to his sons with an intimation that they contained hidden gold, and for the discovery of which they laboured diligently; they found not the gold, but they had tilled the ground in the search, and thus they obtained a mine of wealth in teeming harvests.

The early voyages of the English mariners procured little gold, but they laid the foundation of the maritime greatness of the empire, by exciting a noble spirit of naval enterprize, which has never since languished.

There is yet another circumstance to be mentioned, which gives a local interest to the events that have been narrated.

An inhabitant of Gravesend was a partner in the toils and perils encountered by Frobisher, and a partaker of the honour acquired in the daring enterprize.

James Bere was Master of the “*Michaell*,” which vessel was one of the fleet of Frobisher on the second voyage, Gilbert Yorke being the Captain.

In the third voyage, Bere served in the *Anne Francis*, and the following notice of him, in the account published of that voyage, is a high testimony to his character as a navigator:—“But whilst the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongst great Store of Yce, in a place they knew not, without sight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and so to know the true elevation of the Pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the Worke, the Generall with the Captaines and Masters of his Ships began doubtfully to question the matter, and sent his Pinnesse aboard to heare each man’s opinion, and specially of James Beare,*

* Bere. The orthography even of proper names was little attended to at that time. The records of the Corporation of Gravesend contain many instances of this, and among them the name of this family is variously spelled.

Master of the *Anne Francis*, who was knowen to be a sufficient and skilful mariner, and having beene there the yere before, had wel observed the place, and drawen out Cardes of the Coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Christopher Hall, Chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, delivered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole fleete, that hee had never seene the foresayd Coste before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobishers Straits, as some of the Fleet supposed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend so like, that the best mariners therein may be deceived.”*

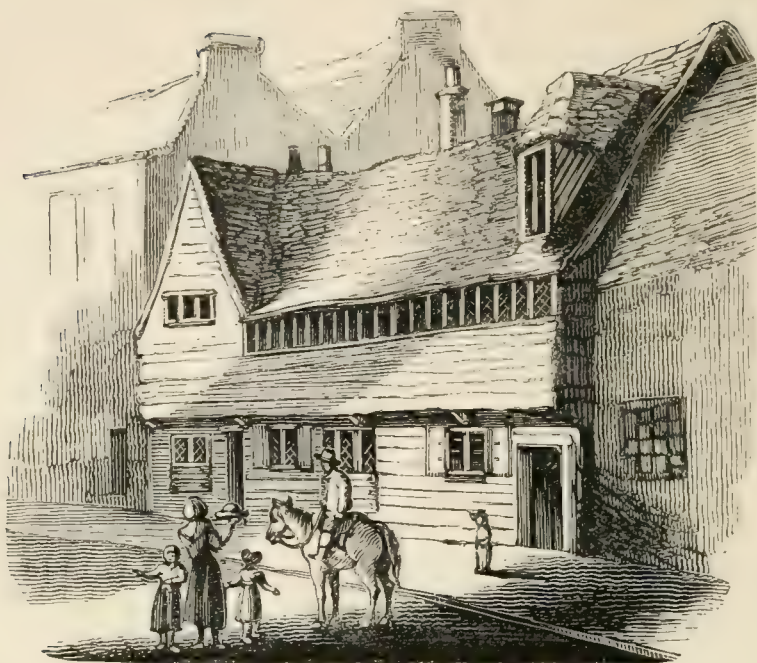
As the colleagues of Bere bore testimony to his merits while living, so his relatives and friends offered at his death a tribute to his memory, in the following monumental inscription in Gravesend Church, which was destroyed with the Church by fire.

“ On the south wall, on a Monument of black and white marble, are the effigies of a Man, his Wife, five Sons, and five Daughters, and these Arms, viz, Argent, a bear rampant, Sable, armed and langued ; and a canton, Gules ; Crest, on a Garb prostrate, Or ; a cornish chough, proper. The inscription is on two compartments. On the first is only legible James Bere, 1609. On the second these verses :

“ After much wery sayling, worthie Bere
 Arryved this quiet port, and harbers here.
 As skilfully in honestie he brought
 His humaine Vessel home, as he was thought
 Equall with any that by Card or Starr,
 Took out and brought again his Barke from far.
 So let him rest in quiet, till he hear
 The Trumpet sound, when all must rise with Bere.
 And for his Fame and honest Memorie,
 This is his frail and brief eternity.”†

* Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 61.

† Thorpes' Registrum Roffense, p. 749. Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 69.



THE FREE SCHOOL OF THE CORPORATION OF GRAVESEND AND MILTON.

THE SCHOOL HOUSE.

The earliest positive testimony relative to this School, is the record of the appointment of a Master, in the year 1595 ; but it is stated in the entry of that appointment, that it was “ in the rome ” of a preceding Master, who had surrendered his place ; and who, for anything that appears to the contrary, might have been preceded by others in the like office. There is some evidence, that this was the case, and that the School was founded in the year 1580. In that year the Corporation became possessed of “ a messuage and garden, commonly called the Alms-house in Milton ; ”* and from circumstances now to be related, it may be presumed, that this messuage became the School-house.

* “ Primo die Junij A^o. xxii R. R. (A.D. 1580). Memo. That all the persons hereunder written did and doth give their assents and consents to the employing of one messuage and garden with the appurtenances in Milton, commonlie called the Almes House, to such use and uses as be and are expressed in one paire of Indentures made between Anne Lawrence, widowe, and Edward Lawrence, gent. on the one partie, and the Portreve, Jurats, and Inhabitants of these parishes on the other partie, the date whereof is the daie and yere aboue-written, with their like assent to repayre the said messuage, at the comon charge of the said parishes.” *Extract from the Records of the Corporation.* To this entry in the Book, there are twenty three signatures of the Portreve and Members of the Corporation. The indentures are lost.

The premises could not have been procured for the immediate use of the Corporation, because all their requisite offices had previously been provided; neither were they appropriated to the purposes which the description would suggest.

Workhouses were not then maintained by parochial assessments, but by the benevolence of parishioners. By a Statute* of the year 1547, it was provided, "that all impotent, maimed, and aged persons, who cannot be taken for vagabonds, shall have convenient houses provided for them, and otherwise relieved in the cities, boroughs, or towns, where they were born, or where most conversant by the space of three years, by the willing and charitable dispositions of the parishioners, and none other shall be suffered to beg there."

Under this system for the care of the poor, the Corporation would provide refuge for the infirm and destitute, and this they could have done by appropriating one part of the messuage they had obtained, and the other part as a School-room. The description of the premises in the indenture of 1580, signifies that the messuage had previously been an Alms-house.

The Corporation made provision for both these objects, as it has been suggested; for in their earliest account-book extant, there are entries of sums paid concurrently and severally, for occasional repairs of their School, and of their Alms-house. Within four years after the acquisition of the Alms-house and Garden, in Milton; John Maynard, a Jurat, died, having bequeathed to the Corporation certain property, to be converted and applied to procure premises for the better relief of poor and impotent persons; and by this bequest, the Corporation could appropriate the messuage and garden entirely to the purposes of a school, and provide a separate asylum for the poor. This appears to have been effected, for an Alms-house is stated in later entries in the books, to have been situated in the Market Yard, on the same spot that is now the site of the public market; and in all the account-books that have been preserved, there are clear indications that their School-house has been, from its origin, the

* 1 Edward vi. chap. 3.

same as that which has been described as the “message and garden,” in Milton.

A very few extracts from the accounts, will establish this point.

“ 1624.	Paid Mr. Ray for repairing the School-house, the soldiers breaking it	£	s.	d.
		1	15	0
1637.	Paid Edward Browneinge for two quarters (wood) for the School-house stayrs	0	1	0
1640,	Paid Wenman for building a kitchen to the School-house	4	0	0
1686.	Paid by the Mayor’s order for Hearth Money* for the School-house	0	8	0
1713.	April 2. W. Mayor’s bill for gravel for the school-house garden, 12 loads	1	4	0
	Bought of Andrew Pope, per Wm. Brockman, 4 yews, 10s.—1 holly, 2s. 6d.—2 honeysuckles, 1s.—2 jessamines, 1s.—6 roses, 3s.—p ^d carriage to London, p ^d do. to Gravesend, and sculler on board	1	0	6”

Some inhabitants now living may perceive in this provision of gravel and shrubs, the origin of that beauteous garden, that in the days of their pupilage contained a “snug alcove,” and a choice painting withal, where the ambitious artist adventured to place his work in competition with the floral embellishments enumerated above.

This is the message and garden of the year 1580; but in farther proof of identity, the following is added:—

“ 1714.	Sept. 24. A bill for putting up posts and rails before the free-school, and other jobs.	£	s.	d.
	For 11 oak posts, 5½ feet long, a piece	1	7	6
	For 58 feet of rails, 4½ by 3	0	14	6
	For a piece of oak for a step in the road, 2 feet long	0	0	6”

The length of these rails agrees with the extent of the front of the School-house, given in a survey made by Mr. Anthony Peck, senior, in the year 1817; and the description of them, forms another link in the evidence, that the school-house has always been on the site of the Alms-house obtained in 1580; and which

* Levied under the Statute 13 & 14 Charles II. chap. 10, at the rate of two shillings for each hearth, which was the number in the house, in after times.

it may be observed, was taken, in order to be appropriated, *to such use or uses*, as the Corporation had covenanted for; and that they had undertaken to pay for all repairs, and it may be assumed, for all alterations to be made on the premises.

THE MASTERS OF THE FREE SCHOOL.

It has been said above, that a schoolmaster was appointed in the year 1595, in the room of a predecessor who had surrendered the office, and that it might be supposed that others had been appointed before he had resigned, which is now to be shown more satisfactorily. To counteract the influence of Popery, an Act* was passed in the year 1581, intitled, "An Act to continue the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience," by which it was provided, that if any person or persons, BODY POLITIC or CORPORATE, after the feast of Pentecost next coming, should keep or maintain any schoolmaster who should not repair to Church, or be allowed by the Bishop or Ordinary of the Diocese where such schoolmaster should be kept, he or they should forfeit for every month so keeping him, ten pounds. There are two entries, preserved in the books of the Corporation, which appear to relate to Masters of their Free School, and to have been entered, to secure evidence of conformity with the Statute referred to.

The first is a copy of a licence, dated the 6th of October, 1581, granted in the name of the Diocesan, by his Chancellor Dr. Lewyn, to Robert Peverell, to keep school, and teach children within the parish of Gravesend.†

The second is the copy of another licence, dated the 17th of January, 1583-4, to Henry Moldson, clerk, to execute the office of Deacon, in the parish of Denton,‡ within the diocese of

* 23 Eliz. chap. i. sec. 6.

† This would not invalidate his authority to teach in Milton, the licence being sufficient to authorize him to teach in any place within the Diocese; and Mr. Peverell being a stranger, might have overlooked the parochial division of the town, when he obtained his licence. The two parishes had long been known by the common denomination of Gravesend.

‡ By this it appears, that at that time there was an officiating Minister of the church of the parish of Denton, where now nothing but a scanty fragment of a church remains.

Rochester, and to teach the Latin tongue to such as were willing to learn the same, within the parishes of Gravesend and Milton.

No reason more satisfactory can be assigned, for securing copies of these licences in the books of the Corporation, than that the object was, to secure proof that the Corporation had appointed duly licenced teachers, in their school, according to the Statute.

The first name that appears, with the express designation of Master of the School, is that of Edward Barber, and it occurs in his case, as it does in many which follow, that the actual appointments are not recorded; the secondary evidence, therefore, which is contained in the entries of the payment of their stipends, has been used in the compilation of a list of the Masters from the date of the foundation, to the present time.

“ The Xth day of November, Anno Domini 1595.”

1595. “ Ma That the day and yeere abovesaid Mr. Edward Barber, late Scolemaster hath surrendred vp his place of Scoole M^rShip into the handes of Mr. William Leyston now Portreve, and the Rest of the Juratts his bretheren in the Towne Hawle to their Discreations to place another.”

1595. “ Nowe be it knowne that we the Portreve, Juratts, and Inhabytants of the Townes and parishes of Gravesend and Milton, whose names are here vnder wrytten, have admytted George Dyer M^r of Art into the Rome of the Abovenamed Edward Barber, to be the Scholemaster during so longe tyme as he shall behave himself honestly, and well and dylie performe the offyce of a Schoolemaster in teaching his Scollers manners and hollsome learning according to the lawes of this Realme.”

List of the Masters of the Free School, from the Foundation, in the year 1580, to the 20th of November, 1834.

I.	—— Robert Peverell.	X.	1646 Robert Chamberlain.
II.	—— Henry Moldson.	XI.	1649 Andrew Merrey.
III.	—— Edward Barber.	XII.	1649 Roger Barker.
IV.	1595 George Dyer.	XIII.	1652 Matthew Derby.
V.	1608 John Dowglass.	XIV.	1657 William Lister.
VI.	1624 —— Roy.	XV.	1658 Christopher Smith.
VII.	1636 Helemn Mannering.	XVI.	1662 —— Burley.
VIII.	1642 John Chandler.	XVII.	1665 Thomas West.
IX.	1645 Francis Skinner.	XVIII.	1666 —— Dickinson.

XIX. 1673 Henry Bowyer.	XXVII. 1696 Thomas Truelove.
XX. 1681 John Lister.	XXVIII. 1705 John Gordon.
XXI. 1684 John Ballard.	XXIX. 1708 Arnold Sydall.
XXII. 1686 George Russell.	XXX. 1711 Mark Gibbon.
XXIII. 1688 Isaiah Finch.	XXXI. 1717 Robert Harrold.
XXIV. 1689 Abraham Slade.	XXXII. 1754 Charles Sloane.
XXV. 1691 Robert Paterson.	XXXIII. 1757 Thomas Coombs.
XXVI. 1696 William Ray.	XXXIV. 1759 John Locker.
XXXV. 1764 James Giles.*	
XXXVI. 1780 James Giles the younger.	
XXXVII. 1825 Robert Humphrey Giles.	
XXXVIII. 1830 Henry Wilson Giles, resigned 20th Nov. 1834.	

The remarkable circumstance that four members of one family should have been Masters of the School in succession, for so long a period as seventy years, demands some special notice, and recognition of their merits.

Mr. James Giles the elder has been the subject of a biographical sketch in a former historical account of Gravesend.† In that account he is described as a man of great application and indefatigable perseverance ; for, although self-taught, he became a good arithmetician, acquired a tolerable proficiency in mathematics, and was an able electrician. His scientific acquirements qualified him to project and execute some admirable mechanical works. He made an orrery and a curious clock, and constructed the sundial which is over the door of the porch of Milton Church.‡

Mr. James Giles, the younger, succeeded his father as Master of the School ; and in the discharge of his duties, amply sustained the reputation which seemed destined to become hereditary. Moreover, he discharged them, not as if they were a labour reluctantly performed, but with alacrity, as a recreation. He was a good classical scholar, and a sound grammarian. But the esteem in which he was held while living, and the respect in which his memory is cherished by those who knew him best, were founded upon merits of a higher order : he was an amiable, honest man. The best proof of his title to this just but feeble

* Mr. Giles died December 9th, 1780, aged 61.

† Pocock's History, p. 117.

‡ Vide, page 79, *supra*.

tribute, is recorded upon a substantial testimony of respect, presented to him by his former pupils and friends.

Inscriptions upon a Silver Inkstand.

[On one side]

“ To Mr. James Giles
of Gravesend, Schoolmaster,
Presented by a few of his Pupils
as a Token
of their grateful recollection of his kindness
in their youths,
and of the high estimation in which
he is still held by them
in their maturer years.”

“ 18 August, 1818.”

[On the other side.]

“ Quod enim munus Reipublicæ majus meliusve afferre possumus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem ?”—CICERO.

Robert Humphrey Giles, and his brother and successor, Henry Wilson Giles, were severally appointed Masters of the School, in a manner which testified that the members of the Corporation entertained a high opinion of their qualifications, and were gratified by offering upon each occasion, a tribute of respect to the memory of their late worthy father.

Endowed with kindred minds, which they cultivated with energy and success, both might claim to be esteemed good scholars, and they excelled in several lighter accomplishments. By their uniform excellent demeanour, but especially by the exemplary discharge of their filial duties, they won the esteem of those who had known them from their birth, through infancy to manhood ; and when they quitted Gravesend to pursue their interests in the wider field which the metropolis presents, they were followed by the warmest wishes of very many friends, for their future welfare.

SALARY AND EMOLUMENTS OF THE MASTERS OF THE SCHOOL.

1609. The following order, made by the Corporation, contains the earliest account of the remuneration which was granted to the Masters of the School :

“ M^d that the viith day of September in the viith yere of the reigne of Kinge James of England yt ys ordered by the Portreve and Jurats in

the full court assembled that the Scholemaster, viz. John Dowglas gent. shall have out of the Towne Stock and treasur for the arrerages of his yerely pention payable by the townsemen at Mich next, the som of v^{li} and from theancefourth v^{li} yearely to be payd at the iiij vsuall feasts by even porcions."

From the notice of the "Schoole howse Stayres," in the earliest accounts, it should seem that there was originally, (as there was through all time within memory of living witnesses,) a separate entrance to the School, from the Street; and therefore, that the Masters always enjoyed a residence apart from the School Room, with access to it by private stairs.

There is also sufficient proof in the accounts, that his residence was not only as commodious as the space would admit, but that it was from time to time, repaired and improved at the expence of the Corporation.

Upon one occasion it appears that a kitchen was added, and partitions put up in the cellars; upon another, that a garden was laid out and stocked with ornamental shrubs.

Coals also appear to have been provided by the Corporation, so early as the year 1688. The taxes have also been paid by the Corporation, as in the case of Hearth Money; and of late years the parochial rates were also paid by the Corporation, and not by the Master.

It is obvious that the Master has always had the advantage of deriving some emolument, by the instruction of private pupils; for when it is considered that many of those who have held the office, were invested with academic honours, it will not be doubted, that they engaged in the instruction of other scholars, beside the few upon whom gratuitous instruction was bestowed.

The following item in the accounts shows, that there was an Usher employed, who, from the service for which a payment was made, was probably a Writing Master:

1701. October 16, P^d Mr. Hales the Usher of the £ s. d.

Free Schoole for twice engrossing the Address . 0 2 6

The salary of five pounds per annum was continued, till the appointment of Mark Gibbon, clerk, on the 18th September, 1711, when it was raised to ten pounds per annum; the number

of boys to be instructed being also increased from four to eight ; which amount was continually paid till Michaelmas 1744, when it was discontinued.

INSTRUCTION OF THE BOYS.

Various orders upon this subject have been made, from time to time, by the Corporation.

Mr. Dyer, who was appointed Master of the School, on the 10th of November, 1595, was required, as it has already been stated, to perform the office of a schoolmaster, in teaching his scholars manners and wholesome learning, according to the laws of the realm.

In the record of Mr. Skinner's appointment, dated the 1st of July, 1645, it is stated, that Francis Skinner, clerk, was admitted to teach scholars within the Free School, within the parish of Milton, &c., the word "Free" being scratched through and the word "Grammar" being interpolated. Upon the appointment of the Rev. Matthew Derby to the place of Master, on the 24th of December, 1652, there are three entries, in two of which the institution is called the Free School, and in the third a "Gramer Schoole" is introduced ; but a short extract from this entry, will show the utter worthlessness of the authority :—"and alsoe hee is to teach and in struck 4 pore schoolers, tow of each parish in the Gramer Schoole, and writtinge gratuious, &c." This notable entry is not entitled to the smallest consideration, as a proof that the institution was ever a classical or grammar School.

The next master appointed was the Rev. William Lister, who was said to be admitted to teach scholars within the Free School, without any stipulation for teaching the learned languages ; and nothing farther appears upon the question, until the period of the bequests of David Varchell and James Fry, in whose wills it is called the Free School, and not a Grammar School.

An order of the Corporation, dated the 18th of September, 1711, expresses the purpose of the institution to be, for teaching and instructing four poor boys of each of the parishes ; and this scheme is recognised in the respective wills of the benevolent testators, who were members of the Corporation, and therefore

must be presumed to have been acquainted with the original object of the School and the practice existing in their time, and for the permanence of which, they provided by their bequests.

There is, therefore, no good reason to doubt, that from the origin of the School, the scheme of instruction has always been adapted to the children of the poor, who have been gratuitously taught, reading, writing and arithmetic, and nothing more.

The occasional appointments of the Ministers of either parish, does not determine the question the other way, for they taught the boys admitted by the parishes according to the established practice, and probably instructed other boys as day scholars, in other branches of education.

BEQUESTS TO THE SCHOOL.

1703, Sept. 30. David Varchell, an inhabitant, and a member of the corporation, gave by his will (subject to a life interest to his widow) to William Yate and Stephen Allen, of Gravesend, in trust, one messuage* in Gravesend, and four messuages in Milton; and they were to dispose of the rents as follows,—“Twenty pounds per annum to the master of the Free-school for the time being, of the parish of Milton for ever, to learn and teach gratis twenty poor boys; ten to be sent out of Gravesend, to be agreed upon at a vestry, and the other ten in like manner out of the parish of Milton, and such money as should remain, to be laid out in the month of October yearly for ever, to buy clothes for the said twenty boys,” &c.†

1710, April 29. James Fry, an inhabitant and a member of the corporation, gave by his will to the Mayor, Jurats, and inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton (this being the style of the corporation,) an annuity of fourteen pounds ten shillings, charged upon Hazel Farm, in the parish of Northfleet, and upon a messuage called the Bull, in Rochester, and to their successors for ever, in trust, to be paid by them yearly (parliamentary taxes first deducted) to the master of the Free-school of Milton, next

* Now in the occupation of Mrs. P. Troughton, at the angle of High-street and West-street.

† Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 99.

Gravesend, and to his successors for ever, so that he and his successors, should teach ten poor boys, four to be chosen by the churchwardens (with the consent of a vestry) to be sent from the parish of Gravesend, four from Milton, and two from Chalk; and in case either of the said parishes should fail to send their numbers, then the Corporation to keep up the number of ten, out of some place under their government, as they may think fit.

It has been stated above, that the salary of ten pounds to the Master was discontinued by the Corporation; which was probably occasioned by the following circumstances:—

The four messuages in Milton, bequeathed by David Varchell, were destroyed in the great fire, in the year 1727; and the ground* was let upon building leases for ninety-nine years, which occasioned a decrease in the rental; and Mrs. Fry, the widow of the testator, who bequeathed the annuity of fourteen pounds ten shillings, to be paid to the Master, had a life interest in this sum; so that the funds were very scanty for many years.

In 1739, an application was made to the Court of Chancery, for directions to execute the trusts; and by a decree of the Court, dated the 19th of December in that year, fourteen Trustees were appointed for that purpose.

In the year 1744, when the Corporation ceased to pay the annual stipend of ten pounds to the Master, the annuity and ground rents were payable to the trustees, the life interests of the widows of the testators having terminated;† and under these circumstances, the Master's stipend was paid by the Trustees.

The origin of the annuities bequeathed by James Fry, for the payment of the Master of the Free-school, may be thus traced.

At a time when there was no public debt, or in other words, no public funds, in which individuals could, by purchase, invest

* In East-street, whereon two dwellings are built, one of which, a public-house, is known by the sign of the Amsterdam, the other is occupied by a fishmonger.

† David Varchell died the 19th of October, 1703, aged 36 years 9 months.—*Thorpe's Registrum Roffense*, p. 750. James Fry died the 14th of July, 1710, aged 67.—*Ibid.* 1027. Susannah, his widow, died the 21st of February, 1725, at the age of 73.—*Ibid.* 1028. And the widow of David Varchell died in December 1730. (MS. in possession of the Trustees of the Charity.)

their money to bear interest, it was the practice to advance money to persons possessing lands ; who, in consideration of such advance, engaged to pay an annual sum for a term limited, or in perpetuity, as interest, to be secured upon the lands.

According to this practice, it is stated in a deed,* dated the 10th of June, 1580, that Henry Leafe, of the city of Rochester, in consideration of forty-four pounds to him paid by John Sedley, Esq., conveyed an annuity or yearly rent charge of four pounds, issuing and payable out of a messuage or tenement, called the Bull at Rochester.

By another deed, dated the 10th of February, 1580-1, William Swan, of Northfleet, in the county of Kent, gentleman, in consideration of one hundred and twenty pounds to him paid by John Sedley, Esq., granted an annuity or yearly rent of ten pounds and ten shillings, issuing out of a messuage or tenement, called Hassells, and several pieces or parcels of land thereunto belonging, lying and being in the parish of Northfleet, unto the said John Sedley, and his heirs and assigns for ever.

These annuities were purchased by Mr. Fry, and constitute his bequest to the Corporation in trust, to be paid to the Master of the School.

The diminution of rents occasioned by the destruction of the messuages by fire, subjected the boys also to the loss of the clothes, which it was directed by the will of Mr. Varchell, should be provided for them. Mr. Man, the late treasurer, entered a memorandum in an account book of the trustees, signifying that he had been informed by Mr. Benjamin Gladwell, an aged inhabitant, that he was admitted into the school before the fire in 1727, and had been provided with clothes. The earliest contracts for clothing the boys, that are found in the books, are dated the 24th day of October 1782, as follow :—

“ I do hereby agree to clothe twenty boys at the following prices, each boy to have a coat, waistcoat, and leather breeches in oil, and a pair of stockings at £ 0 13 9

“ A shirt 3s. 3d., and one cap and band 1s. 2d. 0 4 5

(Signed)

“ THOMAS BAYLEY.”

* These deeds are recited in the writings relating to the annuities, in possession of the Corporation.

“ I do hereby agree to find twenty pair of shoes, to be delivered at the Town Hall, on Thursday next, at four shillings a pair, for the charity boys.

(Signed)

“ CHARLES GLADWELL.”

The ground leases having expired, the trustees are now in full possession of the annuities and rents; the boys are well clothed, and a surplus is applied to the poor, in conformity with the will of Mr. David Varchell.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, A. D. 1588.

An ample account of this great enterprize has been given in the general histories of public events, but there are local circumstances connected with the subject, that cannot, without impropriety, be passed unnoticed in these pages.

Philip, Emperor and King of Spain, the husband of Mary, late Queen of England, formed a design to invade this kingdom. Offended at the assistance that Queen Elizabeth had afforded to his oppressed protestant subjects in the Low Countries, anxious to re-establish the ascendancy of popery in England, and to extend his own already vast dominions,—Philip made preparations for the invasion, upon a most formidable scale. A fleet, consisting of his largest ships, was equipped in the ports of Spain and Portugal, and another, consisting of vessels of less magnitude was assembled in the havens of Flanders, to bear an army commanded by the Duke of Parma, (as it was apprehended,) to the Thames.

The power of Philip was stupendous; the circumstances of the Queen of England most critical.

Her people, scarcely established in the protestant faith, introduced at the Reformation, were open to the machinations of the emissaries of Rome; the ports of Flanders gave facilities for operations upon a wide range of the coast of England; and Scotland at her back, was influenced against her by a connexion with France. These were the circumstances that the Queen had to meet; and, under Providence, she found effective resources, in her own indomitable courage, the wisdom of her ministers, and the skill and valour of her distinguished officers, serving by land and by sea. Burleigh and Walsingham assisted in her council; Drake, Hawkins, Seymour, Frobisher, and Winter, commanded

her squadrons, under the High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham; and men of chivalrous devotion to their sovereign, directed her land forces.

The army raised for the defence of the realm, was disposed in three divisions; one, consisting of 22,000 foot and 2000 horse, under the Earl of Leicester, was to be encamped at Tilbury, to cover the capital; another composed of fourteen regiments, or 28,000 men, under Lord Hunsdon, was assigned for the defence of her Majesty's person; and the third division, which was more especially to resist the landing and oppose the progress of the enemy, consisted of 27,000 foot, 407 heavy horse, and 1961 light horse.

Of the first of these divisions, (which alone is to be considered in the account of local transactions,) 203 lances,* and 669 light horse, were ordered to repair to Brentwood on the 27th of July; and 22,000 foot were to be at Stratford-le-Bow, on the 29th day of the same month.

When the danger of invasion appeared so imminent as to make it expedient to collect this army at Tilbury, other measures to render the strength of the position equal to the emergency, would be taken; and the first precautionary means adopted at Gravesend, are described by a writer, living at the time, in the following terms:—"as it was given out that the enemy meant to invade the Thames, against Gravesend, a mighty army encamped there; and on both sides of the river, fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederick Genebelli, an Italian, and there were certain ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first."†

This account is confirmed and explained by the following official letters of two of the most prominent actors in the scene.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burleigh.‡

* * "Yesterday the Lord Chamberlyn, assisted by Mr. Vyce-chamberlyn, cauling unto them Sr Iohn Norryce and Sr Thomas Layton, had some conference about the strengthening of the Ryver of Thames,

* Heavy Horse, contradistinguished from the Light Horse. See Report on the armament in the year 1588, by the Keeper of State Papers. Appendix xxix. xxx.

† Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 595.

‡ Harl. MS. 6994, art. 69.

agaynst any forreign attempt ; whereupon yt was resolved that they shewld goe downe to Gravesend to vyew the Ryver, and to consider in what apt place yt may be made defensible to stoppe the enemye. And as I am informed this day, the L. Chamb. (by her Ma^{ts} rder resolved yesternight) goeth to take a view of the Ryver accompaned with Sr Iohn Norryce and Sr Tho. Layton. I am sorrye that your L. cannot be heare, in this nedefull tyme with your advyce. I pray God send us a speedye recoverye, to whos protection I comyt your L. most humbly taking my leave. At the Court, the xvij of Julye 1588.

“ Y^r s^t to command

“ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.”

The result of this inspection of the river, was an arrangement, which appears to have been unsatisfactory to the Lord General ; who thereupon called in the aid of Mr. Peter Pett, of her Majesty's Dock Yard at Deptford, and under his advice the proposed barrier was strengthened, according to the relation of the proceedings given in the second letter referred to.

The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham. 22 July, 1588.

“ Mr. Secretary. This night between ix and x of the clocke, Peter Pett was wth me at Leycester Howse, wth whom I conferred touching the leyghters and chaine, that sholde be provided and sent downe to stoppe the ryver at Tilbery. And I find yt a thing most assured that they will not do the good that is expected, unlesse they may be strengthened wth a competent nomber of mastes before them ; for otherwise yf twoe or three shippes made of purpose, shold come against yt, with a full tide and a good strong gale of winde, no doubt they would breake all and passe throughe. And therefore I have thought yt mete to take Peter Pett with me thither, to viewe thoroughly the place, to th'ende he may returne the better instructed unto you, to advertise what will serve, and what is to be provided for that purpose ; which I will see donn with all spede possible. And in the meane tyme I pray you to take some good care, Mr. Secretary, that the lighters and western barges, that be to be employed in this service, may be sent downe thither wth all expedicion, and men to be planted in them to defend the place, during the tyme that the laborers shall worke to stopp this passage ; wherein yf diligence and care be not used, they may come too late, and serve to little purpose. And as towching the chaine, yt is not as yet brought thither, neither will that or the rest be donn wth that spede and effecte they shold be, without warrant and comandement from the Lords ; w^{ch} I hope you will spedely procure in my absence. And so I committ you to God in hast. At Leycester House, the 22th of July, at xi of the clock at night, 1588. Y^{or} very loving frende,

“ R. LEYCESTER.”

“ I trust you remember I have no other comission but y^e old and ordynary comysion of Lyvetenaunt for Essex. What the countrey wyll expect, and what is most mete, I referr. You know offycers and many other thinges must be apointed by me ; how my authoryte wyll serve I pray you consider. I know this dangerous tyme will ask no delays nor excuses. Myself wyll rather suffer y^{or} lacks than be found

in y^e least want of my duty. I have sent Sir Io. Norrys, wth sondry notes, and I take Peter Pett wth me. You must apoynt some spetyall man to take the care to dyrect these provissions. I pray you remember also, that yf the enemye shuld land either in Kent, Suffolk, or other Shere, I have no authority to command or lead Her Ma^{ty}s subjectes.

Herein it appears, that nothing had been done for the defence of the river at Gravesend, on the 22nd of July, beyond any resolutions that may have been taken, or orders given, in pursuance of the inspection by the Vice-chamberlain and others, on Wednesday the 17th preceding. It is observable, also, that the name of Genibelli does not occur in the above letters, but that the Lord General suggested, that some special man should be appointed to take care to direct the proceedings.

On the day after Lord Leicester had consulted Mr. Pett, he repaired to Gravesend, taking the latter with him; and his proceedings there, are related in the following reports to the Secretary of State; and the Privy Council.

*The Earl of Leicester to Sir F. Walsingham. Tilbury, Tuesday,
[23 July,] 1588.*

"Mr. Sec^y I came early this morning to Gravesend and found there Sr Henry Cobham, who told me he had given order for V^c pioners to com thether, but he thought that few could be there this day. I did peruse the fort, and find not one platform to bear any ordinance, neither on the ground nor aloft. I did also vewe y^e place y^t my L. Hunsdon brought the platt of, for y^e strengthening of y^e pece, w^{ch} I lyke well of, to be done, and most requysytt. There wants a couple of demy canons for y^e fort.

"I went after to this fort at Tylbury, w^{ch} I find further out of order thanthe other, save that there be some better peces of artyllery, but not a platforme to carry y^e least pece. I send Peter Pett back for provision of such thinges as are most necessary for the platforms, as also touching the defence uppon this water, w^{ch} wth the cheyne and lighters wylbe to great defence, spetyally wth the mastes withall, as we lately agreed uppon. The western barges I se wylbe to great purpose.

"I take order presently to furnysh these peces wth some men, for there is not above vi persons in the best of them.

"I se this place wylly sone be made impregnable, but the [Block] houses buylt to y^e least purpose yt ever I sawe and lye most undefencyble, as they be now kept; yet y^s the charge very great, and I se yt ys very requysyth y^t when such poore men as be y^e Captens of such places, that they [be] harkened unto, or elles better to demolysh the places then to be at charge in keping them to no servyce. These peces have about x or xii barrells of poudre a pece, w^{ch} ys to (*too*) lyttle yf they have nede to spende yt. I doe pray you therefore, y^t you wylly cause provission of poudre to be sent w^t spede, as well by water as land; whereof v or vi last to Burntwood, where I wylly take ordre for a place for yt, and the other

v last in some good hoye or crayer wth a desscrete person to take charge of yt, to lye whan the vesselles come down for y^e stakeadoe uppon the water, to be reddy yf nede be for servyce.

"I pray you also to remembre implementes for pioners wth all spede ; among w^{ch} there must be l. or lx. whelebarowes at the least. And bycause there ys nobody in these fortes able to make present provision, or such as must presently be putt into these fortes, for y^e gard of them, hit shall be well that Quareles* may send bear and befe to each fort for l. men, w^{ch} may be defaulked of ther wages, for that these shalbe parcell of soldyers Her Ma^{te} wyll enterteyn. For other matters touching this servyce, I trust to receive your further intentes by Sr. Io. Norrys, and so in some hast I comytt you to God, besechyng Hym to send good success to His servauntes for Hys Church sake. At Tylbury this Tewsdays, by yo^r very assured frend

" R. LEYCESTER."

The Earl of Leicester to the Privy Council. (Extracts.)
24th of July, 1588.

"My very good LL.—This morning at iii a clok Sr Iohn Norrys aryved here, and brought me Her Ma^{ts} comysion for further authority to comand this servyce ; wherein for myn owne parte I wyll seke to dyscharge, to all the lytle skyll I have for Her Ma^{ts} best servyce ; trusting y^t as Her Ma^{te} hath pleased to comytt this chardge unto me, the importaunce of y^e cause being as yt ys, that I shall have all your LL. helpes and furtheraunces for y^e advauncement therof, as occasion shall serve from tyme to tyme. And gyve me leave to call earnestly for supplye of such wantes as shal be requysytt.

* * * *

"My LL.—I have putt these fortes in as good strength as tyme wyll permytt, but there must be planks sent in all hast, and workmen to make platformes ; and for the lighters, barges and other vesselles w^t mastes for the stakadoes, I leave to yo^r LL. spedye dispatch away.

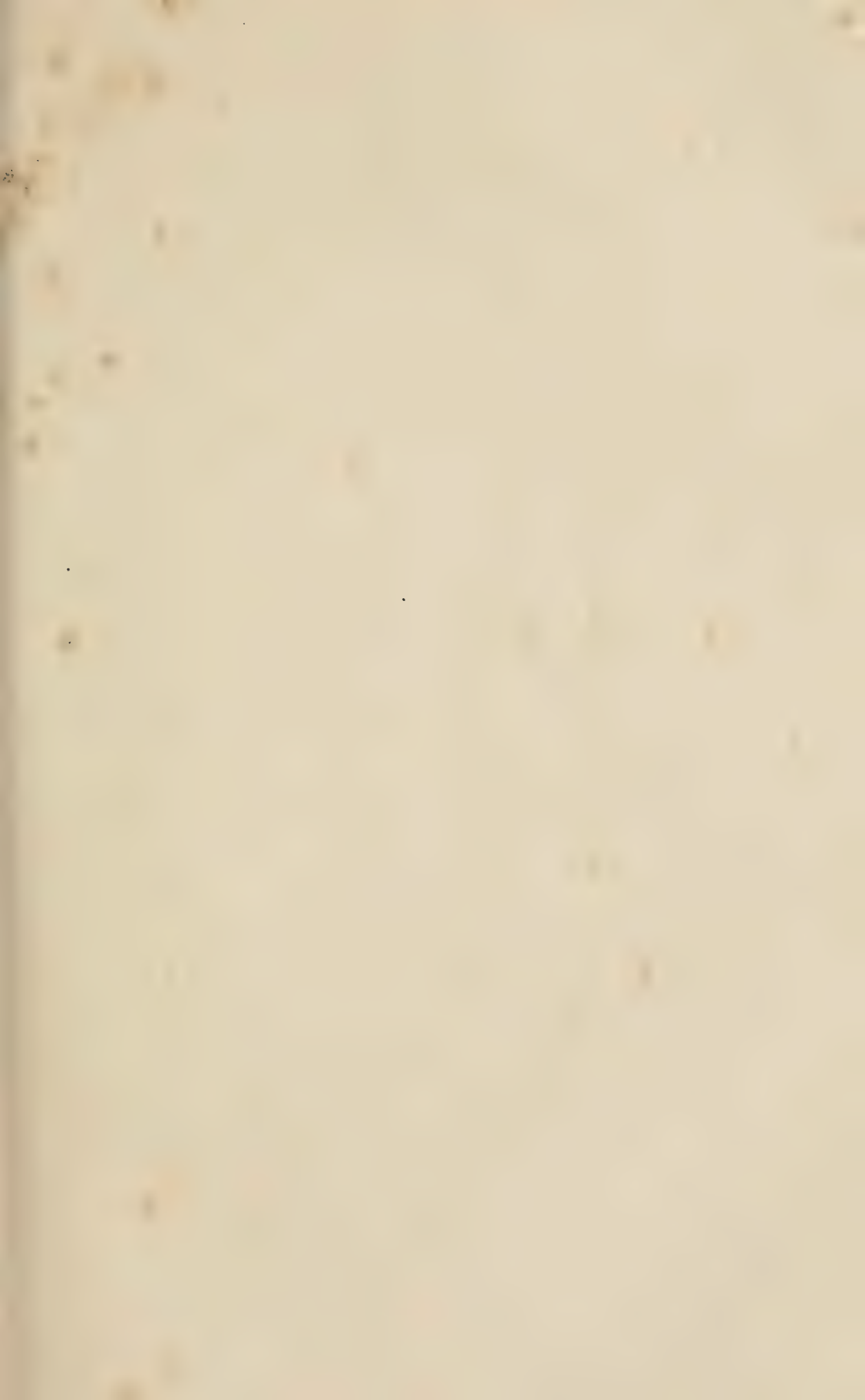
"I am even now reddy to goe to Chelmesford, to meet there w^t the most of y^e gentlemen, to gyve ordre round for the other partes of y^e Shere uppon the coast, as also to mete the foote & horse y^t I draw hether halong a most apt place to begyn o^r Camp in, not far from the fort at a place called West Tylbury, where this night or tomorrow y^e most of y^e iiiii^m footemen I am promysed, shalbe, whom I goe to hasten : a greater suply of horsmen we shall nede, and doe very earnestly comend yt to yo^r LL. y^t there may be order for a 1000 or more horse to be sent for, & for y^e present to be taken as nere as may be. And thus humbly I take my leave of yo^r good LL. in much haste, at Gravesend, this 24th of July 1588.

"Yo^r LL. assured pore friend

" R. LEYCESTER."

By the continued importunity of the Lord General for the supply of vessels, and timber or masts for the proposed barrier,

* Victualler of the Navy.



it is clear that the exertions that may have been made to accomplish that work, did not keep pace with his anxiety on the subject ; and the event justifies the observation made by Hakluyt, that though certain ships were brought to make a bridge, " it were very late first."

A chart of the Thames from London to the Lower Hope, containing a plan of the disposition of the vessels, was drawn at the time, by Robert Adams, a surveyor ; and this coming into the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, was engraved and annexed to a report on the measures of defence in the year 1588, printed by the order of Government some years ago, under the editorial care of the Keeper of State Papers.*

The portion of the chart which explains the operations at Gravesend, given in the accompanying plate,† also confirms the above account respecting the vessels brought to make a bridge or barrier ; and it affords other desirable information. It gives the positions of the bulwarks and blockhouses at Gravesend, and at East and West Tilbury ; and proves that the Camp was close to West Tilbury Church. The Beacon, on Gravesend Hill, was placed near the Windmill.

As but little information of the transactions at Gravesend and Tilbury, at the stirring time when the Spanish Armada was expected in the Thames, has been published, the following letters written by the Earl of Leicester on the spot, will be acceptable, for the original, authentic, and interesting details they contain, relative to local proceedings.

The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham. 25th July, 1588.

" Mr. Secretary. We have here news commonly spredd abroad, that my L. Admyrall hath taken either Admyrall or Vice Admyrall and the Great Galliass, beside one great shipp sonk. The Almighty God be prayسد therfore, and to gyve further victory, to his glory and the comfort of his poore Church, as no dowtes yt must be, wi the greatest renome and perpetuall fame to Her Ma^{te} that ever can be to any Prince. And this being trewe, I wold gladly know what Her Ma^{te} wyll doe w^t me. I have here now assembled in camp iiij^m. footmen, as gallant and

* The Report was printed in an octavo volume, with an introductory letter, dated the 17th of May, 1798, from John Bruce, Esq., Keeper of State Papers, addressed to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

† Copied by permission.

as wylling men as ever was sene, w^t the horse yet only of this shire. The lying in camp wyll do them much good, though yt be but for a short tyme, and in my pore opinion not good to dysmyss* them over suddenly, though the flete be defeated, tyll you se a lytle also what Parma wyll doe.

"I am here Cooke, Cater, and Hunt: for as I myself have not only sett y^e men awork here about y^e fortes and was present among them all the fyrst day, but also dyd peruse and made choyce of y^e ground fytttest for the encampyng of the soldyers, and yesterday went to Chemsford to take order for the bringing of all the soldyers hether this day, and this day came wth the most parte of them hether by x a clock this morning, w^t very good provision for them thorow y^e care and dyligence of sondry y^e Justices of Peace here, w^{ch} hath deserved great thanks, yf their paines had been sene to others as to me. But yf the newes be trew of this good beginning, w^{ch} I can not but suspend tyll I here from you, and be sorry that all men shall receave them before my self; yet I pray ye be not forgetfull to resolve what shall be done here, and to lett me knowe yt as sone as may be, for many respects.†

* * * *

"And so with my paper at this tyme to end my letter, in som hast going to o^r Camp agayn, this 25 of July.

"Y^r assured,

"R. LEYCESTER."

The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham. 26th July, 1588.

Mr. Sec^y. After y^e wryting of my other letters, here ys arryved S^r. Rog. Wylliams, and perceave Mr. Norrys wyl be this night w^t me. In y^e meane while they have put me to more travell than ever I was in my lyfe. I perceave by S^r Rog. that my L. He: Seymour ys departed toward Rye to assiste my L. Admyrall, but doth want both men and powder. Good Lord how ys thys com to pass, that both he and my L. Admyrall ys so weakened of their men. I hear ther men be runn away; w^{ch} must be severely punyshed, or elles all soldyers wyll be bold. He sayth also that y^e Prince ys looked to issew out presently: he hath suffered no stranger this vij or viij days to com to him or to se his camp and shippes, but he hath blyndfyld them. I besech you assemble yo^r forces and play not away this kingdom by delays; and hasten o^r horsemen hether and footemen yf ye hear not that the flete ys skatered or beaten; for surely yf they come to y^e Narrow Seas, the Prince wyll play an other manner of parte than ys looked for. I have wrytten

* "Good Mr. Secretary, lett not Her Majestie be too haste in desolvynge her forces by see or land; and I pray you send me with speed what advertysments you have of Dunkirk, for I long to dow som exployt on their shyping." —*Letter from the Lord Admiral, dated the 7th of August.* Postscript. State Paper Office. "Domestic."

† The rest of the letter consists of a long and angry complaint against Sir John Norreys and Sir Roger Williams, who had suddenly left Leicester in the midst of his engagements, "to go down to Dover, to see if the Lord Admyrall dyd pass that way, to relyve him with men and to assemble the forces there." Leicester protests strongly against their conduct.

inough alredy. God'send care w^t expedycion w^t you there, and good success w^t us here, spetyally w^t or sea forces. In all hast 26 of July.

“Yo^{rs} assured,

“R. LEYCESTER.”

“Ther ys no hope of a 100 men furnished more than we have now of this shere.”

“At Dartford at vi in the after none.”

*The Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham.
Gravesend, 26th July, 1588.*

“Mr. Secy.—The 4000 men of Essex ar all com together, and loged here together at West Tylberry, uppon a very good ground for aptnes for y^e defence of this coast. They be as forward men and all wylling to mete w^t the enemye, as ever I saw ; some want their Cap^{ts} shewyed in them selves, y^t being suddenly removed to this place, brought not so much as one meales provision of vytelles w^t them, so y^t at their arryvall here, there was not a barrell of bere, nor lofe of bredd for them ; enough, after xx myles march, to have bene discouraged and to have mutyned : but all w^t one voyce, findyng yt to be y^e spedynes of their comyng, sayd they wold abyde more hunger than this, to serve Her Ma^{te} & the countrey.

“I dyd send to have Rob^t Arden come down, & to bring a c. tonnes of beere & to be here this day, but I hear not of him yet, & yf he fayle hit wylbe the greater yll happ, seeing all thes partes on this syde & the other wⁱⁿ iiij myles of the water [Thames] can not yeld drynk enough for them, & for that I hear the 1000 men from London wylbe here this nyght also, I have sent presently to stay them tyll we may provyde for them here, except they have provision w^t them.

* * * * *

“And albeyt Her Ma^{te} hath appointed in shew an army to resist her enemyes yf they land, yet how hard a matter hit wylbe to gather the men together, I fynd yt & may judge. Yf yt wylbe v dayes to gather y^e very countrey men, what wyll y^t be & must be to look in short space for those that y^t dwell xl. l. lx. miles of. And this must be warning y^t consideracion of vytelles aswell as any thing elles be provided at y^e place of assembles, &c. I dyd ij hole dayes before the coming of these, make proclamation in all markett towns for vytelles to come to y^e place where the soldyers shuld encampe, & to receave reddy money for yt, but there is not one vytteller come in, to this hower. I have sent to all y^e Justices about yt from place to place. But I speake yt to this end, y^t timely consideracion ys to be had of all these thinges, & not to deffere & putt of in hope, tyll y^e worst com & the tyme to over passe.

* * * * *

“There ys a porcyon of money apoynted, I perceave, to y^e charge of Sr Moyle Finch to be brought hether. I am glad of yt, & do desire the gentleman may be or Tresorer here, and whether the extraordinary charges as for platformes, fortyficacions & such lyke shal be payd by hym or no, and Peter Pettes charge ; and so w^t my paper I end.

“At Gravesend this 26 of July.

“Yo^r assured frend

“R. LEYCESTER.”

The principal points adverted to in these letters from the Earl of Leicester, are the measures that he pursued for the collection of the troops, and the means of their subsistence, when they were assembled.

The commendations bestowed upon an army raised in the manner described, on the sudden and from all quarters, must be received with some consideration of the standard of military excellence at the period, without concluding that the forces at Tilbury would now pass muster at the Horse Guards. An old soldier, who was at the camp at Tilbury, has given an opinion,* that is anything but favourable as to the appointments of the troops; in which, however, he detracts not from the high character that the Lord General bestowed upon the men, no doubt, with as much truth as generosity.

With respect to the subsistence of the troops, the Lord General says, that the neighbourhood could not supply food in sufficient quantities, and that provisions were brought from London and other distant places. There was not, he states, drink enough for the men who had joined on the 26th of July, within four miles of the river on either side, nor a loaf of bread for them, at the camp: whereupon he sent to Robert Arden to come down (from London) with a hundred tons of beer, the same day; and although his lordship had made proclamation in all market towns, for victuallers to come to the camp, where they should receive ready money for their commodities, there had "not one vityller come in." Another difficulty arose, very soon; for, when the demand invited supply, excessive prices were demanded, and a royal proclamation was issued, to restrict the rates at which provisions should be sold.

* "And because that no man can be conveniently and fitly armed, vnlesse he be first fitly apparelled for his armor, and also for the vse of his weapon, and that in the Campe and Armie at Tilburie, 1588, whereas there were regiments of diuers Shieres, with diuers bands both of demilaunces and lighthorsemen, I did see and observe, so great disorder and deformitee in their apparrell to arme withall, as I saw but very few of that army that had any convenience of apparel, and chieffie of doublets to arme vpon, whereof it came to passe that the most of them did weare their Armors verie vncomelie, vneasilie," &c. Instructions, Observations, and Orders myltitarie, &c., composed by Sir John Smith, knight, London, Q^o. 1595, p. 183.

This proclamation, which is dated the 7th day of August, 1588,* purports to be for the limitation of the prices of such provisions as should be sold for the use and consumption of the forces assembled under Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, or within twenty miles of the Queen's court; but the printed list† of proclamations issued in the reign of Elizabeth, describes this, as an order respecting the prices of provisions at Tilbury; and as the situation of the camp was little more than the distance stated, the prices at the latter probably did not differ from those to be allowed at the head quarters of Lord Hunsdon, or at the court. The following is an abstract of the prices.

“ A limitation of such rates and prices of graine, victuals, horsemeat, lodgings, and other things as by vertue of this proclamation here above expressed, are to be sold, as well within all maner of liberties as without.

First, (in the market,) a quarter best wheat cleane and sweet xx^s,—second wheate xvi^s,—third wheat or best rie xii^s,—second rie x^s. viii^d,—best barley x^s. viii^d,—second barley ix^s. iiiii^d,—best mault cleane and sweete xi^s. iiiii^d,—second mault x^s,—beans or pease xii^s,—a qr. best otes vi^s viii^d. A bushell of the same otes in every house xiii^d.

In the market, a bushell best wheat meale ii^s. viii^d,—second wheat meale ii^s. vi^d, best mestling meale xxi^d,—second mestling meale xviii^d,—best great otemeale ii^s. iiiii^d,—small otemeale xvi^d.

A kilderkin of the best Ale or Beere at the Brewers with cariage iii^s,—a kilderkin single Ale or Beere at the Brewers with cariage xx^d,—a Thiridell of the best Ale or Beere within and without every house i^d,—a full quart of good single Ale or beere within and without every house, ob. (a halfpenny).

A pound of butter sweete and new, the best in the market iii^d.

In shop or in market, a pound or barrell of salt butter 2^d $\frac{3}{4}$,—a pound of good Essex cheese 1^d. ob. (1^d $\frac{1}{2}$)—a pound of good Suffolk cheese 1^d. ob. q. (1^d $\frac{3}{4}$).

Seven egges the best in the market ii^d,—three of the same egges within every house i^d.

* See Collection of Royal Proclamations at the Privy Council Office.

† List of Proclamations, 30 Eliz. “A proclamation for the prices of Victuals for the army at Tilbury Camp, assembled, Anno. 1588, 7 August.” Miscellaneous Proclamations, &c. Library of the Society of Antiquaries. Vol. v. folio 262.

At the Butchers,—a stone of best biefe weighing viii pound, xii,—a stone second biefe xi^d,—a quarter best veale ii^s. ii^d,—second veale xx^d,—a quarter best weather mutton ii^s. iii^d,—second mutton xx^d. In the market, a quarter best lambe xii^d,—second lamb ix^d,—a fat pigge, the best xiiii^d,—a leane or second pigge viii^d,—a couple capons, the best xx^d,—second capons xvi^d,—a couple of chickens or rabbets, the best viii^d,—second chickens or rabets vi^d,—a dozen pigeons, the best xviii^d.

Item that every souldier or other person being placed and appointed in the bande within the circuite of xx miles distant from her Highnesse Court, under the right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine her Maiesties Lieutenant of the same bande and armie, and receiving her Maiesties pay by viii^d the day, having to dinner or supper good wheaten bread and drinke, beefe, mutton or veale boyled, and pigge, beefe, mutton, veale or lamb rosted or otherwise, vpon the fish dayes to have good wheaten bread and good drinke, salt fish or ling, egges, butter, pease or beanes buttered, and so having competent and sufficient thereof for the sustentation of their bodies, every man to pay for his meal iii^d.

Item a pounce of tallowe candels made of wicke iii^d. ob. (3^d $\frac{1}{2}$).

Item, a featherbed for one man one night and so depart 1^d,—a featherbed with necessary apparell thereunto for one man alone by the weeke vi^d,—and the like featherbed and furniture by the weeke, for two lying together viii^d,—a matrice or flockbed for one or two lying together by the weeke iii^d.

Item, three horseloaves at the Bakers, every one lofe weighing xviii ounces Troie, i^d,—and two of the same loaves within every house i^d.

Item, every c. weight of good sweete hay, weighing cxii li, avoir de poiz, with cariage viii^d,—every bottle of hay weighing iii li. avoir de poiz, ob. (a halfpenny),—a load of good straw for litter with cariage iii^s,—hay and litter day and night for one horse within every Inne iii^d. ob. (3^d $\frac{1}{2}$).—and the like hay and litter day and night for one horse within every other house being no Inne iii^d.

Item, good grasse for one horse, day and night, and to depart ii^d,—and the like good grasse for one horse alone by the weeke viii^d,—if any horse abide in any pasture over and above one day and one night, then the owner of the same horse to pay for the same after the rate of the whole weeke, for so long as he shall abide in the same pasture being as aforesaid viii^d.

Item, a load of talwood, keeping the assise, with cariage iii^s. viii^d.

Item, a thousand billets, keeping the assise, with cariage xi^s.

Item, a hundred good faggots, keeping the assise, with cariage iii^s. iii^d. And three of the same faggots within every house ii^d.

Item, a quarter of charcoles conteyning eight bushels with cariage xiiii^d.

Item, a vacant or emptie roome, either chamber roome or stable, by the whole weeke iii^d."

The condition of the military works at Gravesend and Tilbury, at the time when the Lord General made his reports concerning them, is illustrated by the following extracts from estimates, preserved in the State Paper Office.

"The xxvth of August, 1588. An Estimate of the Charges of finishing the two Forts at Tilbery and Gravesend, with Provisions to be made for the same."*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" Borde to make the Wharfe, two Barge lodes, by estimation		lxxx	
" Faggots for the upper part of the same, xx lodes at iiij ^s . le lode		lxxx	
" Tall wood for piles, ten lodes att vj ^s . le lode		lx	
" Timber for one drawbridge, two gates, and one postern by estim xii lodes at xiiij ^s . iiij ^d . le lode	viii		
" Firr Poles for the Palisado, fiftene hundredes at xxx ^s . le C	xxii	x	
" Rafters of Oke or Elme for the rayles and principall posts of the Palisado CC, worth by estim. viii le pece	vi	xiii	iiij
" Spikes of Iron for the Palisado, three thousand at iiij ^s . le C	vi		
" Spikes, nayles, henges and two gudgeons of iron and a chayne and locks for the drawbridge and gates, coste		lxxx	
" Two Barges to be hired for xv days at vj ^s . the day le pece	ix		
" Six Tombrells to be hired for xv days at iiij ^s . iiij ^d . per diem le pece	xv		
" Three hundred laborers for xv days at viii ^d . per diem le pece	cl		
" Fees of Officers for xv days	x		
" Carpenters six for xv days at xiiij ^d . per diem le pece		cv	
" Sum totall cexlvij ^l . viij ^s . iiij ^d ."			

" 25 Aug. 88

" An Estimate for repayering the Platform of the one part of the Blockhouse at Gravesend, being utterly decayed and taken down.†

* Endorsed "25 Auguste 1588. An Estimate for mony for finishing the Forts at Gravesend and Tilbury in Essex"—in the hand writing of Cecil Lord Burleigh.

† ' Endorsed thus in the hand writing of Lord Burleigh.' *li s. d.*

" 25 Aug. 88. An Estimate of repaying a Platforme at the Blockhouse at Gravesend. Frederick Genebelli and Thomas Bedwell."	247	8	4
	18	8	4

265 16 8

" Long 36	" Plankes of two inches dim thick, ten	li	s.	d.
" Broad 27	hundred fote at xii ^s . le C . . .	vi		
	" Timber for the frame and joists, ten			
	lodes at xiii ^s . iiij ^d . le lode . . .	vi	xij	iiii
	" Spikes of Iron iiij ^c at iiij ^s . le C . . .		xvj	
	" Carpenters and Sawyers Work by est.		c	
(sic orig)	" Summa xvij ^l . viij ^s . iiij ^d ."			

" 3th Octobris, 1588.*

" A note of nedeful workes done and to be done at the Fortes of Gravesend and West Tilburie, not remembred in the Estimate.

Making the vtter Fossett and raysinge both the Counterscarpes. Done.

Deale Bordes for the Gates, not remembred.

Makinge two Watch howses of deale bordes and coueringe over with Tile.

The Carpenters' worke of the Pallisado.

Sawyers work of the Drawbridge and Gates.

Beere receiued of the Victualer y^t wilbe lost.

Charges of chawlke for the Wharfe.

Charges of grauell for the same.

Carriadges of timber and other provision from London, and chardges in providinge the same provision in the countrie not remembred.

Transportation for men and other necessities by y^e Ferrye.

The increase of wages necessarilie given by reason of the watry Colde and Fowlenes of the worke.

Also there is to be allowed to Thomas Bedwell for his charges, makinge provisions at London and coming to Gravesend weekelie to see the paymentes, which we supposed to be your honors meaning, thoughe it seemed not so intended by the L. Generall, and therefore not remembred in our Estimate."

" Summa lxxv^{li}. iijs. iiij^d."

It will be seen, that the dates of these estimates are posterior to the defeat of the Armada, and that they relate to the completion of the works, which were commenced much earlier. It has already been stated, that the bridge of boats, said to have been "prescribed" by Genibelli, was under consideration on the 17th of July, when the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Hunsdon) and the Vice-Chamberlain (Sir Christopher Hatton), with Sir John

* On the day of the date of this specification of works to be done, a letter signed by Fredirico Genibelli and Thomas Bedwell, was addressed to the Privy Council for the payment of arrears due to the pioneers (labourers) employed on the works at Gravesend.



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" Broad 27	hundred fote at xii ^s . le C . . .	vi		
	" Timber for the frame and joists, ten			
	lodes at xiii ^s . iiij ^d . le lode . . .	vi	xiiij	iiii
	" Spikes of Iron iiij ^c at iiij ^s . le C . . .		xvj	
	" Carpenters and Sawyers Work by est.		c	
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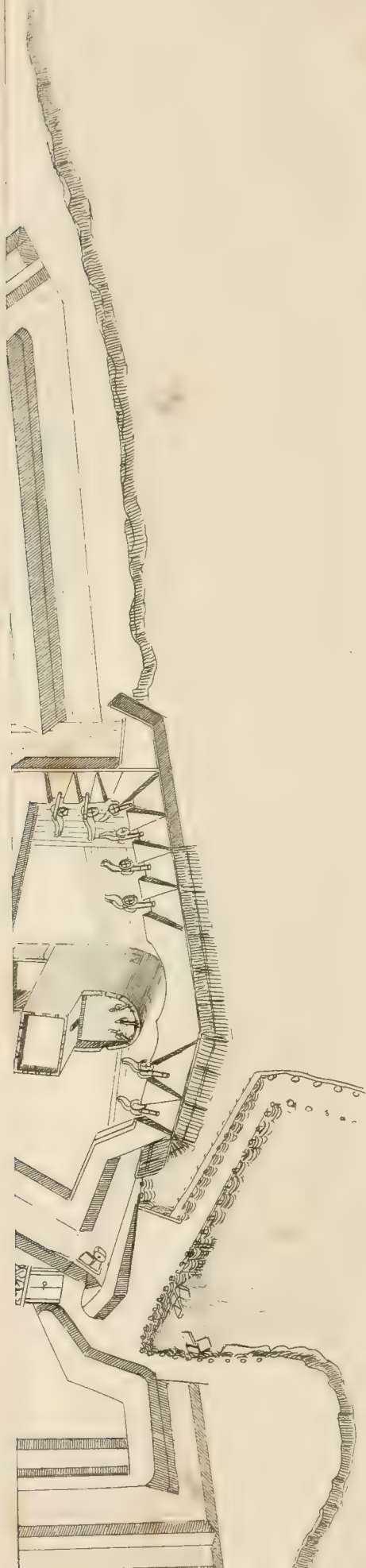
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TILBURY FORT A.D. 1588

Norreys and Sir Thomas Layton, were ordered to Gravesend, to view the river, and to consider in what apt place it might be made defensible, to stop the enemy. Mr. Pett having attended the Lord General to Gravesend, on the 22nd day of that month, the works were probably proceeded with immediately ; for 600 pioneers were expected to be at Gravesend about the 23rd of July, and on the 18th of August, a warrant was given for the payment of one hundred and fifty pounds towards the charges that had been incurred at Gravesend and Tilbury.* An account of arrears due to officers and workmen, shows that Genibelli was paid six shillings and eightpence per diem ; and that there was due to him the sum of fifty-four shillings and fourpence, for eight days' service, commencing on the 18th day of August, but he may have been employed much earlier.

Fortunately there is preserved, among the official papers relating to the military works at Gravesend and Tilbury, in the year 1588, a drawing, which (there can be no doubt), is the plan and section of the fort designed by Genibelli, and constructed at Tilbury ; for it represents most accurately the position of the bulwark erected there by King Henry VIII., and the outworks correspond with the existing arrangements at the river side.

This drawing has, (with the most courteous permission) been engraved for this work, and will be esteemed in the highest degree valuable, as a specimen of the art of the engineer. The Fort seems to have been completed for defence upon future occasions of alarm and danger, rather than in time for defence against the Spanish Armada.

The visit of the Queen to the camp at Tilbury, is the most interesting incident in the local occurrences. Various accounts have been given of it, but after these have been consulted, many doubts have remained, that may be removed by referring to the following details, which are founded upon the authentic corres-

* "Sondaye 18 of August 1588. At St. Jaymes. A Warrant to Mr. Vyce-chamberlain to paye unto Peter Pette, Matthew Baker, and Richard Chapman, or any of them, the some of one hundrethe and fitye poundes by way of imprest, for chardges and expenses about the fortyfycations at Tylbery, and the Stokade at Gravesend, untyll theyr accompts may be exainyned and considered of."—*Council Registers. temp Eliz.* vol. vii. fol. 260. Council Office.

pondence of the most distinguished personages, in the service of Her Majesty, upon that occasion.

The Earl of Leicester was Lord Steward of the Household, as well as Commander of the Forces assembled in the encampment at Tilbury, and the letters are extant, which he addressed to the Queen, importuning Her Majesty to visit the camp, "having received an intimation, in secret, that it was her intention thus to honour the army and himself:" and these contain so vivid a specimen of the style of her courtiers when addressing that heroic sovereign, and convey so much to illustrate the visit, that they are presented here without curtailment.

The Earl of Leicester to Queen Elizabeth. 25 July, 1588.

"My moost gracious La: I have receavyd in secrett this morning those newes y^t pleasyth me most next the well doing of yo^r sacred personn, w^{ch} y^s, that your Ma^{te} doth intend to behold the pore and base companye y^t lye here in the fyld most wyllingly to serve you, yea most redde to dye for you. You shall (dere La.) behold as goodly, as loyall, and as able men as any Prince Christen can shewe you, and yet but an hand full of yor owne, in comparyson of y^e rest you have. What comfort not only these shall receive who shallbe the happiest to behold yo^r self, I can not express, but assuredly hit wyll gyve no small comfort to the rest y^t shall be overshadowed w^t the beames of so gracious and princely a person. For what yo^r royall Ma^{te} shall doe to these wylbe accepted as donne to all y^t might be in lyke state in yo^r servyce. Good swete Q. alter not yo^r purpose yf God gyve you good health. Hit wyll be yo^r payne for the tyme, but yo^r pleasure to beholde such people; and surely y^e place I knowe must content you, being as fayr a soyle and as goodly a prospect as maybe sene or found, as this extreme wether hath made tryall, w^{ch} doth us lytle anoyauce, hit ys so fym and drye a ground. Yo^r Usher also lyketh yo^r lodging, a proper swete clenly howse, yo^r camp wth in a lytle myle of you, and yo^r person to be as sure as at St. James', for my lyfe; only we had a myshapp of o^r landing place, wher hoyes and boates had somewhat broken the bridge, but all to be repared fully by to morrowe night, and redde against the next day to doe you servyce. God graunt yt so to be, you shall make gladd many thowsandes both here and not farr of, and shall se here soldyers rather of a yeres experyence than of a month's camping. God bless yo^r Sacred Ma^{te} and make us all happy by yo^r long lyfe. 5 of July,*

"Yo^r Ma^{te} most bounde Vassell,

"To y^e Q. most excellent Ma^{te}."

"R. LEYCESTER."

* This date is evidently erroneous. The noble writer describes the ground on which the troops were encamped, and this could not be so early as the 5th

*The Earl of Leicester to Queen Elizabeth.**Gravesend, 27th July, 1588.*

“ MY most dere and gracious La. Hit is most trew y^t those enymes y^t approach your kingdome and person are your undeservid foes, and beinge so, hatinge you for a righteous cause, ther ys the less fear to be had of their mallyce or their forces, for ther ys a most just God y^t beholdeth y^e innocency of yo^r hart, and the cause you ar assayled for ys his and his churches, and he never fayled any that faythfully doe putt their chiefe trust in his goodness. He hath to comfort you wth all geven you great and mighty meanes to defend your self, w^{ch} meanes I doubt not but yo^r Ma^{te} wyll tymely and princely use them, and yo^r good God y^t ruleth all wyll assist you and bless you w^t Vycorye.

“ Hyt doth much rejoyce me to find by yo^r lettre, yo^r noble despoicion aswell in present gathering yo^r forces as in imploying yo^r owne person in this daungerous action. And bycause yt pleaseth yo^r Ma^{te} to aske myne advyce touching yo^r army, and to acquaint me w^t yo^r secrett determynacion for yo^r person, I wyll pleanly and according to my pore knowlege delyver my opinion to you. For yo^r army, hit ys more than tyme hit were gathered and about you, or so nere you as you may haue the use of hit upon few houres warning, the reason ys y^t yo^r mighty enymies are at hand, and yf God suffer them to pass by yo^r flete, you are sure they wyll attempt their purpose in landing w^t all expedition. And albeyt yo^r navye be very strong, yet as we have always hard, the other ys not only farr greater, but their forces of men much beyond yo^{rs}; elles were yt in wayne for them to bring only a navye provyded to kepe the sea, but so furnyshed as they both kepe the seas w^t strength suffycient and to land such a poure as may gyve battell to any prince, as no doubt yf the Prince of Parma com fourth, their forces by sea shall not only be greatly augmentyd, but his pouer to land shall the easilyer take effect when so ever he wyll attempt. Therefore is y^t most requysytt for yo^r Ma^{te} to be provided for all eventes of as great force every way as you can devyse, for ther ys no daliaunce at such a tyme nor w^t such an enymye, you shall hazard your owne honor beside yo^r person and cowntrey, and must offend yo^r gracious God, y^t gave you these forces and pouer, and wyll not use them whan you shuld. Now for y^e placing of your army, no doubt es but I think about Londen the metest for my none parte, and suppose others wylbe of y^e same minde, and y^t yo^r Ma^{te} doe further gyve the charge therof to som spetyall noble man about you, and lykwyse to place all yo^r chiefe offycers y^t every man may know what he shall doe, and gather as many good horses above all thinges as you can, and the oldest, best, assuredest Captains to lead, for therin wyll con-

of July, but on the 25th, the Lord General was at the camp at Tilbury, whence he forwarded a despatch to Sir Francis Walsingham. The proper date of this letter, therefore, must be the 25th of July.

sist the greatest hope of good success under God. And as sone as yo^r army ys assembled, that they be, by and by, exercised every man to know his weapon, and yt ther be all other things prepared in redynes for yo^r Armye, as yf they shuld march uppon a days warning, spetyally cariages and a Comyssary of Vyttelles, and yo^r M^r of Ordnance, of these thinges (but for yo^r Ma^s comandment) others can say more than I, and partly ther ys orders alredy sett down.

Now for yo^r person, being the most deinty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, much more for advyce to be geven for y^e direction of yt, a man must tremble whan he thinkes of yt, spetyally finding yo^r Ma^t to have y^e princely courage to transport yo^r self to y^e uttermost confines of yo^r realme to mete yo^r enymyes and to defend yo^r subjectes; I can not most dere Q. consent to that, for uppon yo^r well doeng consistes all and somme for yo^r hole kingdome, and therefore preserve y^t above all, yet wyll I not y^t in some sort, so princely and so rare a magnanimitye shuld not appere to yo^r people and y^e world as yt is. And this farr yf yt please you, you may doe, to draw yo^r self to yo^r howse at Havering, and your army being about London, as Stratford, East Ham, Hackney, and the vyllages therabowt shal be alway not only a defence but a redy suplye to these countreys Essex and Kent yf nede be, and in the meane tyme your Ma^{te} to comfort this army and people of both these countreys, may yf yt it please you, spend 2 or 3 [days] to se both the Camp and the Fortes, hit ys not above 14 myle at most from Havering and a very convenyent place for yo^r Ma^{te} to lye in by the way, and so rest you at y^e Camp. I trust you wyl be pleasyd w^t yo^r pore Lyvetenants cabyn, and w^t in a myle ther ys a Gentlemans howse, where yo^r Ma^{te} may also lye, you shall comfort not only these thousands but many more, that shall hear of yt. And this farr but no further can I consent to adventure yo^r person, and by the grace of God there can be no danger in this, though the enemye shuld pass by yo^r flete, but yo^r Ma^{te} may w^t out dishonour retorn to yo^r owne forces being but at hand, and you may have 2000 horss well to be loged at Romford and other vyllages nere Havering, and yo^r fotemen to be loged nerer London.

“ Lastly for my self, I se most gracious La. ye know what wyll most comfort a faythfull servant, for ther ys nothing in this world I take y^t joy in that I doe in yo^r good favour, and yt ys no small favour to send to your pore servant thus to vyssett him. I can yeld no recompence but y^e lyke sacryfyce I owe to God w^c ys a thankfull hart, and humbly (next my soule to him,) to offer boddy, lyfe and all, to doe you acceptable servyce. And so wyll pray to that God, not only for present vycory over all your enymyes, but longest lyfe to se y^e end of all those that wysh you evyll, and make me so happie as to doe you som servyce.

“ From Gravesend reddy to goe to yo^r pore but most wylling soldyers this Saturday the 27th of July.

“ Yo^r Ma^{ty}s moost faythfull and ever obedyent servant,

“ R. LEYCESTER.”

“ I have taken ye best order I can possible wth the Lyvetenants of Kent to be present at Dover themselves, and to kepe there 3 or 4000 men to suply my L.Admyrall yf he come thether, and wth any thing elles that ther ys to be had. I wysh there might be some quantity of more powder sent to lye in Dover for all nedes.

“ To ye Q^e. moost excellent Ma^{ty}e.

These gallant and importunate epistles, from the noble host who had done the honours at Kenilworth a few years before,* when his royal mistress sojourned under his princely roof, turned the balance, if the Queen had not previously determined to visit the camp: for, although her Majesty could present a stern aspect to such as crossed her path, she could condescend to practice the most gracious amenities, amidst a circle of court favourites, if the current of all authorities leads to the truth.

“ Full oft within the spacious walls,
When he had fifty winters o’er him,
My grave Lord-Keeper led the brawls;
The seals and maces danc’d before him.

“ His bushy beard, and shoe-strings green,
His high-crown’d hat, and satin doublet,
Mov’d the stout heart of England’s Queen,
Though Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it.”†

The progress of the Queen, and the proceedings in the camp, during her Majesty’s visit, are related in a scarce book, printed at the time; from which the following particulars are obtained, without encumbering the narrative with the metaphorical embellishments that are introduced by the author.

The Queen’s arrival on the 8th of August, in her barge, at Tilbury Fort, where the Earl of Leicester was ready to receive her, was greeted with a royal salute from the Blockhouse, the display of flags, and the exhilarating sounds of drums and fifes.

From the Fort, the Queen was escorted by a thousand horse, under Sir Roger Williams, knight, and two thousand foot, to the camp. Five hundred horse preceded the carriage in which her

* In the year 1575.

† A long story by Gray.

Majesty rode, which is described as a coach ornamented with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies,

“In chekerwise by strange invention
With curious knots embroidered with gold.”

The royal procession was conducted through the camp amidst the fervid acclamations of the troops, to the house of Mr. Rich,* situated at a distance of three miles from the camp, where her Majesty lodged that night.

At day-break on the following morning the troops were under arms, prepared to go through a sham fight before the Queen, who

“Most bravely mounted on a stately steed
With truncheon in her hand (not used thereto)
And with her, none except her Lieutenant,
Accompanied with the Lord Chamberlain,
Came marching towards this her marching fight.”

This may settle the question often mooted, whether the Queen appeared in armour upon the occasion?—for the writer, who is little chargeable with taciturnity, would surely have given a florid description of the suit, if her Majesty had been clad in steel.

The military evolutions having been performed,

“There might you see most brave and gallant men,
Who lately were beclad in Mars his cloathes,
Inranked then in court-like costly suits,
Through whom did pass our Queen most Dido like,
(Whose stately heart doth so abound with love,
As thousand thanks it yields unto them all)
To water-side to take her royal barge.”

This notice of the dresses worn by the “brave and gallant men,” at the camp, is explained in a letter† from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burleigh, wherein he says, that her Majesty dined with the Lord Steward in his tent, on the day of the review; for many officers of the army who were equipped in

* In Mr. Thorpe's Catalogue of MSS. on sale, 1838, part vi., No. 107, the following occur. “Two orders to the Queen's Treasurer for the payment of certain Monies, the allowance to Richard Blackenburg, as Gentleman-Usher, and nine others of her Majesty's servants, for preparing Mr. Ryches House in Essex, and Sir Rowland's House at Hackney, for her Majesty's reception, &c. A. 1588.”

† Extract of a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burleigh,—*Harl. MS.* 6994, art. 76.

military habiliments during the sham fight, would afterwards appear in court-like costly suits, when they attended the Queen at the repast.

Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, was present, and probably so was Sir Francis Walsingham, as his letter was written at the Camp on the same day.

Sir Francis says, that the dinner took place at noon,* and soon afterwards, the Queen left the camp, upon her return to St. James's.

Upon quitting the Camp, her Majesty called the Sergeant-Major to her, and gave him a message to be delivered to the troops,† which has appeared in a revised form, and called her speech at Tilbury.

The Queen was escorted from the camp to the water-side, and upon her departure in the royal barge, was saluted by the ordnance in the blockhouses, and the artillery at the camp.

Although the operations of the navy against the enemy, do not necessarily form matter for a local account, yet a brief notice of the proceedings of the fleets may be added, in proof of the expediency of the preparations that had been made, and of the fact that the defence of the Thames was not abandoned, till the danger of attack had passed away.

The English fleet under the Lord Admiral encountered the ships of Spain on the 21st of July off Plymouth; and a running fight was maintained till the 27th day of the month, when both fleets anchored, within a mile and a-half of each other on the coast of France, off Calais.

The Lord Admiral immediately sent for Sir William Wynter,

* "This day at noone her Majesty dyneing with the Lord Steward in his Tent at the Camp, had advertysement unto her from Sr. Tho: Morgan (who is arryved at Marget with the 1000 shott) that the D. of Parma was determyned this spring-tyde to come out, and that he looked yt by that tyme the Spa: Fleete would be returned, according to an agrement between him and the D. of Medyne, &c. At the Campe, the ix day of August, 1588. Your L. to command,
FRA. WALSYNGHAM."

† "When Phœbus's lights were in the middle part,
Twixt east and west, fast hasting to his home:
Our Sovereigne (our sacred blissful Queen)
Was ready to depart, from out her Camp."

Aske. Elizabetha Triumphans.

who commanded the ship *Vanquard*, to attend him on board the flag-ship; where, according to the testimony of Sir William, contained in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, they conferred upon measures to be pursued, and it was determined to make an attack upon the Spanish fleet, with fire-ships.

On Sunday, the 28th of July, a signal was made for a council to be held on board the Lord Admiral's ship, at which a plan of an attack was settled, and the operations are thus related by Sir William Wynter.—“After the assembly of the Counsell it was concluded, that the practice for the fireing of shippes, shoulde be pute in execution the night followeing, and Sir Henry Palmer was assigned to bear over presentlye in a Pynnase, for Dover, to bring away such vessells as were fit to be fired, and materials apt to take fyer. But, because it was seene, after his goinge, he could not return that nighte, and occasion would not be outstripped; it was thought meet that we should helpe ourselves with such shipping as wee had there, to serve that tourne, so that about 12 of the clocke that nighte [of Sunday, July the 28th,] six* shippes were broughte and prepared, with a sacre shot, and goinge in a front, haveinge the winde and tyde with them, and their ordnance being chardged, were fyred, and the men that were the executers, so soone as the fyre was made, theye did abandon the shippes, and entered into five boats, that were appointed for the savinge of them. This matter did put such terror amounge the Spanish Armye, that they were fayne to let slip their cables, and anchors, and did work, as it did appeare, great mischief amonge them, by reason of the soddenness of it. We might perceave, that there were two great fyers, more than once, and farre greater and heveyer then any of our vessels that were fyred, could make.”*

* According to an account of “The demaund for monney to discharge the Armeeye (ships) September 1588,” bearing the signatures of the Lord Admiral Howard, W. Wynter, and John Hawkins; (which account is now in the collection of Robert Lemon, Esq. ;) the following were the vessels devoted to this service; which have not been enumerated in any historical account of the event. “Shippes burnte the xxixth of Julye, 1588. The *Thomas* 200 tonnes—The *Barque Talbot*, 200,—The *B[arque] Bonde*, 150,—The *Hope*, 18,—The *Beare Younge*, 147. Total 870 Tonn.”

† From the original letter, in the State Paper Office.

This was the crisis of the enemy's fate. He was thrown into irretrievable confusion, and at day-break on the 29th of July, he made sail to the northward, pursued by the English fleet, leaving unmolested the south coast and the Thames, (against which a great blow had been meditated,) to seek his safety in flight, and to fail too, in that last desperate effort, overwhelmed by a tempest.

The "defeat of the Spanish Armada" have become household words, the memory of the event endures in vivid freshness; and the story of the valour, skill, and energy of the Lord Admiral, nobly supported by distinguished officers and faithful crews, to whom the glory of the achievement belongs, will for ever shed a lustre on the annals of the navy of Old England.

The glad tidings of these events diffused an universal joy, and restored the confidence of the country in its own strength; but the government, less actuated by sudden impulse, awaited the intelligence of the total destruction of the enemy's means of hostility, before it reduced the military power. On the 17th day of August, as it appears by the following letter* from the Lord General, the order was issued for breaking up the Camp at Tilbury.

"My very good L. yo^r l^res of the xvij of this present moneth I received this evening at vi. of the clock, wherein I am advertized that her Ma^{ty}s pleasure is, the hole Campe sholde presentlie be dissolved, and that those companies brought over by Coronel Morgan shold be placed in Kent, neare the sea coast; uppon the receipt whereof I did presentlie sende awaie by Post to the Camp, with such careful order for the performance therof, as was requisite. Being verie glad that althoughe it be her highnes' pleasure to discharge the soldiours, yet the Captaines and officers still to be contynewed in wages, w^{ch} will be no small encouragement to them to persevere in that forwardness w^{ch} hitherto they have shewed. So I bidd yo^r L. right hartelie farewell. Wansted, the xvijth of August, 1588.

"Yo^r L's assured loving friend,

"R. LEYCESTER."

"To the right honorable
my very good L. the
L. Burghley, L. Highe
Thr^r. of England."

* Harl MS. 6994, art. 77. This letter derives a melancholy interest from the circumstance of the death of the Earl on the 4th of September, a few days after it was written.

In these times of "temperance and total abstinence," by means of social compact, for the correction of excessive drinking, and the destructive use of ardent spirits; it may be seasonable to advert to the restraints formerly put upon the indulgence of the natural appetite for eating.*

It is said, that "Archbishop Whitgift, in 1585, granted to Ambrose Potter, of Gravesend, license to eat flesh and white meats, during his life, with his wife; but with this proviso, that he did it soberly and frugally, cautiously, and avoiding public scandal, as much as might be, and not to do it openly."

1591. On the 22nd day of February, in this year, four Searchers of flesh, in the time of Lent were appointed in Gravesend; and on the 8th of March, a jury was empannelled, to inquire for "offenders in killing, slaying, or eating flesh, contrary to her Majesty's proclamation." Similar inquests were held from time to time, until the 14th of March, 1603. Very few presentments were made in the whole period, and of these, the most were of butchers for killing cattle and selling meat.

It seems that the objects of those Statutes, under the authority of which the royal proclamations were issued; were to encourage the fisheries for the increase of seaman, and to check extravagant prices for meat, by reducing the demand.

ORIGIN OF THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE CORPORATION.

1593. To the praise and credit of the worshipful Portreve, the Jurats, and Chief Inhabitants of Gravesend, the following record of their regard to the rites of hospitality, should be preserved.

"Monday, the 1st of October 1593 Memo. That at this day it is ordered, by consent of Mr. Portreve, the Jurats, and chief Inhabitants now assembled, whereas it hath been used heretofore, that the Portreve who departeth with his office hath given and made a Breakfast to the Jurats and chief Inhabitants on the election day at six of the clock in the morning:—that the same Breakfast shall henceforth be forborne, and that Mr. Portreve now newly elected, and all other which shall succeed him in the Portreveship, shall make and give to the new Portreve, Jurats and Inhabitants on the election day in every year, one Dinner, at due time of the day for Dinner."

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 93. Kentish Travellers' Companion p. 103.

This, according to all received notions of the duties of civic bodies, ancient and modern, was a decided improvement upon the antecedent practice, for it substituted a dinner for a breakfast.

By the process of cumulative hospitality, it became a custom also, to render the annual election of the Chief Magistrate, a season of festivity, by the introduction of a public breakfast in the Town Hall, on the Sunday next after the day of election, when the smoking Surloin graced the board ; a custom which continued with very few intermissions to the time of the late political change in municipal institutions, effected by what is popularly called the Corporation Reform Act, since which the old custom has been observed occasionally.

The following circumstance, recorded in the books of the Corporation, though upon the surface it appears to be a mere act of bounty to an individual, is nevertheless not devoid of interest, for the slight sketch it affords of the state of society at the period of its occurrence.

“ 1594. It is ordered the 30th day of August, that a contribution of xls. shall be given to Mr. Stockwood, out of the stock of the Chamber, at the request of Sir Robert Sydney by his letters ; by the consent of the Portreve,” &c.

This was evidently a donation to Mr. Stockwood, and for his individual benefit, either for his present relief, or in aid of some plan for his advantage ; and that it was the latter object, may be surmised from the amount, which seems too large for the immediate relief of pauperism, at that period. The recipient was probably a minister of religion, a schoolmaster, and an author living at Tunbridge,* within the focus of the influence of Sir

* See,—A sermon preached at Paule's Crosse, by John Stockwood, 1578,—Malone's Shakspeare, vol i. part 2, p. 39. A Sermon preached at Paule's Cross on Bartholomew day 1578, by John Stockwood, Ibid. p. 125. The construction of the English Accidence, by John Stockwood, Schoolmaster, of Tunbridge, Q^o 1590. Ames, p. 537,—Progymnasma Scholasticum, &c. 8vo. 1597. Ibid. p. 428,—A Treatise on the Plague, whether it is infectious or no, dedicated to Sir Henry Sydney. Ibid. 376.

Robert Sydney, whose recommendation was so effectual with the Corporation of Gravesend.

If Mr. Stockwood was soliciting pecuniary aid, to enable him to publish the result of his literary labours, he might think the recommendation of his influential patron important, and expedient also, to protect him from the rigour of the laws against vagabonds, for they were subject to mutilation and slavery upon conviction, and beggars and vagabonds were identical. To protect persons driven to seek alms, Justices of the Peace were empowered to grant licences to beg, within a certain precinct; but in another statute, the first denounced as vagabonds, are "all persons calling themselves Scholars, going about begging,"* this however was enacted, three years after Mr. Stockwood, a scholar, went about begging; so he was not subject to have his right ear burned through with a hot iron, nor his breast branded, nor to be assigned as a slave, which in certain aggravated cases of vagabondism, was awarded to the wretched mendicant.

GADS-HILL.

Gads-hill is distant about four miles from Gravesend, in the line of the Highway between London and Dover.

The name of this spot, like that of Shooters Hill† in the same line, was derived from the depredations of highwaymen and foot-pads; simply but significantly denoting both a vagabond and a weapon.‡

Gads-hill had long been infested with robbers, when it acquired an enduring notoriety from being selected by Shakspeare for the

* 22 Hen. VII., chap. 12. 1 Edw. vi, chap. 3.—14 Eliz. chap. 5.—39 Eliz. chap. 4.

† "Shooters' Hill, so called from the thievery there practised," &c. Philpot, *Villare Cantianum*, Edit. 1776, p. 135.

‡ Gad, to rove, to range &c., is interpreted by Cotgrave, "to vagabondize; and according to Dr. Ash, Gad is a club, wedge, &c. See his Dictionary. Gads were suitable weapons for the heroes of Gads-hill, before and after portable fire-arms were introduced. "Divers persons of late, have deceitfully forged and made of iron, called Bilboa iron, like to the fashion and manner of Gadds of Steel, and have sold the same so forged to divers of the King's subjects, for steel, whereby the greatest part of edged tools, weapons, and other necessary things having edges, are of little or no value or goodness, to the great hurt of the King's loving subjects." 2 & 3, Edw. III. chap. 27.

scene of a dramatic incident, probably suggested by frequent depredations there in his time.

In the year 1558, a Ballad, entitled the Robbery at Gads-hill, was printed by Robert Lant.*

The situation was but too favourable for the nefarious purposes, for which it was infested. The robbers could find shelter and concealment in the woods on both sides of the road, when watching or pursued; the way-laid traveller could find no ready help, for there were then no habitations near the spot; numerous were the classes from whom rich booty might be obtained; and the police of the country was worse than lax, for the magistracy were charged with corrupt connivance at offences, and even with giving countenance to offenders.

The great bard himself, in his drama which will presently be more particularly referred to, has enumerated some of those who were likely to be the victims of these marauders.

Poins, one of the *dramatis personæ*, is made to say “there are pilgrims going to Canterbury, with rich offerings, and traders riding to London, with fat purses.” *Henry IV., part I. Act I. Scene 2.*

Again, the Chamberlain at the Inn at Rochester, in conversation with Gads-hill, one of the Prince’s party, says “it holds current that I told you yesternight, there’s a Franklin in the Weald of Kent, hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold, I heard him tell it to one of the company last night at supper, a kind of auditor, one that hath abundance of charge too, God knows what!”—*Act II. Scene 1.* At the consummation of the plot, Gadshill says—“there’s money of the King’s coming down the Hill, ’tis going to the King’s Exchequer.”—*Act II. Scene 2.*

The Customers, or receivers of Customs, at Sandwich and other ports, travelled with money in their possession; for payments and remittances were made in specie at that time; and if pilgrims with rich offerings had ceased to travel the road when the poet wrote, there was another class exposed to the freebooters. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins had, in the year 1588, founded the Chest at Chatham, whither seamen resorted for pay-

* Dibdin’s *Typographical Antiq.* vol. iii. p 583.

ments; and the Navy harboured in the Medway, which also tended to furnish prey to the robbers.

The proof of the frequency of robberies, and even of murders, is to be found in the circumstantial correspondence, and representations, of personages of high rank and undoubted veracity.

In a letter* from the Earl of Essex to the Lord Keeper, dated the 24th of September, 1574, it appears that the number of Magistrates in Kent had been reduced, among whom, a Mr. Henry Lindley was displaced, and his patron the Earl, requested that he should be restored to the commission of the peace, upon the ground that he was in Ireland when the reduction took place, and therefore it had occurred, because of his absence, and not for any unfitness or inefficiency in him for that place; from which it may be inferred, that in some cases at least, certain of the Justices had been removed for such reasons.

In another letter, from the Earl of Abergavenny, dated the 8th of April, 1577, addressed to Lord Burleigh, the noble writer emphatically denounces the magistracy of Kent, and exposes a wholesale system of corruption among them, giving names and details, and tendering proofs of the most shameless conduct. But the most elaborate account of very daring offences, and of the actual countenance given to notorious offenders, by certain gentry of the county, is given under the hand of Sir Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, purporting to be the "circumstances urging him to proceed to the late indicting of Curtall, Manwaringe, Essex, and other malefactors in Kent," at a later period.†

These testimonies show the frequency and audacity of the depredations committed with impunity, and that the knowledge of them was rife in quarters where the poet would hear of them: but there is also some local evidence upon the subject to be added.

In the register of burials in Gravesend, the following entries occur:—

"1586. September the 29th daye, was a thiefe, y^t was slayne, buried."

* Harl. MS. 286, fol. 25.

† Landsdown MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. lxiii, folio 16. Endorsed "3 July, 1590."

“ 1590. Marche the 17th daie, was a theefe yt was at Gads-hill, wounded to Deathe, called Roberte Writs, buried.”

It seems not too much then, to suppose, that the notoriety of the robberies committed about this time, at Gads-hill, suggested not only the plan, but the locality of Falstaff's exploit, so happily dramatised by Shakspeare in his play of the first part of Henry the Fourth.

Gravesend was involved in a case arising out of a robbery committed at Gads-hill, which was brought before the Court of Common Pleas, as it is reported below.*

“ Prescribing for a Right of Robbery.”

“ In an action on the case, on the Statute of Winton, Manwood Justice said,—‘ When I was servant to Sir James Hales, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, one of his servants was robbed at Gads-hill, within the Hundred of Gravesend, in Kent, and he sued the men of the Hundred upon this Statute, and it seemed hard to the inhabitants there, that they should answer for the robberies done at Gadshill, because robberies are there so frequent, that if they should answer for all of them, they should be utterly undone. And Harris, Sargeant, was of Counsel with the Inhabitants of Gravesend, and pleaded for them,—*that time out of mind &c. felons had used to rob at Gadshill, and so prescribed* ;—and afterwards by award, they were charged ; and note, that the case was, that three men were robbed, and they three joined in the action against the Inhabitants.’ ”

As it is erroneously stated in the above report, that Gads-hill is in the Hundred of Gravesend, it is necessary to refer to the Statute, to explain the circumstances. It was provided by the Statute of Winchester, (13 Edward I.), that if the county will not answer for the bodies of such manner of offenders (persons charged with felony,) the pain shall be such, that every county, that is, the people dwelling in the county, shall be answerable for the robberies done, and also the damages ; so that the whole hundred where the robbery shall be done, with the franchises being within the precinct of the same hundred, shall be answerable for the robberies done ; *and if the Robbery be done in the division of two Hundreds, both the Hundreds and the Franchises within them, shall be answerable for it.*

* 2 Leonard, Part ii page 12, headed 19 Elizabeth. In the Common Pleas. Marginal Note, “ Action upon the Statute of Winchester.”

This accounts for the apparent error : for Gads-hill being within the Hundred of Shamel, which adjoins the Hundred of Toltingtrow, in which Gravesend is situated ; the parties sued the inhabitants of Gravesend, who were held liable under the Statute of Winchester.

Notwithstanding the active energy of the learned Judge, the responsibility of the inhabitants of the Hundreds of Shamel and Toltingtrow, and the magazine of terrors ready for use, in the Statute Book ; it does not appear that highwaymen were driven from their station at Gads-hill ; as the following *morceaux* will exemplify.

The first is the poetical effusion of one of the class. John Clavell, published in the year 1634, his “ Recantation of an ill led life, or a discovery of the Highway Law :” the contents of which publication may be imagined ; and a short extract will show that Gads-hill and Shooters Hill were the scenes of his crimes.

“ For though I oft have seene Gads-hill and those
 Red tops of mountains, where good people lose
 Their ill kept purses, I did never climbe
 Parnassus’ Hill or could aduenture time
 To tread the Muses’ mazes, or their floore,
 Because I know that they are lightly poore,
 And Shooters’ Hill far fitter, farre for me,
 Where pass’d reliefs for my own poverty.”*

The other is a confession of guilt, without the redeeming merit of repentance or recantation, in “ a letter from one of them y^t rob’d y^e Danish Ambassador on Gads-hill 1656, sent to him the day after.”†

“ Sir,—The same necessity that enforc’t the Tartars to breake ye walls of China, compelled us to wayte on you at Gads-Hill. I hope you will not thinke the name of Theife and Gentleman incompatible, nor that it is ignoble to robbe a Viceroy there, where the best of our Kings deigned to robbe a carryer. And now I speake of thinges noble, I thinke it is soe to keepe my word ; onely I must begge your pardon

* Clavell’s Recantation, &c. 3rd Edition. Q^o. London, 1634, commencing at line 13.

† Harl. MS. 6016, art. 3.

in two thinges ; first, that I sent you y^e enclosed noe sooner ; next, that I subscribe not my name, otherwise than, Sir, your very humble servant,
 “ T^AMERLANE.”

THE OLD TOWN HALL.

There is no description, verbal or pictorial, extant, of the first Town Hall erected in Gravesend, and the following Inventory of the furniture and effects which it contained, is all that can afford a sketch of the scenes presented within its walls. Many muniments mentioned in the list are lost, and there are many articles included in it, that would give no light or shadow to the picture ; for the rest, the worthy Chamberlain who had the general custody of them, shall tell his own story.

“ A note of all such goods and chattells apperteyning to the Townes of Gravesend and Milton, delyvred into the possession of Roger Somerland, nowe Chamberlayne, made the iiijth day of October, A. D. 1595.

The Town Seale.

The Town Armes, purchased of the Kinge of Herraults.*

Two Abridgments of Statutes in English, one old and another newe.

A pile of Troye weights. A pile of Averdupoise weights.

A Chest standing in the Jurye Chamber,—more there, one Table and two Tressells.

Certayne Acquytances touching the fee farme, from John Mosse, of our Towne Howse rent xi^s viij^d half yerely.

A grant made by King Henry the VIII. for the Chappell to be made our Parish Church, under the great Seale, in grene waxe.

A newe Chest,† with three locks and three keys to it.

In the Towne Hawle, under the custodie of the Sargeant. The Townes Armor ; viz, Two white and two black Corsletts, all furnyshed,—Morions ix.—v Callyvers, good and bad,—iiij Swords, whereof two are newe arming swords, with girdles to them.—a gren Coate,—Dagers iij, old,—iij Peekes, good and bad,—ij tynne Hooks to hang the musketts on,—ij musketts,—one pound of match.

The Constable's Staffe, and xii clubes.

A Colefatt,‡ to measure coles.

* Vide pp. 189, 199, 207, *supra*.

† An old chest, with three locks, is now in the Town Hall, and contains many of the books and muniments of the Corporation.

‡ The vat contained nine bushels.

One greate Psalter booke of Englyshe, bossed with brasse, with a chayne of brasse to make it fast withall.

A joyned Table,—a newe joyned Chayre, and two newe joyned stooles.

A forme and two old Stooles,—two benches,—in the prison ij benches.

A green Carpet, and a dossen of tuffed mocado cushens.

The Sargeant's Mace,* to arrest withall.

A Table in a frame, confering the Owners Tydes.

Apperteyning to the Towne Howse, one canvas coat with a hood, to be used for correction.

In the Searchers of leather their charge,—a sealing hammer of iron, to mark leather withall, with a wooden mallett.

In the Cryer's charge,—one bushel [measure],—one half bushel,—and a strike,—one iron beame and payre of scales,—xiiij payre of Tresselles,—iie of bordes in number xiiij†,—a newe Cucking Stoole,—ij Towne Hooks, for the Towne, with Chaynes to them.

The Town Hall, according to this inventory, contained one principal apartment for the use of the Portreve as a magistrate, and the municipal body in the administration of their functions; another room called the Jury Chamber; and a Prison.

The ground upon which this building stood, was held on lease, subject to a fee farm rent to the Lord of the Manor of Parrock, of twenty-three shillings and fourpence per annum.

The “new joyned chayre” was the judgment seat of the worshipful Portreve, having before him the abridgments of the statutes, for reference and direction in his decisions; and happy was it for him, that the old and new editions, were each contained in *one volume*; the former being produced by the diligent care and commendable skill of Master John Rastell, and the latter by Master Robert (son of Christopher) Barker, Printer to the Queen's Highness. The walls of the State Room probably were not lined with carved oak, or wainscot panels, nor covered with hangings of arras, though, peradventure, “the Townes Armes purchased from the Kinge of Herraults,” and “the Table of Tydes in a frame,” were exhibited; the first as an appropriate ornament, and the other for monition to those concerned in the “Towne Barge.”

* The original Mace, valued at £13 7s. 6d. was given in exchange in the year 1710, when the present elegant Mace was provided at the cost of £97. 17s. 6d.

† These boards were numbered in fourteen series, corresponding with the fourteen pairs of tressels.

The green carpet, and the dozen of tufted mocado cushions, were for high days and holidays, when the entire civic corps were present ; the dozen cushions being occupied by the dozen Jurats, and the benches by the Chief Inhabitants, their colleagues of the second class, a distinction probably suggested, in the grave communications had with the "Kinge of Herraults !" The stools would serve, one of them for Mr. Webbe, the Town Clerk, as Portreve's assessor, and the other for his assistant scribe.

To this faint tracing of the Corporators in their congregated the form, may be added a sketch of individuality.

Richard Ward, was one of the Jurats, and his will (dated the 13th of November, 1596) contains the following bequests.

"I give to Roger Ward, my brother's son, my best gowne and my best cloke, and a hatt. Also I give to Richard Downing, my wiffe's brother, three pounds of lawful money of England, and my cloake that was last made, and my best shepes collered gowne, and one other hatt. Also I give to Mr. Webb, our Town Clerke, my booke, called Cooper's Dictionary. I give to my cosyn, William Clegent, one of my bookes of Mr. Becone's workes, and I give to Robert Clegent, his brother, one other book of Mr. Becone's workes ; and I give to my cosyn, George Wilson, my book called the Actes and Monuments of the Church, otherwise called the Booke of Martyres."

In this list of his wardrobe, and catalogue of his library, may be seen, traits of the character of Richard Ward, and a rich specimen of the municipal body of which he was a member, assembled in their best gowns with collars of sheep's wool, seated on the mocado cushions in the Town Hall. His amiable susceptibility of kind feeling towards his neighbour, is evident in the memorial demised to his *quondam* friend, the Town Clerk, reflecting credit upon the testator and the recipient, who, it must be supposed had often taken sweet counsel together. The bequest of the religious works of Beacon,* and especially that of the book of all books, the

* Thomas Beacon, an English divine, was educated at Cambridge. On the accession of Queen Mary, he fled to Germany, where he wrote several books against Popery ; which were denounced in a Proclamation of Philip and Mary, in the year 1555, wherein they are called the works of Theodore Basyll, (a name assumed by the writer while abroad), otherwise Thomas Beacon. In the reign of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and was made a Prebendary of Canterbury. He died in 1570. His works had been collected in three books, and published in folio, 1564. In a licence obtained by John Day, for printing the works of Beacon, the latter is described as Professor (that is Doctor) of Divinity.

vade mecum of the true protestant subjects of the Queen of the Reformation, the work of John Fox,—testify the piety and loyalty of Richard Ward.

The original grant of Henry VIII. for the chapel to be used as the parish Church, relating to the Basilica or Chapel of St. George, erected by the inhabitants of Gravesend in the year 1510, has not been preserved; but the inrolment has been found and consulted,* and will be noticed in the particulars, to be given hereinafter, relating to the church of the parish of Gravesend.

Many of the articles described in the Inventory, are illustrative of the state of Gravesend, at the time it was made.

The fourteen pairs of tressels, and the boards in a series of the like number, denote the number of persons exhibiting poultry, butter, eggs, bread and manufactured articles for sale in the market. Vegetables were deposited on the ground, and butchers' meat in the shambles, called the Butchery.† The piles of weights and the measures named in the list, are indications that the Clerk of the Market exercised a vigilant supervision of the dealings by weight and measure. The marking iron for leather was equally necessary, to repress frauds, and protect the purchaser, as it is exemplified by a contemporary writer,‡ who in a tone of raillery; says, first to the butcher;—"although you know it is hurtful and forbidden by the statute to flee your hides, skins and backs, with cuts and slashes, to the impoverishing of the poor shoe-maker, when he buys it, yet, I pray you, how many slaughters do you make in a poor calves skin?"§—and then to the Currier—"you cannot be content only to burne the leather you dresse for fault of liquor, because you could make the shoemaker pay wel, and you

* Pat. 36. Hen. VIII. pars. 5, In the Chapel of the Rolls.

† A portion of the market, so called, set apart for the sale of meat, as it appears in a description of the premises, p. 198, *supra*.

‡ A Quip for an upstart Courtier, &c., by Robert Green. Q^o. 1592.

§ There was another practice among Butchers, exposed by this writer, which still excites disgust—"I praye you Goodman Kilcalfe, what havoecke playe you with puffing up of meate, and blowing with your pricker as you flea it?" This means opening cavities in the meat before it becomes stiff, and inflating them with the Butcher's breath.

put in little stuffe, and besides, when, as in backs you should only put in tallow, hard and good, you put in softe kitchen stuff next, and so make the good and well tanned leather, by your villanie to fleet and waste away."

After all, it seems, that the tradesman of the present day, may challenge a comparison with him of the golden days of the Virgin Queen.

The "Colefatt to measure coals," was provided by the Corporation, to be used by a Meter appointed by them, for the duty implied. There are entries in the Corporation Books, of these appointments, made annually from the year 1596 to 1612, both inclusive, with the names of the Meters, but no such entry appears after the latter date. In a list of the Freemen of the year 1611, a Coal-measurer is mentioned. In the year 1597, a controversy arose between the Lord Admiral and the Lord Mayor respecting the measuring of coals,* and circumstances arising out of these proceedings, might have interfered with the arrangements at Gravesend.

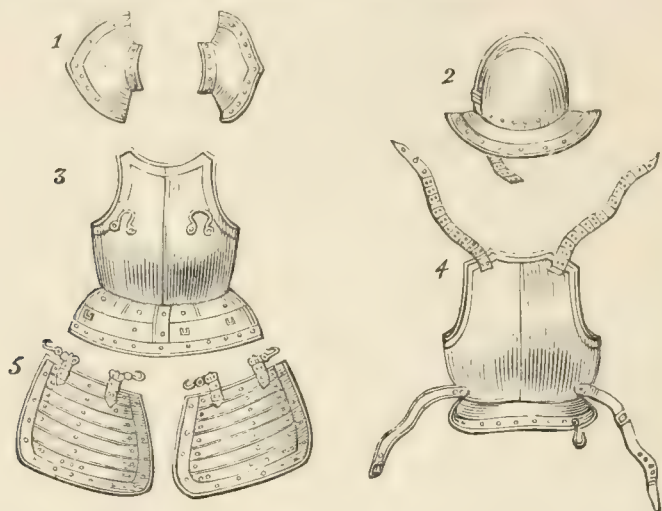
The list of the "Townes Armor" is curious, and from the prefix, it may be presumed, that it was used for the equipment of men, who the town was required to provide for cases of emergency, and general arming, or in aid of the local civil power; in the period, between the issue of ancient commissions of array; and the repeal of the Statute of Armour in the reign of James the First, and the institution of a Militia force.

The manner of raising this military power is described by Stow, who says,—“By the commandement of the Queen’s Majesty her Counsel, the citizens of London, assembling at the several Halls, the Masters chose out of the most likely and active persons of euery their Companies, to the number of three thousand, whom they appointed to be Pikemen and Shot, the Pikemen were forthwith armed in fair corselets and other furniture according thereunto, the Gunners had every of them his caliver with the furniture, and murrions on their heads. To these were appointed diuerse valiant Captaines, who to traine them up in warlike feates, mustred them thrice every weeke, sometimes in the Artillery Yard, teaching the Gunners to handle their pieces, sometimes at

* Stow’s Survey. Edit. 1633, p. 24.

the Miles-end, and in St. George's Fields, teaching them to skirmish."*

The calivers and pikes are lost ; but some parts of the paraphernalia of the military force raised at Gravesend, mentioned in the list, are yet kept in the Town Hall. These consist of two morions, and two suits of body armour, represented in the print below, and described by writers of the period.†



1. A Gorget, to go round the neck, above the Breast-plate.
2. Morion, or Head-piece. 3. Breast-piece. 4. Back-piece.
5. Tasses to protect the thighs.

Passing from the military stores, in the arsenal of the municipal authorities ; the instruments of correction in certain cases of transgressions against the laws, are now to be introduced. The Canvas Coate with a hoode, for correction, like the brank and the drunkard's cloak, is gone, as well as the pillory.

The Cucking Stool, or as it was sometimes called, the Ducking Stool, a machine employed in the punishment of scolds, was in use at Gravesend long after the date of the Inventory, in which it is named, as it appears in the following extracts from the books of accounts of the Corporation.

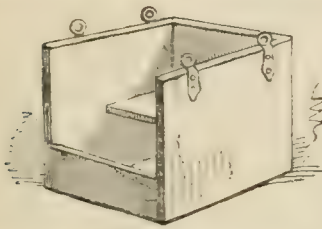
1628. Nov. 9. Paid unto Mildman for mending the Cucking	£	s.	d.
Stool	0	7	0
1629. Sept. 4. Paid unto the Wheeler for timber for mend-			
ing the Cucking Stool	0	3	4

* Stow's Annals, *sub anno* 1572.

† The Tackticks of Ælian, by John Bingham. Fol. London, 1616, p. 153.

1635. Oct. 23. Paid for two Wheeles and Yeekees for the Ducking Stool	0	3	6
1636. January 7. Paid the Porters for ducking of Goodwife Campion	0	2	0
1646. June 12. Paid two Porters for laying up the Ducking Stool	0	0	8
1653. Paid John Powell for mending the Ducking Stool	0	6	0
1680. Paid Gattlet for a Proclamation, and for carrying the Ducking Stool in market	0	1	6

As the Ducking Stool, mentioned in the list of chattels of the Corporation, has not been preserved, some information concerning the form and application of these machines, is added.



A specimen of these “dainty devices,” was offered for sale some years ago in London. It consisted of a square case, or box, having a seat in it, open at the bottom, to expose the culprit to complete immersion. This machine preceded others that will be noticed below; being in use in the year 1556; for in that year, the following charge occurs in the accounts of the Corporation of Banbury.*

“1556. Paid to Ihon Awod formaking of sarten Stapulls } ij”s
and Hokes for the Kockestoll }

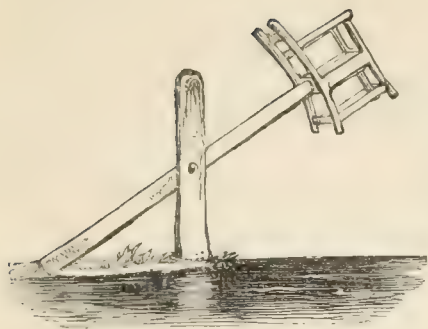
The staples, mentioned here, appear in the print above, without the hooks, these being attached to a rope, for lowering the machine into the water, and raising it again.



There is at Ipswich† a chair that was formerly used there, as a Ducking Stool, which in the accompanying very accurate representation of it, will be seen to have been a machine in the form of a common chair. It has an iron frame, attached to a rope, suspending it at the end of a transverse beam, or crane, above the water, for lowering or raising it; and thus the delinquent was soused in the water. The seat and back are open.

* History of Banbury, by Alfred Beeseley, 1841, p. 223.

† Clarke's History of Ipswich, 8vo. Ipswich, 1830, p. 298.



Another variety is represented here, from a print prefixed to one of Gay's Pastorals, illustrative of the following lines.

"I'll speed me to the Pond, where the high stool
On the long plank, hangs o'er the muddy pool,
That stool, the dread of ev'ry scolding Quean,
Yet, sure a lover should not die so mean!"*

The manner of using these machines has been described, as follows:—"The way of punishing scolding women is pleasant (!) enough, they fasten an arm chair to the ends of two beams, twelve or fifteen feet long, and parallel to each other, so that these two pieces of wood, with their two ends, embrace the chair, which hangs between them upon a sort of axle, by which means it plays freely, and always remains in a horizontal position, that a person may conveniently sit in it, whether you raise it up, or let it down. They set a post upon the bank of a pond or river, and over this post they lay, almost in equilibrio, the two beams, at the ends of which the chair hangs just over the water; they place the woman in the chair, and so plunge her into the water, as often as the sentence directs, in order to cool her immoderate heat."†

The "Ducking Stool," or "Cucking Stool," as it is named in the Gravesend Inventory, was placed upon wheels, and by the ministration of the fellowship of Porters, was plunged with the occupant into the river, at an inclined plane, called the Horse-wash,‡ at the Town Quay; there being no other place so suitable for the operation, within the town, and farther, it appears that the Porters were not only recompensed for giving the ducking, but also for restoring the machine to its place in the market.

* Gay's Pastorals 8vo. edit. London, 1774. Third Pastoral, "Dumps."

† Misson's Travels in England, translated by Ozell. 8vo. London, 1719, p. 65.

‡ "1715. March 12. Paid John Grinsted for mending the pavement of the Horse-wash at the Towne Keye."—*Corporation Accounts*.

To correct a very common but ungallant impression, that the softer sex only were punished in this manner; and to repel the inference that they only offended in a manner to subject them to this ignominious correction; it is to be observed, that a machine, of a somewhat similar description, was in use to punish male offenders,* by exposure and public rebuke, but without the ducking.

During the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was repeatedly apprehended that the Spaniards would invade England, and as the safety of the capital was an object of paramount consideration upon these occasions, an alarm would naturally prevail at Gravesend, where active measures of defence were taken that would be considered by the inhabitants to be demonstrative of danger.

In the year 1577, the Earl of Essex was ordered to proceed to Dover, to command the forces that were to be collected on the coast, and it was intimated in his instructions, that a navy of the King of Spain had been seen in the Narrow Seas, between Dover and Calais, whereupon the High Admiral had been sent to put the Queen's ships in order "to withstand the same;" and that Lord Cobham being Lord Lieutenant of the county, had been directed to repair thither forthwith, Lord Montjoy to Portsmouth, and the Lord Chamberlain to the Isle of Wight,† to superintend the measures of defence.

Whether the following instructions were given at the same time is not quite clear, for the paper is without date, but it was probably about the same period, for it appears that they were issued when Lord Cobham held the office of Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and Sir Henry Palmer had the command of the vessels in the Thames.

* "The stools of infamy, are the ducking stool, and the stool of repentance. The first was invented for taming female shrews. The stool of repentance is an ecclesiastical engine of popish extraction, for the punishment of immorality, whereby the delinquent takes shame to *himself*, and receives a solemn reprimand from the minister of the parish." *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1732, vol. ii. p. 740. *Brand's Popular Antiquities*. 4to. 1813, vol. ii. p. 492.

† *Egerton Papers*, printed by the Camden Society, 4to., London, 1840, p. 274, with a prefix by the Editor, that "It was no doubt a false alarm."

“The manner how the river Thames shall be kept assured against any attempt of the galleys, by the care and good regard of Sir Henry Palmer, who is appointed to the charge of the service.*

“SWYNN.†—First a Pynnace to lye at Tilburye Hope, or in the best place thereabouts, this Pynnace uppon discovery of any galley shall waye [weigh anchor] and shoote her ordynance to give the alarum to the Fortes and *Victory*.

“THE LD. COBHAM, LYEUTENANT OF KENT.—The *Victory* to lye betweene the two Fortes of Gravesend and Tylburye, and that order be taken that certayne of the inhabitants of the Towne of Gravesend, and thereabouts, may be selected and appoynted uppon the alarum, to goe with their furniture‡ in all possible speede aborde the *Victory*, and that the barges and boates of the same towne may sett them aboorde the ship, albeit it be in the night; uppon which alarume and certaine view of the galleys, the said shippe and fortes are to shoot off, and give the alarum to the *Lyon*.

“The *Lyon* to ryde about Greenhythe, there to receive the alarum from the *Victory* and forts, and thereuppon to send away up to the Court, the row-barge with some discreet person to advertise, and also to give the alarume to those shippes yt ryde at Blackwall, that they may prepare.

“LIEUT. OF ESSEX.—That order be taken that the beacons on the Kent and Essex sydes be well watchyed, and that uppon sight of any galley or certayne alarume from the Pynnace or shippes, they presently may make their fyre.

“Theis 2 catches } That two small catches be contynually plying up and
to goe from } down the sands and each of them to have one piece,
Chatham. } as a Mynyon or Falcon in them, to shoote off and
give alarum uppon sight of any galley, that both the navye and also
the beacons may take notice.

“That a beacon may be sett uppon some of the uppermost turrets of the Castle of Queenburrowe, and that every night some one or two may be appoynted to watch the same.

“That notice may be given to the fishermen of Lee and other places thereabouts that upon the discovery of any galley by night, they do immediately with all expedition hasten to give warning to the catches or Pynnace, that that they may give alarum to the rest.

* Cottonian MS. Otho, E. ix. 162.—Charnock’s History of Marine Architecture, vol. ii. p. 133.

† This word is substituted by Charnock, for one that is unintelligible in the original paper.

‡ Equipment, such as arms and armour.

“ That a very carefull and diligente watche be heedfully kept, when the tydes fall out in the night.

“ The galley to ryde beneath the Chayne, where she now doth.”

1599. Another alarm occurred in this year ; for, in consequence of information that the King of Spain was making great preparations, and the “ likelihood that he intendeth the same against the Cittie of London,” the Lord Mayor was required by the Privy Council, to cause twenty lighters of the greatest burthen to be taken up, and sent to Gravesend, to serve for the transportation of men that might be sent out of Essex into Kent.* Nor was this all that the city was called upon to do at that time. A letter from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to the Privy Council, dated the 28th of August,† states, that they had already furnished twelve ships with men and stores, for two whole months, and armed and victualled thirty hoys for one month, sixteen of which remained in the river, which had already cost the City eight hundred pounds above the charges for the fourteen others that had been sent to join her Majesty’s fleet ; and that they had applied to Sir George Carew, for ordnance for such of the vessels as were appointed for the defence of the river, which they hoped would be used for that purpose only. And with respect to a requisition to victual the fourteen hoys for another month, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen intimated, that, having already charged the citizens with one subsidy, and being about to call upon them for another, they found the indisposition and discontentment of the Common Council such, that they “ had thought good to take up at interest, for some time, the sum of five thousand pounds, rather than to propound unto them, so soon after, any matter of farther charges.” It was signified also that the city had already armed and trained 6000 men, besides providing arms for private persons ; there must therefore have been a great alarm at the time. The letter concludes with an intimation, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen would confer with the Masters of the Trinity House, concerning

* Harl. MS. 168, art. 146. The letter is signed by the Lord Mayor and sixteen Aldermen.

† In the State Paper Office.

the employment of the sixteen hoys for the defence of the river; and craving to be excused for the frankness of the communication.

1606. The memory of Henry Pynnock is still held in just respect, for his charitable bequest to the poor of these parishes; and the following extract from the records of the Corporation displays his active benevolence in life:—

“Mem^d. That the xth day of March, 3^o Jacobi Regis, Henry Pynnock one of the Jurats of the townes and parishes of Gravesend and Milton hath delivered into the hands of Richard Codwell. Chamberleyne of the said townes and parishes, the som of x^{li} which the said Henry Pynnock freely bestoweth and gyveth to be kept in the Chamber of the said townes for ever to be imployed in forme folowinge, *videlicet* to be freely lent from tyme to tyme to the poore artificers and handicraftsmen free of the same townes and parishes *videlicet* to ij. iiij. or iiiij. or fewer at the discrecion of M. Portreve, the Juratts and comon counsell or the more part of them, for the tyme beinge, *videlicet* to such, artificer l^s. iiij^{li}. iiiij. marks or fyve marks thereof as shal be thought fytt, so always that such borower do fynde ij sufficient suerties to be bounde with him for the repayment of such some as he shall so borowe at the yeres end from the tyme of the lending. And the intent and purpose of the said Henry Pynnock is, that every artificer and handicraftsman that shall have the use of the said money shalbe a cutler, sadler, glover, weaver, smyth, tayler, shomaker, or coller-maker.”

“HENERY PINOCK.”

“Written in the presence of
Hary Stacy, Portreve.
Jo. Webb, cle. cur.
Samuall Bere.
Richard Bourne.
W. Blackmore.”

“John Maye.
Richard Codwell, Chamberlen.”

In the reigns of the two first sovereigns of the house of Stuart, Gravesend was occasionally visited by royal and noble personages, passing to and from London; and the narratives of the proceedings upon several of these occasions appear sufficiently interesting, to induce the introduction, at intervals, of some extracts from them.

1604. On the 26th of March, the Earl of Nottingham, proceeding on an embassy to the King of Spain, came with a retinue of eighty persons in barges and boats, to Gravesend, where they dined, and then rode from Gravesend to Chatham.*

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. page 427.

1606. In this year, scenes of unusual magnificence were witnessed at Gravesend, upon the visit of the King of Denmark, to King James and his Queen, who was sister to his Danish Majesty.

On Thursday the 17th of July, the Danish fleet of seven ships of war arrived at Gravesend with the royal visitor, Christian IV. The ships anchored before the town, and a notification of this event was dispatched to King James, who was at Greenwich awaiting the arrival of the expected royal guest; whereupon several of the principal officers of the household were sent to the King at Gravesend, but it was late before they reached the ships, the watch being already set; and his Majesty remained on board that night.

On the following day, King James, and Prince Henry, attended by the Duke of Lennox; the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral; the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain; and a great retinue, left Greenwich in five-and-thirty barges to greet the King of Denmark. Upon this occasion great ceremony was observed.*

The ship, on board of which the meeting took place, was of the burthen of twelve hundred tons, having three tiers of brass guns; and, as not only the figure-head, the stern, and other parts of this noble ship, (as was usual,) but also the port-holes, were "fair carved and richly gilt," it was evidently prepared for the occasion; combining the splendour of a royal yacht, with the force of a ship of war of the first class.

The flags, with which the ships were decorated, were blue and white; and these were the prevailing colours of the general appointments.

Upon the upper deck of the ship, wherein was the King, stood a guard armed with harquebusses, in blue doublets, white hats with blue and white bands, cassocks and breeches of blue cloth, striped with blue and white silk lace, blue stockings, and yellow silk garters.

On the poop, were fourteen trumpeters, besides drummers, all in white hats, and bands embroidered with gold, white satin

* See *The King of Denmark's Welcome, &c.*, 8vo. London, 1606: from which scarce tract this account is taken.

doublets laid with watchet* silk, and silver lace; their hose of watchet, laid with watchet silk and silver lace; their cloaks of blue cloth, guarded about with watchet velvet, and laid on with watchet silk and silver twist; "their trumpets all silver and faire gilt," their bandrolls† of watchet silk, and silver, and fair banners, containing the King's arms.

There was also a guard, near the King's person, comprised of gentlemen having halberts in their hands, apparelled in the following rich costume;—white hats with gold embroidered bands, cassocks and breeches of watchet velvet, guarded with broad lace of watchet silk, silver, and gold; their cassocks lined with taffata of watchet and crimson; white satin doublets laid with watchet silk, and silver lace; gilt rapiers and daggers.

There were also four pages, somewhat similarly dressed.

Next to the King's person, were six Privy Counsellors; and near them, were about twenty of the household.

In all, and of all classes, attendant upon the King, exclusive of the commanders, officers and crews of the several ships, there were about three hundred and fourteen persons.

With this state, his Majesty was prepared to receive the King of England; the latter approaching with much ceremony. In the first barges, were the Noblemen; then came the Prince of Wales, and lastly, the King.

The King's own barge deserves special notice; it was built, in the fashion of a tower or little castle, enclosed with glass windows, and casements, "faire carved and guilt," being wrought with much art; the roof being made with battlements, pinnacles, pyramids and fine imagery; and upon this occasion, it was towed by another barge with thirty oars.

After the reception on deck, the Monarchs retired to the Cabin, where they remained in conference for some time, and then coming again upon deck together, went into the royal barge lying along side, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, and attended by the principal Lords of their several suites: the other noblemen and attendants went in the rest of the barges.

* Sky blue.

† A small flag, generally fringed, attached to a trumpet.

As soon as their Majesties and the Prince had entered the barge, they were saluted by all the ships of the Danish fleet, and the Blockhouses of Gravesend and Tilbury. The flotilla of barges then proceeded to Greenwich; and, as they arrived there when the tide was low, a platform was placed from the barge to the shore, and their Majesties landed at the stairs of the Old Palace.

Two months before the arrival of the King of Denmark, orders having been given to Phineas Pett, Master Builder at the Dock Yard at Chatham, to put all the ships of war at that station in complete order, ready for sea service, to be inspected by the King; on Saturday the 9th day of August, King James, his Queen, and the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his Danish Majesty, came down the Thames in barges, and landed at Northfleet, probably because the tide had turned against them before they could reach Gravesend; and carriages being in waiting, the royal party proceeded to Rochester, where the two Sovereigns, the Queen and Prince, lodged that night at the Bishop's palace.

On Sunday, after attending divine service in the Cathedral, they went in barges to view the royal fleet lying near Upnor Castle, and went on board the *Elizabeth Jonas*, which had been prepared for their reception. The ship *Bear*, (on board of which the Danish Lords and principal persons of the royal suite were entertained,) was anchored abreast of the *Elizabeth Jonas*, there being a bridge or platform of near two hundred feet in length, railed in, for communication from one to the other, and between them there was a hulk, fitted up as a kitchen for the occasion.

His Majesty entertained the King of Denmark on board the *Elizabeth Jonas*. The great chamber (cabin) being part of the upper deck abaft the mainmast, contained a long table for the Lord Chamberlain and the other Lords of the English court; there being on the same deck before the mainmast, another table for the Ladies. Between these, were stairs leading to a tent, lined with silk and cloth of gold, at the upper end of which, "under a rich cloth of estate," the two Kings, the Queen and Prince dined.

The repast being ended, the party landed at Upnor Castle, and proceeded in carriages about three quarters of a mile, and then

stopped upon the high ground near a windmill, to see the fleet, when a salute of 1008 guns was fired.

Monday, August the 11th, in the morning between seven and eight o'clock, the King of Denmark hastened to his ship at Gravesend,* to be ready to receive King James, who arrived about eleven o'clock, and the reception then took place, under a salute from the Danish fleet, and the forts at Gravesend and Tilbury.

This ceremony was followed by a banquet on board the King of Denmark's ship, and as it has been alleged,† that a practice of excessive indulgence at the festive board, was introduced among the English, at this visit of the Danes, the reader may be reminded of the account given by Stow, of the manners observed at table, upon this occasion. He says, that the princes were very royally feasted, and as they sat at banquet, greeting each other with kindness, and pledges of continuing amity, and heart's desire of lasting healths, it was straightway made known by sound of drum and trumpet, and the cannon's loudest voice, beginning ever first in the *Admiral* (the flag ship), seconded by the English blockhouses, then followed by the Vice-Admiral, and after her the other six Denmark ships, ending always at the smallest.‡

This round of toasts, followed by salvos of artillery, upon signals given by drum and trumpet, certainly betokens great hilarity, which does not, however, appear to have been "kept up" to an unreasonable hour; for at four o'clock, the banquet being ended, King James proposed to take his leave. This interfered with

* This seems to show that the Danish fleet remained at Gravesend, the whole of the time of the King's visit. "On the 22nd of July, Peter Sarasan was buried, out of one of the Denmark ships." *Parish Register*.

† "I came here a day or two before the Danish King came, and from the day he did come until this hour, I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousals and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's Paradise. * * * Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles; for those, whom I could never get to take good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights." Sir John Harrington's Letter to Mr. Secretary Barlow, from London, 1606. *Nugæ Antiquæ*. Parks' edit. 1804, vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Stow's *Annals*, *sub anno* 1606.

the arrangements that had been made for a grand display of fire-works, and James being urged because of the state of the tide, to depart for Greenwich without farther delay, the train was lighted, and "this nocturnal pastime of pleasant variable fire-works, lasted about half an hour, and only was disgraced by too much light, wanting Egypt's darkness to have made it bright."*

An "untoward event" arose out of these circumstances. The High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, being charged to remind the King when the time arrived that he should depart with the tide for Greenwich, and seeing him importuned to postpone his departure, had put his watch from two to four o'clock. The King of Denmark perceiving this artifice, held up two fingers, denoting two instead of four, in a manner which gave offence to the Lord Admiral, and what was of more consequence, it gave offence also to his Countess, who wrote an indignant letter upon the subject to the Swedish Ambassador. This raised a commotion at Court, the Queen on her knees urging the King to command that the Countess should be banished the Court, for her conduct to her Majesty's brother; but the affair ended with the assurance of the King of Denmark, that he had not thought, much less said, anything derogatory of the Countess of Nottingham, and desiring that the Lord Admiral and his wife might be informed of this his declaration.†

The Danish ships remained at Gravesend preparing for sea, and on Wednesday, the 13th of August, they got under weigh, but anchored for the night a short distance below Gravesend, taking their final departure from the Thames, on Thursday the 14th, attended by Sir Robert Mansell, with two English ships of war, the *Vanguard* and the *Moon*. Some idea may be formed of the magnificent entertainment given to the King of Denmark upon his visit, from the munificence of the gifts bestowed by the two monarchs, according to a prevailing practice; but upon this occasion, it should seem, extended to an extraordinary degree.

The King of England gave to his royal guest a sword and

* Stow's Annals.

† Copy of a letter from the King of Denmark, dated "*Ex navi mea, xiii^{jo} Augusti Anno Domini 1606.*" Sloane MS. 4149, art. 25. Brit. Mus.

hanger, valued at seventeen thousand pounds,—a cup of £5000; to the Danish counsellors, plate to the value of £2000,—to the gentlemen of the Danish court, chains of gold to the like value, and to the inferior attendants £1000 in money.

The King of Denmark gave to the officers of the English Court 30,000 dollars, viz., to the household beneath the stairs 15,000; to the officers above stairs, 10,000; and to the equerry and stables, 5000. To the officers of the King's and Queen's Bedchamber departments, he gave jewels of great value.

To the Queen, his Majesty presented his portrait (miniature) richly set in jewels—and to the Prince he gave a ship of war, of the estimated value of £25,000,—and a rapier and hanger valued at 20,000 marks.

Besides all which he bestowed liberal gifts upon the Navy,* &c.

EAST AND WEST INDIA SHIPPING AT GRAVESEND.

As the trading intercourse, with ships in the service of the East India Company, and with those employed in the trade with the West Indies, when lying at Gravesend previously to their final departure from the port of London, was always a principal resource of the inhabitants; some account of the origin of these great branches of the mercantile marine of England, is a necessary link in the chain of evidence upon the progress of the town, both in extent and population.

Before the Portuguese had opened the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497, the trade between the East and Europe was carried on, by the way of the Persian Gulph and the Mediterranean, in vessels of the southern states of Europe,† and those of England;‡ the Portuguese alone

* Letter from John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton, Knight, Cottonian MS. Julius c. iii. folio 34; from which many particulars in the foregoing account of this royal visit are obtained.

† Vide p. 101, *supra*.

‡ “In the years 1511 and 1512, and to the year 1534, divers tall ships of London, with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristol, had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripoli and Barrutti, in Syria.” Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 96. In the year 1513, King Henry VIII. appointed one Justiniano to be Master, Governor, Protector, or

having a direct trade with India, for a century after their discovery of the route round the southern point of Africa.

Some voyages had been made to the Indian seas, by private adventurers of England, during the reign of Elizabeth, but which were so unsuccessful as to discourage similar attempts, and the project of a Chartered Company was suggested. This being discussed in large public meetings held in London, was ultimately sanctioned by the Queen; who, on the last day of the sixteenth century, granted a Charter to George Earl of Cumberland, with two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, giving them, for the period of fifteen years, the exclusive liberty of trading to the East India Seas, with various privileges annexed, and a promise also, that the grant should be renewed for a like term, if the Company should be found advantageous to the Crown and realm.

Under this charter a capital was promptly raised, and the Company purchased four ships, the largest of them being of the burthen of six hundred tons; and these, with a small store ship, sailed for India on the 22nd day of April, 1601, under the command of Captain James Lancaster. According to the testimony of the writer,* from whom the foregoing brief notice is taken, this was the first commercial effort of Great Britain, beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

It would be no less improper, to pursue, in this place, the history of the East India Company as a trading establishment, farther than to notice the first ship that was built by the Company for their own service, which cannot be considered foreign to the design of this work; than it would be to enter upon an inquiry concerning the origin and progress of the acquisition of Anglo-Indian territory.

King James the First having granted to the Company, a new charter with enlarged privileges, and the voyage under Captain Lancaster having given encouragement to undertake another, a

Consul, of all merchants and other subjects of England, in the port and island of Scio, or Chios, in the Archipelago, with powers for governing them, &c. *Anderson's History of Commerce, sub anno.*

* History of the East India Company, &c. By Robert Grant, Esq. Svo. London, 1813.

ship of unusual magnitude was built by the Company for the purpose.

It was in the year 1609 that the Charter was granted; and, on the 30th of December in that year, a ship of the burthen of eleven hundred tons, and one of smaller dimensions, were launched at Deptford for the Company, in the presence of the King and the Prince of Wales.

Having viewed the great ship, they were entertained with a banquet in the cabin, their attendants being provided for, at a table on the half-deck, plenteously furnished with delicacies, served in fine china dishes; all which were freely, by permission, carried away by all persons.*

The King upon this important occasion bestowed a gold chain, with a jewel and his portrait, upon Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the Company; who, with the chief officers of the institution, was presented to his Majesty, and kissed hands.

The King gave the name of the *Trades Increase* to the ship, and he commanded the pinnace to be called the *Peppercorn*.

This account is corroborated by an eye witness of the ceremony, who adds, that the tide was so bad, that the great ship could not be launched out of the dock; and that the pinnace, which was built upon the wharf, was so ill struck upon the launching ways, that she could by no means be put off, which did somewhat discontent the King.†

Considering the great burthen of the *Trades Increase*, it is very probable that she did not remain at Deptford, but was brought to Gravesend to complete her lading, and that this was therefore the commencement of the resort of East India ships, which continued for two centuries to confer considerable benefits upon the inhabitants.

The ships employed in the trade with the West Indies, and the continent of America, must also be considered as affording an important source of the progressive increase and prosperity of Gravesend; but it would be impossible to mark, very distinctly, the origin of the resort of these ships to the anchorage before the town.

* Stow's Annals, *sub anno*.

† Life of Phineas Pett. Archæologia, vol. xii.

The conquests of Spain in the New World, and their occupation of Jamaica in the early part of the sixteenth century, were followed, after a long interval, by the enterprises of the English. Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and Raleigh had laid in Virginia the foundation of the Anglo-American settlements, before the close of that period, but the possession and cultivation of the West India islands, were of a later period. Barbadoes, emphatically styled the mother of the West India sugar islands, was visited by Sir John Courten about the year 1614, and it produced tobacco, ginger, and wool; but it was not until about the year 1641, that it was planted with the sugar cane from Brazil. Jamaica did not fall under the dominion of Great Britain, till 1656, nor was it until the year 1660, that Sir Thomas Modyford, who removed from Barbadoes where he had been extensively engaged as a planter, to Jamaica, commenced the cultivation of sugar in that island.

Although these events did not immediately produce an extensive resort of shipping at Gravesend, yet they denote the incipient stages of that extensive commerce, by which the inhabitants, in subsequent times, were supported and acquired opulence.

1611. By the care and diligence of Mr. Thomas Stanley, the Portreve of Gravesend, in the year 1611, a list was formed of the names of all the Freemen inhabiting the town; and as these only could trade within the Corporation, it affords the best information existing, of the extent of the trade carried on at that time. The list contains 181 names, with the dates of the admission of the parties to the freedom, and specifies their several vocations, of which the following is a summary.

1 Attorney.	1 Carrier.	9 Innholders (1 widow)
2 Bakers.	1 Cutler.	1 Joiner.
2 Barber—Surgeons.	4 Drapers.	1 Locksmith.
1 Brewer.	1 Drummer.	1 Maltman.
6 Butchers.	1 Farmer.	3 Mariners.
1 Carpenter.	2 Fiddlers.	6 Mercers.
1 Chalk—Wharfinger.	2 Gardeners.	1 Miller.
1 Coal Measurer.	1 Glazier.	2 Musicians.
2 Cobblers.	1 Glover.	1 Oatmealman.
2 Collar-makers.	13 Hackney-men.	4 Pedlars.
1 Cooper.	2 Hoymen.	1 Petty Chapman.
1 Cryer.	4 Husbandmen.	1 Sadler.

3 Searchers.	15 Victuallers.	1 Wharfinger.
1 Shipwright.	3 Vintners.	3 Widows (of Freemen)
3 Shoemakers.	1 Waggoner.	10 Without designations
2 Smiths.	46 Watermen (2 widows)	
7 Tailors.	3 Weavers.	

It will be observed that there is no Bricklayer mentioned in this list, an omission that may be accounted for, by the circumstance that there are ten freemen who are without designations, among whom, one or more of the trade may be included. The Farmer was the occupant of Parrock, for in the Roll of Freemen, it is entered that John Chyld of Parrock, Farmer, was admitted a freeman on the 10th of September, 1593.

The same indefatigable inhabitant who compiled this list, was again elected Portreve, in the year 1616; when he formed another, by adding seventy-two individuals who had been admitted as freemen in the interval. According to the latter, the Wharfinger, William Harborough, was a Lime-burner; which shows that the Lime works at the west end of the parish of Gravesend, had then been worked.

The number of Watermen included only such as were freemen, and not the whole of that body. According to a muster taken on the 2nd of February, 1628, of all the watermen of the Port of London and the Liberties thereof, by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty,* there were at that time 121 of them at Gravesend, who were eligible to serve in the navy.

The account of the presence of royal and noble personages in Gravesend, that has been introduced, may now be resumed.

1612, October 12. The Count Palatine of the Rhine coming to England, to espouse the Princess Elizabeth daughter of King James the First, landed at Gravesend, where he was waited upon by Lord Hay, to welcome him in the name of the King, and remained until the 14th of the month, when the Duke of Lennox and others of the King's household, came to conduct him to the court.† The issue of this marriage was the Princess Sophia,

* State Paper Office.

† Finetti Philoxenis, or some choice observations of Sir John Finett knight, on the reception of Ambassadors, &c. London, 1656, p. 1.

whose son King George the First obtained the Crown, by the Act for securing the succession in a Protestant line.

1614. The King of Denmark came to England upon a second visit, and landed at Yarmouth, whence his ships proceeded to the Thames, and remained at Gravesend until his departure.

On Monday, the 1st of August, his Majesty, with King James and Prince Henry, took barge at London early in the morning for Woolwich, where they viewed the ships of the royal navy, and then proceeded to Gravesend, where they dined at the "Ship" Inn,* and remained two hours. The King then took barge and returned to London, leaving Prince Henry with the King of Denmark. On the following day, his Majesty and the Prince went to Rochester to view the ships in the Medway, and returned to Gravesend, where they dined, and then went on board the Danish ship; after which the Prince took leave of his royal uncle, and on the 3rd of August, the Danish fleet, consisting of three ships departed.†

The relations of these visits, although they do not reveal any of the details, must be received as the records of occurrences having a powerful influence on the circumstances of the town.

The following is a copy‡ of an account of travelling expences by land, incurred by Sir Lewes Lewkenor, master of the ceremonies at Court, in his attendance upon foreign ambassadors at their arrival and departure, by the way of Gravesend, in the year 1610.

" For one coache with iiij horses the 12 th of Novem-	l.	s.	d.
ber to attend the Marques of Mallaspine to his			
first audience			xviij
" For chardges of my self, Company, and Servant, in			
acompanying the said Marques to Grauesend at			
hys return	iiij		

* The situation of the Ship Inn is pointed out by a description of premises given in the Roll of the Court Baron of the Manor of Parrock, as follows :—
 " Thomas Nairn Naish, [charged] for the back part of a messuage or tenement formerly called the Ship Inn, late of Thomas Parker, who devised the same, &c." These premises had been divided into two tenements, consisting now of Nos. 15 and 16, High Street, in the parish of Milton.

† Stow's Annals, *sub anno*.

‡ *Ex orig. penes me.*

" Being sent toward Dover on tuesdaye the vith of December, to meet Don Ferdinando de Gyron who landed at the Downes on Saterday the xth of December I brought hym to Canterburie the xjth and to London on the xiiijth of the same month ;

" For the chardges of my self my Company and Ser-
vants at xl^s a daye l. s. d.
xvj

" For a lighthorseman from Tower Wharf to Graues-
end, when I went downe vij

" For viij postehorses and a Guyde for my self, Com-
pany, and Servaunts from Grauesend to Dover
at two pens half penny a myle, iij stages and a
half iij xvij ix

" As much backwards iij xvij ix

Sente to meete the Forraine Ambassador the xvjth of December. I
mett with hym at Sittingborne the xvijth and brought hym to London
the xvijth of December.

" For the chardges of my self, company, and Ser-
vaunts at xl^s a day vj

" For viij postehorses and a guyde from Grauesend to
Sittingborne at the rate of ij^d halfpenny a myle xxxij ix

" As much backward xxxij ix

" For the hyre of ij coaches to Grauesend at his
return back, one of them having fower horses,
he refusing to goe with the Kings barges in
regard the weather was fowle, and the wynde
greate xxxij

" For the retorne of theise coaches the next daye xxxij

" Summa totalis xlii. xix^s.

" LEWES LEWKENER."

" R. Salisbury."* " T. Suffolke."†

It is not inconsistent with the proposed arrangement of an account of the presence of royal and noble personages at Grâvesend, to offer here the notice of an event, interesting to the cause of humanity.

1616. A Peace being concluded between the English settled in Virginia, and the Indian Chief, Powhatan, upon the marriage of his daughter Pocahontas with Mr. Rolfe an Englishman ; the married couple came to England, and the bride was received at Court as a Prince's daughter. The narrative of this visit, is con-

* Lord High Treasurer.

† Lord Chamberlain.

cluded with the following melancholy account of the result. "Every body paid this young lady all imaginable respect, and it was believed, she would have sufficiently acknowledged those favours, had she lived to return to her own country, by bringing the Indians to have a kinder disposition towards the English. But upon her return, she was unfortunately taken ill at Gravesend, and died in a few days, giving testimony, all the time she lay sick, of her being a very good Christian."*

The reader will be reminded by this circumstance, of the cases of Prince Lee Boo of the Pelew Islands, and of the Chief of the Sandwich Islands, whose deaths in England disappointed the hopes, that upon their return to their respective countries, they would have testified their grateful sense of similar attentions, by securing the hospitable reception and treatment, of British subjects resorting to their shores.

The two following occurrences are noticed, in proof that it was customary to receive foreign ambassadors at Gravesend, and for a specimen of the very troublesome etiquette observed upon such occasions; the authenticity of them being indisputable, as they are recorded by the official person, charged to conduct the proceedings.†

1617. An Ambassador extraordinary from the King of Sweden arrived at Gravesend, where he was attended by the Master of the Ceremonies to London. On his return the Ambassador was not conveyed to Gravesend in the King's barge, as was usual; upon which the Master of the Ceremonies, it appears, had expostulated with the Lord Chamberlain, "*the Custom having ever been for the Lord Chamberlain to command, and for Ambassadors (especially extraordinaries) to use, his Majesty's barges to and from Gravesend, as well at their coming, so at their parting.*"

The second case alluded to, descriptive of a breach of etiquette, occurred in the year 1620. The French Ambassador, the Marquess

* Smith's General History of Virginia, p. 119. History of Virginia, p. 26. Lediard's Naval History, p. 444.

† Finetti Philoxenis, p. 45.

de Cadenet, had arrived at Dover, and proceeded towards London. The Earl of Arundel and Lord Hunsdon, with several gentlemen of the royal household, in about twenty barges, were conveyed from London to Gravesend on the 28th of December, and visited the Ambassador at his lodgings the same evening. Upon this occasion, the Ambassador came no farther than to the head of the stairs at the door of his apartment, to meet the Earl of Arundel; at which his Lordship was so much displeased, that the next day he directed the Master of the Ceremonies to go to the Ambassador, and tell him, that as his train was great, and his lodging but small, he would not be troublesome to him there, but would meet him in the street, and accompany him to the barge in which he was to be conveyed to London, and so he did, says the historian of the event. On the way, "another cause of exception" arose, the French Minister at the Court of London, did not offer his hand to the Earl, a slight which was considered the more offensive, inasmuch as it occurred in the presence of the Ambassador Extraordinary.

To signify his dissatisfaction, Lord Arundel, upon reaching Denmark House, appointed for the reception of the Ambassador, accompanied him only to the foot of the stair ascending to the house, and then upon taking his leave, said there were gentlemen there, that should shew him his lodging. These circumstances, "bred much discourse," and being soon communicated to the King, he "stormed much at it," and Sir Thomas Edmunds, Comptroller, of the Household, was sent the next day "with some formalization" to the Ambassador, who excused himself to Lord Arundel, by pleading his indisposition in his journey, and at the time when Lord Arundel came to receive him; whereupon the difference was, for that time, accommodated.*

1623. When Prince Charles went upon his matrimonial speculation to Spain, accompanied by the Marquess of Buckingham, the first remarkable scene in their progress, occurred at Gravesend.

They departed on the 18th of February, from Newhall in Essex, the seat of the Marquess, disguised with beards, and taking the

* Finetti Philoxenis, pp. 67, 68.

names of Thomas and John Smith, attended only by Sir Richard Graham.

Passing over the river from Tilbury to Gravesend, not having silver, they gave the ferryman a gold piece, of the value of two and twenty shillings, which astonished the man; and he, suspecting that they were going beyond sea upon some quarrel, gave information of the circumstance to the officers at Gravesend, who immediately sent after them to Rochester to have them detained; but the Prince and his friend had already gone forward. The report, however, was hurried to Canterbury, and they were arrested there by the Mayor, as they were about to take horse for Dover; he alleging that he was authorized by a warrant from the Council, and then that he was required by Sir Lewes Lewkener, and the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, to detain them. The Marquess then removed the beard with which he had disguised himself, and stated that he was proceeding to take a secret view of the fleet of the narrow seas, being the Lord Admiral: upon which the giddy travellers were released.*

1625. Upon the accession of a gracious prince to the throne of his ancestors, a generous people will be ready to greet him with enthusiasm. Charles the First succeeded to the crown on the 25th of March, 1625; and the demonstrations of joy usual upon such events, were renewed upon the celebration of his early marriage with the princess Maria Henrietta, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France: so that the spring of that year was a season of extraordinary gaiety.

The royal bride being on her journey to England, his Majesty came to Gravesend by water, and proceeded by land to Canterbury to meet her.†

On Monday the 13th of June, a royal salute at Boulogne, announced the embarkation of the Queen, and at seven o'clock the same evening she landed at Dover.

On the following day, the King went from Canterbury to the Queen at Dover, and they removed together to the former city.

* Wilson's Life of James the First, p. 225. Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 212.

† See the account in Sir John Finett's Observations touching the reception of ambassadors, &c, p. 151.

“ On Wednesday the 15th, the King and Queen departed from Canterbury, and rode in the most triumphant manner that might be, to Cobham Hall, finding all the highways strewed with roses, and all manner of sweet flowers ; and here at Cobham Hall they lodged all that night, where there was all plentiful entertainment, and nothing wanting that might add any honour either to the King or kingdom.

“ On Thursday, the 16th of June, the King and Queen departed from Cobham Hall, all the ways prepared as hath been before shewed, and so in most glorious manner came to the city of Rochester,* where there was expectation of some stay : but the day being spent too far, they rode through the city, notwithstanding the Mayor, Magistrates, and Citizens of that city, gave the King and Queen a noble and most hearty welcome ; and the Recorder of the city made unto them a most learned and eloquent oration, for which their Majesties gave their royal thanks ; and so passing away from the city, a brave volley of shot and great ordnance was delivered from the ships lying in the river Medway.

“ From the city of Rochester, the King and Queen came to the town of Gravesend ; where, whether it was the ignorance of the Portreve, or the over-ruling power of weak (but imagined wise) counsel, or that the privilege of old rusty custom, or some other knot, which my weak brain is not able to untie, I know not ; but most assured it is, that neither the Portreve nor any of his brethren gave the King or Queen any entertainment or tender of service, until their Highnesses were come into the very midst, and as it were the very centre of their town, and there they made a tender of their service and obedience, which was received with all royal alacrity, both of the King and Queen ; and so they passed away in state, towards the Bridge, where the Barges of State attended their approach ; here they dismounted, and all the nobility attending on each side of the Bridge, with a world of ladies and gentlewomen. Here they took solemn leave of the King and Queen, and kissed the hands of both ; but such was the

* Probably because it was considered more gracious to confer this marked attention upon the city, than merely to have stopped on their journey, the preceding day.

excellent disposition of the Queen, and so royal and bountiful her grace and favour, that to every lady, that came to kiss her hand, she bowed herself down and kissed their cheeks.

“As soon as the King and Queen had entered into their Barge of Estate, and had a little put off from the shore, the Blockhouse, which standeth upon the Kentish shore, first let fly all her ordnance, and sent forth a peal, that the rocks and chalk cliffs resounded again: which was no sooner finished, but immediately the Blockhouse, which standeth on the Essex side, made answer with the like music and discharged all her ordnance. After the Blockhouses had thus discharged their ordnance, then, as the King and Queen passed along, the ships which lay at anchor on the way, discharged their volleys distinctly, one after another, inso-much that the volley was hardly found to cease for the passage of twelve or fifteen miles together.”*

Unfortunately for the posthumous fame of the worshipful Portreve and Corporation, the imputation of neglect rests upon their names, without the means of offering any defence, if defence valid and reasonable they had; but the relation may have its use, if it tends to induce a more punctual discharge of public duties, to avoid such an unenviable notice. It is however, but justice to add the following items, that appear in the general accounts of the Corporation for the same year.

“Paid two men for carrying the Towns’ Arms to Rochester	£	s.	d.
when the King came back with the Queen	.	.	0 12 7
“Paid for rushes† at his Majesty’s coming and returning			
when the Queen came	.	.	1 11 4
“Pd Mr. Portreve for money which he gave to His Majesty’s			
Officers, when the King’s and Queen’s Majesties came			
through Gravesend	.	.	3 9 10”

The imputed neglect, or feeble expression of loyalty, is the more extraordinary, as the knights and gentlemen of Kent, together with the trained bands, were by order of the council, required to attend and receive the Queen as she passed, in such solemn

* A true discourse of all the Royal Passages, &c., observed on the marriage of King Charles I. &c. 4to. London, 1625.

† Probably to strew upon the landing place, as the King and Queen passed to the state barge, lying at the bridge.

manner, as beseemed the dignity of her Majesty, and the quality of her person; and the magistrates of cities and towns were commanded to attend at her passage, in such formalities, as were used in principal and extraordinary solemnities.*

ASSIZE OF BREAD AND BEER.

1619. On the 24th of December, Stephen Cooke, Portreve; taking to his assistance, William Edgett and Robert Blith, two of the Common Council, fixed the assize of Bread and Beer as follows:—

The assize the Bakers are to keep.	{	The halfpenny white loaf must be of the weight of	5oz.
		The penny white loaf	10oz.
		The halfpenny wheaten loaf	7oz. 3qs.
		The penny wheaten loaf	15oz. & di.
		The penny household loaf	21oz.
The rate of the Beer.	{	That the Brewers shall sell their strong Beer at	viii ^s . the barrel.
		and so after that rate.	
		And the barrel of small Beer	iiii ^s . and so after that rate.

THE FORTS OF GRAVESEND AND MILTON.

These establishments were surveyed in the year 1623,† and again in 1630:‡ but the returns on the latter occasion appear to have been unsatisfactory, for in the next following year, another survey was made, by order of the Board of Ordnance, dated the 10th of June, 1631,§ directed to Captain John Mason; whose report contains a full specification of the repairs required, with a reduced estimate, an inventory of artillery and stores in the forts, and an account of the establishment of officers and men.

Those reports are too voluminous to be inserted here, but the following extracts from the latest of them, will be found to contain a curious representation of the Forts at that time.

GRAVESEND FORT.

Captain William Smith, gent. by Patent under the Broad Seal, dated

* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 170.

* Harleian MS. 1326.

† State Paper Office.

‡ State Paper Office, Local History, vol. vi. folio 209.

the 15th year of King James. The said Captain is resident, and attending upon the place, at 17^d. ob, per diem, making £26. 1s. 8d. per annum.

The Reversioner is one Thomas Lord, servant to Sir Robert Nanton.

1 Master-Gunner, at 12 ^d per diem.	} These are established by Privy Seal; renewed by his Majesty Cha. I. for the sum of £79. 1s. 8d. per annum, payable quarterly.
4 Inferior Gunners, handy-craftsmen and little experienced in Gunnery, at 8 ^d per diem each.	
1 Porter at 8 ^d per diem.	

The total of the pay abovesaid is £105. 3^s. 4^d. per annum.

The particulars of arrears of pay due at Midsummer, 1631.

To Captain Smith, for five years and a half, £143. 9^s. 2^d.

To Thomas Trewman, Thomas Palmer, and Thomas Knight, who succeedeth the two former, as Porter, for 6 years ;—To Miles Burley, gunner of the *Dreadnought*, and to John Sayer, mariner, who succeedeth him as Master-Gunner, for 6 years ;—To the executors of Francis Womble, and to George Philpot, now attending, a gunner, for 6 years ;—To Thomas Collett, gunner, and to Walter Hill, wheelwright, who succeedeth him, for 6 years ;—To Robert Jenner, bricklayer, another gunner, for 6 years ;—To William Morris, locksmith, another gunner, now at the West Indies, and to his brother Ralph Morris, who supplieth his place, for 6 years. Total arrears £617. 19s. 2d.

Ordnance.

Brass. Demy Culverings 2, whereof but one is mounted,—Sakers 2.

Iron. Culverings 1,—Demy Culverings 6,—Sakers 4,—Mynions 1, not mounted.

The wheels and carriages of all, in good order.

Reparations.

The two platforms on the east and west [of the Bulwark ?] to be timbered and planked 300 feet in length, and 20 feet in breadth, for the standing and reverse of the ordnance. The whole wharf, being 20 rods in length, to be new set ; and all along the foot of the wharf, a new small footbank to be made of piles,* and two planks high, to be filled up. A palisado upon the high bank, behind the east platform 10 rods in length, and a port at every 10 feet, with rails the height of the posts, and a little postern door at the coming down of the stairs, and a gate for a cart to come in, at the lower end of the palisado. A parapet of earth 6 feet high, and 8 feet thick at the foot and 6 feet above, to be turfed inside, and outside, and bound with rice,† and ports‡ for the great

* There are dwarf piles now standing at the foot of the brick wall, on the east side of the old bulwark.

† Fagots or brushwood.

‡ Embrasures.

ordnance to look through it. A storehouse, in the room of the old stable, 30 feet long and 15 feet broad. A watch-house with a chimney, to serve also for a court of guard, over the stairs that go up to the platform of the bulwark, and a new door with a frame of timber to hang the watch bell ; the room to be 10 feet square. A new gate at the west end of the platform, and a porter's lodge. A new platform within the bulwark, to be paved with stone, and a water passage out of the floor into the river. Six new ports to be framed of timber, and hanged with cross-garnets, (*hinges*) to open and shut. Four posts to support the beams of the roof. Another platform above the leads, for three small pieces of ordnance. A pair of stocks to stand by the porter's lodge, upon the lower platform, by the outer gate. Coping and pointing walls and mending the bulwark leads, &c. Total estimate £522. 6^s. 8^d.

TILBURY FORT.

Captain Carew Saunders, a Hambrough merchant, now resident. He was joined in a patent with Sir Alexander Temple, deceased, two years since, and by virtue thereof, succeeded in the command, at 2^s per diem making £36. 10^s per annum.

1 Master-Gunner, at 12 ^d per diem.	} Established by the same Privy Seal that Gravesend Fort is, for the like sum of £79. 1 ^s . 8 ^d . per annum. But their whole pay is £115. 11 ^s . 8 ^d . which exceedeth the other, because the Captain hath 6 ^d . ob. per diem more than the other.
4 Inferior Gunners, seldom attending, and very unskilful, at 8 ^d per diem each.	
1 Porter at 8 ^d per diem.	

The total of the pay abovesaid is £115. 11^s. 8^d. per annum.

The particulars of arrears of pay, due at Midsummer, 1631.

To the executors of the said Sir Alexander Temple, late Captain deceased, for seven years and a half, £273. 15^s.

To Carew Saunders, now Captain, for one year and a half, £54. 15^s.

To William Sturt, Master-Gunner, now attending, for 7 years ;—To William Silkworth, husbandman, gunner, for 7 years ;—To the executors of William Seoles late a gunner, deceased, and to William Sandford, carpenter, who succeedeth him, for 7 years ;—To the executors of Henry Mawes, late a gunner, deceased, and to Captain Hills, who succeedeth him, and is now at sea, for 7 years ;—To Richard Aleberry, waterman, a gunner, for 7 years ;—To George Philpot, porter, for 7 years. Total arrears £882. 1^s. 8^d.

Ordnance.

Brass.—Demy culvering 1,—Fawcon 1, unmounted.

Iron.—Culverings 3,—Demy Culverings 5, and 2 broken,—Mynion 1,—Sakers 5, two unmounted.

Twelve pairs of wheels, and eight carriages, must be supplied to the Fort.

No man lodgeth within this Fort, but the Master-Gunner, who keepeth a victualling house for fisher boats, in a house near adjoining. A disparagement to His Ma^{ty}s service.

They should watch by their own orders in either Fort, one man 24 hours together. And upon any command that comes to them to make stay of any ship, by order of the Board, watch three at a time.

Reparations.

The wharf, which is 340 feet long, to be piled with 20 piles, as the wharf of Milton (*Gravesend*) Fort. A foot-bank to be made all along the wharf, 2 planks high, to be filled up with marsh earth and piled. A platform at the east and west ends of the wharf to be planked. The parapet to be 16 rods in length, upon the front of the wharf, and 2 rods return at each end, for flanking the river eastward and westward, and at the length of every rod, one port hole.* A palisado of 6 feet high, above the top of the two returned parapets. The gate and draw-bridge, to be removed from the north to the west end, to be made all new, 39 feet long, and 10 feet broad, to draw up at night. The moat to be deepened 6 feet, to be made 2 rods wide ; the earth which comes out, will raise the wall to a sufficient height to shadow and defend the gunners on the platform. The wall to be turfed to the top on the moat side, and to be wrought scarfing 4 inches at every foot high, with a counterscarfe on the other side to the landwards, to be turfed. The ground within the Bulwark to be raised 2 feet, and a gutter to be made, to carry away the water into the Thames, and the floor containing 1296 feet to be paved with stone. The old stable to be repaired, for a storehouse. A stone traverse to be made, to keep the water within the moat, at the east end thereof. A sluice to be made at the west end of the wharf, to let the water into the moat, and to keep it in. A platform upon the round Tower, to be laid down upon the leads, for three pieces of ordnance, with two great posts to be set up, under the roof of the leads, to support the same. The watch-house and powder-house upon the same leads to be repaired. The Master-Gunner's house to be removed 60 feet to the westward, close to the drawbridge upon the plain of the fortification : much of the materials will do again. The court yard before the house to be raised, and paved with free stone, and a channel made, to carry the water into the moat. The leads, joists and planks of the round Bulwark ; the several windows ; and the walls and battlements about the houses ; to be repaired, coped, and pointed. Total estimate £681. 7s. 4d.

The soldiers complain of damps and ill vapours ascending from within the Fort. And likewise for want of fresh water, having none but what they fetch from Gravesend : but this latter may be remedied by cutting a trench down the hill, from whence there may be abundance of spring

* Embrasure.

water brought to the moat, and to run with a great waste into the river Thames for sixty pounds.

(Signed)

JOHN MASON.

10th June, 1631.

Appended to the foregoing report, is a paper* containing such observations of the Surveyor, as would naturally be elicited by the negligence and abuses which he had detected. The appointment of unqualified persons ; the system of granting appointments for life, and in reversion ; the employment of substitutes, apparently at the pleasure of the principals ; the want of an efficient check ; and the negligence or necessities at head quarters, by which arrears of pay for seven years had accumulated ; would justify all, and more than all, that Captain Mason has offered concerning these Forts. Notwithstanding the repeated surveys that have been noticed, it appears that one of them, at least, was abandoned to decay.

The following is a description of that of Tilbury, by Captain John Talbot who commanded there, in a petition to the King.

“This Fort hath formerly been encompassed with a fair fortification, as rampart, parapet, moat and counterscarf, and without all this, a large entrenchment for the better security of the same ; all which, for want of timely reparations, are now demolished, filled up, and made even with the common adjoining, and the beasts and cattle of the said common do frequently come into the fortifications, and do exceedingly annoy the same. Moreover there is a ferry-house and a ferry kept within the Fort, by the lord of the soil to his own benefit, through which passengers with their cattle and commodities (as through a common road and highway) do pass from Essex into Kent ; by which means the Fort not only lies open day and night to beasts and cattle, but the ordnance are liable to the wrongs of ill-disposed people, were it not, that by the great care and vigilance of the petitioner, and the five gunners, (which are all that appertain to the said Fort,) they have hitherto been safe guarded from injurious hands.”†

Captain Talbot was removed from the Fort, by an order of the Parliament, dated the 30th of August, 1642 ; it was therefore between that period, and the time of the last survey, which was in

* “Observations touching his Majesty’s Forts of Gravesend and Tilbury, by Capt. John Mason, which may also be applied to other of his Majesty’s Forts.”

† From the original in the State Paper Office.

1631, when Captain Carew Saunders was the commandant, that the Fort was in the state described in the petition.

SHIP MONEY.

The history of this celebrated impost is familiar to the reader: therefore, it is not intended to reiterate facts that have already been too often told, but to give a brief relation of the practical means pursued for the collection of that tax.

1634. The ostensible purpose for which Ship Money was exacted, was to guard the narrow seas, which at that time were infested with pirates.

Writs were directed, among others, to the Sheriffs of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey and Essex, and to the Bailiffs of Westminster and St. Katharine's, to raise the money in their several jurisdictions, in such proportions as should be agreed upon.

The next step that was taken, is seen in the following copy of an assessment, preserved among the muniments of the Corporation of Gravesend.

A. D. 1634.

<p>"Kent, Gravesend and Milton."</p>	}	<p>"An assessment made the 9th day of December, at the Town Hall of the Incorporation of Gravesend and Milton, by the Assessors whose names are hereunder written; nominated, elected and chosen at Guild Hall, London, by the Lord Maior, the Bayliff of Westminster, the Bayliff of St. Katherine's, the Portreve of Gravesend and Milton, the High Sheriff of Middlesex, the High Sheriff of Surry, the High Sheriff of Kent, the High Sheriff of Essex; by virtue of His Majesty's warrant to them severally and jointly directed; and also by virtue of letters from the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, for their cheerful and speedy proceeding in setting forth one shipp of warr of the burthen of 500 tons, with 200 men, victual and all other furniture, to be at Portsmouth upon the first day of March next coming."</p>
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The particulars of the rate under this heading, are not given here, because there is no assessment upon the parish of Milton of the same date, preserved; but a simultaneous assessment of the two parishes, in a subsequent year, will hereinafter be noticed.

1635. In this year, the sum of forty pounds, for Ship Money, was contributed by Gravesend, as it appears by the following copy of the original receipt for the payment of that sum.

" This indenture tripartite,* made the third day of November, A.D. 1635, [&c.] witnesseth that John Stacey, Mayor of Gravesend and Milton, hath paid unto the Treasurer of His Majesty's navy, the sum of Forty pounds of good and lawful money of England, in part of the sum of eight thousand pounds charged upon the town of Gravesend and Milton, and other towns and places in Kent, and collected by the said John Stacey, by virtue of His Majesty's writ, bearing date the 12th day of August last past, for and towards the preparing, fitting, furnishing, and setting forth to sea in a warlike manner, one ship of the burthen of 800 tons, intended by his Majesty to be set forth this next year, for safeguard of the seas, and defence of the realme. Of which said sum of forty pounds, the said Treasurer doth acknowledge the receipt, and thereof doth exonerate and discharge the said Mayor and town of Gravesend and Milton by these presents, as he the said Treasurer is warranted by his Majesty's commission under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the sixteenth day of November, last past. In witness whereof, the said Treasurer of His Majesty's navy hath hereunto put his hand and seal, the day and year above written."

" WM. RUSSELL."

" Sealed and delivered in the
presence of

" THOMAS THAMES."

" JOHN GOOLD."

The following was the apportionment of the contribution of the towns in the county of Kent.*

" Corporate Towns."

" 1636. Kent, and Cinque-Ports in Kent, one ship of 800 tonns, 320 men, charge £8000.

City of Canterbury, besides the Church and members thereof,	£300
Town and Port of Dover and members thereof,	330
Port and Town of Sandwich, and members thereof,	250
Town and Port of Hythe,	40
Town and Port of New Romney, and members,	180
Oswalston and Tenterden,	90
Borough of Queenborough,	10
Town and Parish of Maidstone,	160
Cranbrooke,	200
Town of Gravesend, together with Milton,	40
City of Rochester,	80

* The parties being the King, John Stacey, Mayor of Gravesend, and Sir William Russell, Knt., Bart., Treasurer of the Navy.

† Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 338.

It appears by the following copy of the heading of an assessment roll, that ship money was levied prospectively.

“ An assessment made of the parishioners of Gravesend, the 21st day of November, 1636, by us whose names are hereunder written, for and towards the setting forth of one ship of war of the burthen of 300 tons, for his Majesty's service, to be set forth betwixt this and the 1st day of March next ensuing, as by his Majesty's writ, and letters of direction from the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, more at large appeareth.”

In this assessment 125 persons are charged in various sums, from 75s. to 4d. each, amounting in the whole to £23. 13s. The rate is signed by William Vernon, then Mayor, and five other members of the Corporation, with Walter Skeath and John Watkings, the collectors.

There is an assessment of the same date and tenor, for the parish of Milton, signed also by the Mayor, and the other members of the Corporation, who signed the Gravesend rate; but Robert Lee and John Francis, sign as collectors for Milton. The amount of the several charges in this assessment are made upon 75 persons, and vary from 40s. to 4d. each, the aggregate sum being £19. 12s.

As the assessments are so low, in some cases, as fourpence, it must be presumed, that every householder was charged, and, therefore, that there were about 200 houses in the town at that time.

As a feather thrown up, shows how the wind blows; and “ trifles light as air,” indicate matters of weighty import; so the following incidents are manifestations of the state of public opinion, at the time when they occurred, respecting the liberty of the person.

1633. According to a minute of their proceedings, on the 20th of February, in this year, the Corporation of Gravesend, unanimously ordered, that John Sarrier, an inhabitant, should be committed to the prison of the said Corporation, there to remain for twenty-four hours, and so long afterwards as the fine of forty

shillings imposed upon him, for having spoken and published divers unmannerly and contemptuous words of William Deeston, gentleman, Portreve of the town, should remain unpaid. Another case is recorded, two years afterward.

1635. On the 11th of November, Nathaniel Musgrove, one of the members of the Corporation, was committed to prison, by John Stacey, Esq., the Mayor, upon the complaint of the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, "for divers unmannerly, slighting and affronting words, used towards the said Earl in the said town;" and, after one night's imprisonment, and admonition, he was enlarged, upon the condition that, if called upon, he would enter into recognizance with sureties, to appear at the next general Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County, then and there to answer for the said misdemeanour.

As the sayings and doings in the "Parliament House" were not then, as at present, scattered far and wide upon the wings of the press, Mr. Nathaniel Musgrove probably was not aware of a transaction, in which his noble accuser had been previously a party sinning in like sort.

On Monday, the 14th of April, 1628, Sir John Strangeways, a member, being called upon in the House of Commons, declared that on the preceding Saturday, the Earl of Suffolk had said that Mr. Selden, who was also a member, deserved to be hanged for rasing a record, "with some other speeches to the like purpose." Not a moment was to be lost, so the House *presently* sent Sir Robert Phillips to the House of Lords, to make a formal complaint against the Earl, who, being there, openly protested upon his honour, that he had used no such words to Sir John Strangeways. On the following morning, at seven o'clock, a committee assembled to prosecute the charge, when Sir John reiterated his assertion against the denial of the Earl, and declared himself ready to make good the charge, by any course that the House should think fit for a member, or a man of honour to take. On the Thursday following, the relation was confirmed by Sir Charles Neville, and thereupon Sir John Elcott was sent with a message to the Lords against the Earl, and they on the same day, resolved

to take the matter into consideration, and to give the Commons an answer in convenient time.* But nothing farther appears upon the subject.

There was another case, in which the same noble Earl was engaged, much nearer to the time of his complaint against the unhappy Mr. Musgrove. Sir. B. Grenville, in conference with one Taylor, had said in the presence of two or three other persons, that the Earl was a base Lord, and had dealt basely with him, and that he would make him repent it. For this Grenville was cited before the Court of Star Chamber, when he was fined £4000, and committed to the Fleet prison, there to remain during his Majesty's pleasure.†

The proceedings at Gravesend, against Sarrier and Musgrove, were under the authority of a local ordinance, which it seems, was not repugnant to the laws of the realm, as they were at that time *administered*.

Pym having, in the House of Commons, recapitulated a series of grievances and miscarriages that had been in the state, it was observed by Mr. Hyde, that he omitted one grievance, which he thought more heavy than many others, which was the Earl Marshal's court newly erected, without colour or shadow of law, which took upon it to fine and imprison the King's subjects, and to give great damages for matters which the law gave no damages for; and he illustrated his argument by the following case. A waterman, who had demanded more than his proper fare of a citizen, pressed his demand by pointing to a badge upon his coat, showing that he was under the patronage of an Earl, upon which the citizen bade him to be gone with his goose; but the crest of the Earl was in truth a swan: whereupon the citizen was called before the Marshal's court, and was fined and imprisoned till he paid considerable damages, by which he was reduced to beggary.‡

* Journals of the Commons.

† Star Chamber. Hill. Term, 7 Cha. I. The Attorney General, versus — Grenville, Bart. Rushworth, vol. iii. appendix, p. 43.

‡ Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, 8vo. Oxford, 1759, vol. i. p. 72. Hume's History of England, 8vo. edit. 1797, vol. vi. p. 204.

THE GRAVESEND BARGE AND TILTBOAT.

Upon a review of the circumstances of the Long Ferry, from the year 1595, to which the account, already given of it, reaches ; it will be seen that, after a struggle, the ancient Barge gave way to the modern Tiltboat.

The owners of the latter class of boats, maintained an energetic competition with the barge owners, who claimed exclusive rights ; and the Corporation declined to take upon themselves the whole burthen of defending them, and ordered, on the 30th of October, 1606, that the four owners of each Barge, should prosecute parties intruding on the Ferry, and bear an equal portion of the charges of all suits upon that question.

In 1612, an action was brought in the name of the Corporation, against one Edmunds a waterman, to try the question of right, when a verdict was given in favour of their exclusive claim to the Long Ferry ; but, upon argument before the Judges, the verdict was reversed.* This does not appear to have been effectual, for in the year 1616, some stringent bye-laws for suppressing irregular plying for passengers were framed, and confirmed by the Judges of Assize. Neither did this set the matter at rest, for in the year 1623, the Corporation appealed for support, against the practices of the watermen at Gravesend, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen,† who thereupon submitted an application to the Privy Council ; and result of this interposition was, another code of bye-laws for the regulation and protection of the Long Ferry, under their sanction.‡

The Corporation soon afterwards took the management of the Ferry into its own hands, as appears by the following record :—

“ This 18th day of February, the Portreve, Jurats and Inhabitants, did take the Ferry into their own possession, and the masters of the Tiltboats are, from the 18th of the month of March, to pay sixteenpence the tide, to the Corporation, according to ancient orders.

“ THOMAS BLEAKE, HENRY BAILIE,

“ ROBERT HARRIS, masters assented hereunto.”

* Easter Term, 1612, Common Pleas.

† The original letter, signed by the Lord Mayor (Proby) and fifteen Aldermen, is preserved in the State paper office. *Local History*, vol. xiii. p. 33.

‡ Council Registers. James I., vol. vi. p. 24. Ibid, p. 249.

This seems to have been effected by a compromise, the owners of the Barges relinquishing their claims to interfere with the management of the Ferry, leaving it entirely to the Corporation ; and the masters of the Tiltboats, their former competitors, were now received as parties in the establishment, upon the payment of an annual rent ; and thus a new system was introduced.

The Corporation went vigorously to work, and levied an assessment upon the inhabitants, for a new Barge for the use of the towns, according, (as it was said in the heading of the rate,) to an order made on the 25th day of April, 1628. The amount of the assessment, on the parishioners of Gravesend, was £18. 2s. 8d. ; and on those of Milton, £13. 13s.

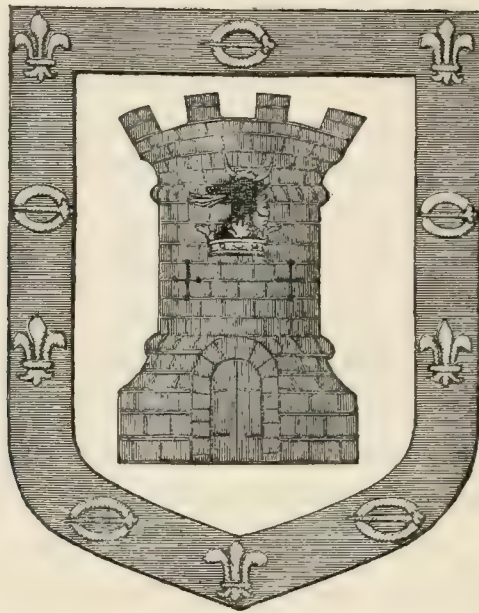
1636. April the 9th, complaint was made to the Mayor, against John Brafferton, one of the masters of the five Tiltboats, for being drunk upon the passage to London, there being between forty and fifty passengers on board ; when “ without any extremity of weather,” the boat was run ashore, and the passengers, to save themselves, run out of the said boat, to the middle in dirt and water : for which offence he was fined five pounds. This record gives the information, that at that time, there were five Tiltboats regularly employed in the Ferry ; and that upon the occasion referred to, between forty and fifty passengers were conveyed in a tide. The names of the Masters, collected from the account of payments received from them severally, were Thomas Bleake, Henry Bayley, Robert Harris, Robert Loveday, and John Brafferton.

1639. On the 25th of February in this year, it was ordered, that a new Barge should be built, for the transportation of his Majesty’s people from Gravesend to London. This was probably the last that was provided for the Long Ferry, for after that time, only few and trifling notices of a Barge are to be found.

A distinct account was kept of the receipts and expenditure of the Barge, from the time when the Corporation assumed the management, until the year 1641-2 ; and those for the year 1640-1 present a very unfavourable view of the circumstances of the Barge, for the receipts amounted to £30. 10s. 4d., and the expenditure to £39. 17s. 11d. In a portion of the following

official year, namely, from November 1641 to June 1642, the receipts amounted to £7. 2s. 6d. and the payments to £10. 10s. These accounts relate to the Barge only : but there are entries, by which it appears, that the five Tiltboat Masters had for several years paid an annual rent of six pounds each to the Corporation.

When the Tiltboats had superseded the Barge, the same encroachments that had formerly been made upon the Ferry, were persisted in by the general body of Watermen ; at the expence of appeals from time to time, to the Courts of Law, and to Parliament, during the seventeenth century.



THE THIRD CHARTER OF INCORPORATION.

This was granted by King Charles I. in his seventh year, being dated 13th March, A. D. 1632, but it was not brought into operation until three years afterwards. Steps were taken to obtain it so early as 1627, for there is a charge in the accounts of that year “ for money spent at London about the Charter ;” but the proceedings were so much protracted, that, pending them, one* of the members nominated in the charter itself, died before the date it bears, and another,† before it was acted upon ; neither

* “ 1631, June 16, Christopher Heath, gentleman, buried.”—*Gravesend Register*.

† “ 1633, April 17, Mr. Benjamin Finch, buried.”—*Ibid*.

did Thomas Young, although nominated the first Mayor, take that office when the Corporation was actually re-modelled under it.

On the 23rd of June, 1635, the long looked-for charter was obtained, and on the 25th day of the same month, Thomas Baldock, who then held the office of Portreve, under the charter of Queen Elizabeth, was elected to serve, with the designation of Mayor, until the Monday next after the feast of St. Michael then next ensuing, which was the day appointed by both charters, for the annual election of the chief magistrate, and other corporate officers, who held only for a year.

As this charter has been published,* and certain of the provisions it contains have become obsolete by desuetude, or annulled by statutes of a later date, it is unnecessary to offer more than the preamble, which contains some historical information; and an epitome of the contents of the grant.

“ Whereas our ancient towns of Gravesend and Milton, in our county of Kent, lying upon our river of Thames, and situate upon our highway and common passage between our city of London and our cities of Rochester and Canterbury, and our most famous haven of Dover, are, by the daily confluence of people thither, of late filled with inhabitants, and in manufactures and trades more abundant than in times past they were. And whereas it often happens among so many travellers daily passing through the aforesaid towns, that, by reason of many enormities, riots, routs, and the violation of public peace, many of our quiet subjects have suffered injury and hardship; and also some persons, ill-affected to our commonwealth, are frequently concealed in ships and boats lying at anchor upon the river aforesaid, near the same towns, and are unlawfully conveyed into parts beyond sea, and thence are brought into our dominions; all which things chiefly happen, because the Portreve, Jurats and Inhabitants of the towns and parishes aforesaid, although heretofore by the most excellent Lady Elizabeth, late Queen of England, by her letters patent, bearing date at East Greenwich, on the 5th day of June, in the tenth year of her reign, incorporated by the same name, and

* See the copy of a translation, printed in Pocock's History of Gravesend, pp. 183—212.

reduced into a body politic, yet have no lawful power or authority to suppress and resist such enormities and disturbance of the peace."

For remedy of these evils, the Crown having been petitioned for a new incorporation, with an augmentation and addition of liberties, franchises and immunities; the Charter proceeds to provide for the better keeping of the peace, and for the rule and government of the said towns and parishes, with respect, not only to the inhabitants, but to strangers resorting thither; and ordains,—“that the said towns of Gravesend and Milton, as well by water as by land, be, shall be, and do remain henceforth for ever, free towns and parishes of themselves, and that the PORTREVE, Jurats and Inhabitants [thereof], and their successors, be, and shall be, one body corporate and politic, both in deed and name, by the name of the MAYOR, Jurats and Inhabitants of the towns and parishes of Gravesend and Milton in the county of Kent.

The Charter then declares that the corporate body shall have power to hold and devise lands and tenements,—to sue and be sued,—and to have a common seal;—that there shall one of the said inhabitants be chosen and called the MAYOR of the towns and parishes aforesaid; twelve of the said inhabitants chosen and called JURATS of the same; and twenty-four of the said inhabitants chosen and called CAPITAL INHABITANTS of the same towns and parishes;—that the body corporate, with the Subseneschal, or Understeward, may, from time to time, meet together and make, or ordain reasonable laws and ordinances, in writing;—and in writing assess and impose upon themselves and the other inhabitants reasonable sums of money, for the better support of the charges and costs expended in any suit or suits concerning the Corporation;—and also to make and ordain laws for the good government and utility of the said towns and parishes, by land and by water, and of the officers, ministers, artificers, inhabitants and residents, and others coming and sojourning there;—and to assess and impose penalties, by imprisonment, fines, and amercements, upon all transgressors; provided such laws and ordinances are not repugnant to the laws of England.

The Charter then constitutes the corporate body as follows :—

MAYOR.

Thomas Young.

JURATS.

William Blackmore,	Henry Tucker,	Thomas Woodcott,
William Vernon,	John Godden,	William Davis,
Benjamin Finch,	Richard Blyth,	Nicholas Barker,
Peter Miller,	Christopher Heath,	William Edgett.

CAPITAL INHABITANTS.

Nicholas Richardson,	George Allison	Richard Fisher,
Henry Larryman,	Thomas Cossett,	Robert Lee,
John Stacy,	Robert Finch,	Edward Tench,
George Terrick,	George Clark,	John Plumley,
Thomas Baldock,	Henry James,	Henry Towers,
William Deeston,	Edward Browning,	Jacob Morris,
William Peniston,	Thomas Skilthorne,	Michael Furler,
William Parson,	Aquilam Guy,	Edward Bridge.

The four next clauses prescribe the manner of the election of the Mayor, and other officers, annually, and of filling up vacancies occasioned by death, removal, or resignation.

Instead of one weekly market on Wednesday, as antecedently, the Charter authorizes two weekly markets to be holden, one on Monday, the other on Thursday ;—a fair to be holden annually, on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and on the three next following days ;—the Mayor for the time being to be Clerk of the Market. It also provides, that the inhabitants shall be admitted into the class of freemen upon certain conditions ;—and for one honourable person to be chosen as Capital Seneschal, also one other person skilful in the laws of the kingdom, to be Sub-seneschal. James, Duke of Lennox, Earl of March and Darnley, to be the first Capital Seneschal, or High Steward ; and he, his heirs and assigns, from time to time, to hold and exercise the said office for ever.

Richard Parker of the Middle Temple, Esq., to be the first Sub-seneschal or Under-Steward, with provision for appointing successors to the office ; the Sub-seneschal to be resident, but the Mayor and Corporation to have authority to dispense with his residence ;—a Coroner to be appointed yearly by the Corporation.

A Court of Record to be holden before the Mayor or his deputy, and three or more of the Jurats, every three weeks, upon Tuesday, for ever, to hear and determine all manner of actions, debts, &c. to any amount.

Two Serjeants at Mace to be appointed ; to have a prison or gaol within the town, and a keeper thereof.

The Mayor, one Jurat, and the Sub-seneschal, to be sworn Justices in and for the towns and parishes aforesaid ; a person, skilful in the laws of the land, to be appointed by the Mayor and Corporation to be the Town Clerk.

For the better maintenance of a certain bridge called “ Gravesend and Milton Bridge,” the Mayor, Jurats, and inhabitants, annually to pay the sum of £6. 13s. 4d. to the Duke of Lennox aforesaid, his heirs, and successors.*

Magistrates, in the commission of the peace, being strangers, not to be excluded from exercising the duties of a Justice of the Peace within the town. Members of the Corporation to be exempt from serving on juries out of the town.

The rights, &c. of the Long Ferry, or water passage upon the river Thames, between London and Gravesend, according to preceding grants, confirmed to the Corporation ; to be holden *in capite*, not by knight's service, but freely in common soccage, paying to the Crown yearly, the sum of six shillings and eightpence.

The Mayor or his deputy, the Seneschal, Sub-seneschal, Jurats, and capital inhabitants, from time to time, to make and ordain laws and regulations for the good government of the said Long Ferry or water-passage, with authority to impose fines, &c. for offences committed against the said laws.

All former franchises, customs, rights, and privileges confirmed ; the rights of the Admiralty, of the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city of London, and of the Lord or Lords of the Manors of Gravesend and Milton respectively, being reserved.

* The possessions of Lord Cobham having become forfeited to the Crown upon his attainder in 1603, and vested in the Crown by an Act of Parliament (private) of the 3rd James I. chap. 6 ; the manor of Gravesend (of which the bridge or causeway was an appurtenance) with certain lands within the manor, was granted by the King to the Duke of Lennox.—Pat. 10 Jac. I. part. 7, m. 4.



The designs of the arms and seal of the Corporation, are explained by the following copy of the grant from the Herald's College, by which they were authorized to use them.

"Whereas the Corporation of Gravesend and Milton, in Kent, being desirous to beare in the seale and ensignes of their sayd Corporation, some similitude of the Duke of Lenox his armes and badges, by way of respect and grateful acknowledgiment of many great favours done for them by his Grace, and the sayd Duke hath bynne pleased to declare unto me his Grace's willing assent unto their desires : I thereupon have assigned unto their sayd Corporation, the armes above depicted for them to beare, and use as other Corporations doe.

"Dec. 1635.

"In witness whereof,

"WILLIAM LE NEUE,

"Clarencieux."

LOCAL OCCURRENCES DURING THE CIVIL WAR, AND INTERREGNUM.

When the nation was disturbed by discontent which eventually burst into rebellion, Gravesend could not escape the influence of a calamity so general. Being near the seat of government, under the legitimate Sovereign, or under the assumed authority of Parliament,—having a fort within the town, with another on the opposite side of the river at Tilbury,—Gravesend was a military station, an out-post of London; and it was frequently the scene of active measures, with respect to communications with the capital, by the Thames.

Although there were alarming indications of danger long before, it was not until the King retired from the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament, that the horrors of civil warfare commenced.

His Majesty having accompanied the Queen, and the Princess

Mary* of Orange, on their journey to Dover, to embark for Holland, where they sought refuge from the coming storm; he returned to Greenwich, whence on the 28th of February, 1642, he proceeded towards York, taking with him the two princes his sons.

The accounts of the Corporation contain a more than usual number of charges, for furnishing contributions of men and arms for the train band, in the three years preceding the departure of the King.

1640. Orders were given by the Privy Council for pressing men for the army, and Gravesend was appointed one of four maritime stations, where they were to be assembled as they were raised, a hundred at a time, to be exercised; the number assigned to the rendezvous at Gravesend, being 2400 men.†

1640-1. Thomas Ruskew was paid by the Corporation, for taking down the White Cross sign;‡ a very significant indication of the temper of the times, when the politico-puritans waged war against the cross and the altar.

1643, January 29. The Duke of Richmond,§ Lord High Steward of Gravesend, a faithful adherent of the King, came under the displeasure of the House of Commons, for having interfered in the election of a member, by recommending a Captain Wymberley to be returned for one of the Cinque Ports, and for having proposed an adjournment of Parliament. Upon this the House voted, that they conceived the Duke to be of the malignant party, and an evil counsellor about the King; and they resolved to desire the Lords to join with them, to move his Majesty, that the Duke of Richmond might be removed from the court and from the King and Queen, and from all those offices and places of trust which he held.¶

February 19th. The House of Commons at this time perform-

* Eldest daughter of the King, married to the Prince of Orange, the 3rd of May, 1641.

† Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1171.

‡ A public-house at Gravesend. "1611, Oct. 11, John Anyan, a stranger, out of the White Cross, buried."—*Gravesend Register*.

§ Duke of Lennox in Scotland, and Duke of Richmond in England.

¶ From the Journals of the Commons; and once for all it may be stated here, that the following account of the proceedings of Parliament, during the civil war, is given upon the authority of the Journals, unless otherwise declared.

ing the duties which had previously been executed by the officers of the revenue department of the Government, they entertained the report of a seizure of wools made at Gravesend, referring the case to the "Committee for the Customers;" and Mr. Ward another of the searchers was called before the Commons, and informed by the Speaker, that his conduct in the business was approved by the House.

August 19. An armed force, consisting of about 200 troopers, well horsed, and every man furnished with armour and carbines, and about 300 "Dragooners," placed by the Parliament, for the peace and safety of the whole kingdom, under the command of Colonel Sands, marched into Kent, and reached Dartford on the following morning. After a halt there for two or three hours, and refreshing the Troopers, they marched forward till they came to a cross road, that led to Cobham Hall, the seat of the Duke of Richmond, near Gravesend, where, it had been reported, there was a store of ammunition. Upon their reaching the Hall, "the Lady, through fear, sent out word, that the magazine should be given up," and the freebooters thus getting easy possession, loaded five waggons with spoil, which they sent to London; and they seized three Barbary horses, valued at two hundred pounds each.*

August 25. Amongst the worthy Captains of the parliamentary army, was one Captain Willoughby, of the county of Kent, some time a commander of a vessel; who raised a company of volunteers, consisting of a hundred "well affected and stout youngsters," whom he exercised at Gravesend until they were expert in the use of arms. The Captain, "desirous to try what good service he could do to his King, the Parliament and his country," set forth from Gravesend towards Woolwich, where he found and seized, seventy-five pieces of ordnance, in the carpenters' yard, called the wood-yard. The Captain then bestowed his attention upon a Mr. William Barnes, who lived near Woolwich, who had indiscreetly said to some of the Captain's youngsters, that

* A perfect Diurnal of several passages in our late Journey into Kent, 4^o. London, 1642. King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. No. 72, art. 33. See also, A true Relation of the late Expedition into Kent. King's Pamphlets. Brit. Mus. No. 71, art. 10.

they had done more than they could justify. This being reported to Willoughby, he went with forty of his men to the house of Barnes, where they seized plate of the value of a thousand pounds, with some popish books and priests garments.*

October 11th. A vessel called the *Mayflower*, hired for the service of the King and Parliament, was stopped in the Lower Hope by the mutinous crew, and the ring-leader of the mutineers being brought before the House of Commons, and committed to prison.

November 22. It was this day ordered by the Committee of the Militia of the City of London, sitting at Guildhall, of whom Captain Willoughby (mentioned above,) was the head, that the Ordnance in the Blockhouse at Gravesend, should be removed to Tilbury Fort, in which was to be placed a strong garrison, of men that might be confided in; and three ships or more, of convenient burthen, were to be appointed, to sail up and down and scour the river, above and below Gravesend.

On the following day, some fresh alarm was given: for it was ordered that Greenwich Castle, and the Blockhouses at Gravesend and Blackheath, should be secured.

November 26. A gentleman hired a Gravesend boat to convey him to London, and as it was his object to reach Brentford as soon as possible, he prevailed upon the boatmen to pass under London Bridge with him, a circumstance so unusual, (as the Gravesend boats generally resorted to Billingsgate, below the Bridge,) that it attracted the notice of persons employed in a boat stationed there, "to guard the City and Parliament," who hailed the people in the Gravesend boat to stop. This being disregarded, they were pursued and overtaken, and the gentleman who had hired the boat, being questioned and searched, a letter was found upon him; and he was immediately taken before Parliament, where the letter was read. It was dated at the Hague, on the 22nd of November, addressed to Secretary Nicholas, and contained information respecting a supply of men and arms for the royal cause. The letter was printed, and an order was given that it should be read in all the Churches in the City of London and in the suburbs.

* A true and perfect relation of the seizing the house of one Master William Barnes, a Cavalier, &c. King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. N^o. 17, art. 15.

December 26. The ship *Maidenhead*, Captain Lutton, arrived at Gravesend with seventeen gentlemen of Devonshire as prisoners, charged with high treason, having actually levied war against the King and Parliament; whereupon barges, with a guard of musqueteers, came to Gravesend by order of Parliament, and conveyed the captives to London, and they were committed to different prisons.

1643, January 31. It was ordered by the House of Commons, "that the hundred and fifty pounds, stayed by Captain Temple, Captain of the Fort at Tilbury, which belongs to the Duke of Richmond, should be disposed of, to the said Captain, upon account of the arrears due to the Captains, Gunners, and Soldiers of the said Fort; and that the Horse* should be disposed of to Captain Temple, to be employed for the service of the Fort.

February. John Robinson and Christopher Dighton, searchers at Gravesend, seized a large sum of money; and the Parliament, upon the report of the seizure, ordered six hundred pounds, being part of it, to be paid to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, "Treasurer at War," who was commanded to apply it to the payment of arrears due to the regiment of Colonel Venn, in garrison at Windsor. Ross, to whom the money belonged, petitioned the house, stating that the sum taken amounted to one thousand and ninety-seven pounds, which he had intended to remit to Scotland; and he prayed the restitution of his property. The hasty appropriation of this spoil, placed the parties in an awkward dilemma. The House of Commons ordered, that the searchers should restore three hundred and ninety-seven pounds to Ross, reserving one hundred pounds for their own reward; and that Ross should have "the public faith of the kingdom," for the re-payment of the six hundred pounds, that they had disposed of, before they had received his petition. The searchers demurred to this. Mr. Dighton was called to the bar of the House, and committed to the Fleet prison, for contemning their order, and Mr. Robinson† was sent for, to answer as a "delin-

* Probably one of the valuable Barbary horses taken from Cobham Hall, by the troopers, on the 20th of August preceding.

† This gentleman appears to have been very alert, but somewhat precipitate and indiscreet, for he afterwards (September the 7th) seized at Gravesend, money to the amount of one hundred and twenty pounds from a Mr. Waldoe, which he was ordered by Parliament to restore.

quent," for having refused obedience, but at length they both submitted to the will of the House, and were released. Pending these proceedings, Mr. Ward, another searcher at Gravesend, who had received the thanks of the Commons, as it has been related above, was removed from his office, and John Bird, gentleman, appointed by them to succeed him.

1644. On the 16th of October in this year, it was ordered by Parliament, that certain goods might be exported in the ship *Dorset*, bound to the Summer Islands, without paying any customs or excise ; provided the Captain, and all other officers and passengers in the ship, should take the National Covenant, before they embarked, before Mr. Musgrove of Gravesend.

This explains, in some measure, the appearance of about four hundred signatures in a book of the Corporation, of the same period, without any accompanying intimation of the reason for their being there ; but as Mr. Musgrove had authority to look to the execution of the Covenant in the case of the ship *Dorset*, it is very probable that the names that appear in the list, are those of the inhabitants, who had become parties to that memorable compact, but that the matter to which the names were attached, had been removed when the Covenant came to be repudiated.

1645, January 18. It was ordered by the House of Commons, " that it be referred to the Grand Committee, to consider of the characters of *malignants* and *neuters*, presented by the county of Kent. This was a proceeding of ominous import, denoting a system of proscription. Four days afterwards, Colonel Weldon, son of Sir Anthony Weldon of Swanscomb, was sent for in custody, to answer for a paper he had transmitted to Parliament, casting imputations against Sir Michael Livesey,* of East Church, in the isle of Sheppey, who was a member of the Committee of the furious partisans of the ruling powers, at Gravesend and Rochester. It does not, however, appear that the republican Colonel was worsted by the regicide upon this occasion ; for he retained his military rank, and soon afterwards 500 men were collected at Gravesend to recruit

* Sir Michael Livesey, for being one of those who signed the warrant for the execution of the King, was excluded from the benefit of the Act of Pardon, 12 Charles II. chap. xi. sec. 34.

his regiment, then in the west of England, with the forces under Sir William Waller.

In the month of April, martial law was proclaimed in Kent.

The following extracts from the account books of the Corporation, for the year commencing Michaelmas 1644, and ending Michaelmas 1645, are the only evidence remaining of the occurrences at Gravesend, at that juncture :—

“ Paid Edward Pashlow, for money laid out about the fortification of the town	£.	s.	d.
Given to Colonel Blunt in wine at the Swan	3	8	2
Cleaning the Town-Hall when the soldiers were quartered in it	0	3	8
Paid Mr. Brooke, Master of a ship riding against the Town when the rising was in Kent, for 33 ^{lbs} of bullets	0	2	4
Paid for wine given to the Masters of Ships that sent the ammunition ashore, and their men, when the rising was in Kent last	0	5	6
Paid for a Petronel* borrowed for the use of the Town, and was broken in pieces, that night the rising was	0	1	2
Paid for a pottle of Sack for the soldiers, by order of Mr. Stacey, being that night Captain of the guard	0	5	0
Paid for an earthen pot to hold the powder	0	2	4
To Porters for work done at the rising	0	0	4
To Porters and other labourers about building the Bench for the Court Martial, in the Town Hall	0	0	8
For a sieve of cherries presented to the Committee at the Swan	0	2	8
For four yards of ribbon for the Town soldiers	0	5	0
To Mr. Elborne of London, for the use of 33 yards of baize for the Court Martial	0	2	0
Paid for horse-hire to Maidstone, when the rising was in June, 1645	0	12	6
Received from the honourable Committee at Aylesford towards the charge of finding all materials for the Court Martial	0	4	0
Received from the same Committee, for a barrel of gun-powder out of the Fort on this side the water	6	0	0
	4	10	0

1647, July 31. Sheriff Edmonds communicated to Parliament, that the Common Council of London had received information of a design to surprise Tilbury Fort: whereupon it was referred to the Trinity House, to secure the Forts at Gravesend and Tilbury; and the latter was secured, but the Blockhouse at Gravesend was reported to be scarcely tenable.

* A harquebuss, or hand-gun.

Upon Christmas day, in this year, there was a commotion at Canterbury; when several persons were apprehended and sent prisoners to Leeds Castle, but were released after two months confinement, upon bail.

1648. In the beginning of May, a special commission was issued for the trial of the offenders at Canterbury, when the bills of indictment against the prisoners were ignored by the Grand Jury. The gentry of the county assembled at Canterbury upon that occasion, signed a petition to parliament, setting forth the sufferings of the kingdom, and praying the two Houses to treat with the King. Some of the Deputy Lieutenants and other partisans of the Parliament got up an address to the county, to counteract the petition, and copies of the former were distributed, with directions in the following form.*

“To the Mayor of Gravesend, who is hereby required to cause proclamation hereof to be made in open Market, next day after the receipt hereof, on the height of the Market by the Common Cryer, and afterwards to deliver it to the Minister of the said parish, to read it in the Church.”

On the 24th of May, Parliament had received information of the disturbed state of the county of Kent, and General Lord Fairfax, with four regiments of horse, and three of infantry, marched into the county; and on Thursday, the 1st of June, a detachment of 300 horse, and 100 infantry mounted behind them, under Major Husband, was sent to dislodge a body of 600 Royalists, under Major Child, a Kentish gentleman, who had possession of the pass, at Stone Bridge, near Gravesend. Here a conflict ensued, and the Royalists were compelled to retreat, after the loss of 20 men killed and 30 taken prisoners, Major Child having had his horse shot under him. Major Husband having gained the bridge, marched to Gravesend, and thence to Malling. At the same time Lord Fairfax marched with his whole force, by Malling and Meopham, to Maidstone. On Friday, the 2nd of June, at 7 o'clock in the evening, the General attacked that town, which was defended with unflinching valour by the royalists; and

* Carter's account of the unfortunate expedition into Kent. 12mo. London, 1650, p. 20.

a dreadful scene of carnage ensued, the streets being lost inch by inch, under a furious discharge of artillery, which raged till midnight, when the royalists were overpowered. On Saturday the 3rd, the Lord General Fairfax was at Gravesend, and on the following day crossed with his troops to Essex.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

1649. When the atrocious designs of the regicides had been consummated by the immolation of their victim, on the 30th of January in this year, a Council of State was instituted with sovereign power;* to whom the packed parliament they organised, was as subservient, as their predecessors had been, in the work of subverting the monarchy, and setting up a commonwealth.† One of the earliest instances of the exercise of the power of the Council, in details, which had a local influence, was the expulsion of the loyal members of the Trinity Corporation, nominating their own partisans to the vacancies, and appointing one Mr. Edward King, as secretary.‡ Soon afterwards they ordered, that no ship should pass Tilbury Fort without delivering to the officer commanding there, a list of the crew, and giving security that they should not act against the Parliament.

On the 24th of April, the committee for the navy, proposed a scheme for the establishment of the Custom House, in the Port of London; in which it was provided that the detachment to be stationed at Gravesend, should be as follows :

The tidesmen, of whom there were to be 50 for the entire of department, were to have £25 per annum each, with 16^d per diem, when on ship-board, and 2^s per diem, while waiting at Gravesend to be shipped,—a surveyor at £60 per annum,—2 officers at £50 per annum each,—2 watermen, with a pair of oars to be commissione§ officers at £50 per annum each, to be subordinate to the searchers,—2 watermen with

* “Consisting of thirty-eight persons, to whom all addresses were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament.” *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. *Russell’s History of England* vol. iii. p. 397.

† “Be it enacted—that the people of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, are and shall be, and are hereby, made, established, and confirmed, to be a Commonwealth and Free-State,” &c. Passed the 19th of May, 1649. *Scobell’s Acts and Ordinances*.

‡ *Journals of Commons*, 23 February, 1649.

§ Having commissions, or warrants, by which they were legally authorised to make seizures.

a great boat, each at £40 per annum,—an allowance of £8 per annum, for boat-hire extraordinary, for the searchers.*

May 14. The Council of State, recommended† to the House of Commons, that Colonel James Temple, should have a commission as Governor of Tilbury Fort, under the new Great Seal of England.

May 29. They appointed Mr. Martin, to report to the House, that there were two inns at Gravesend, having two bridges on to the river Thames there, by reason of which much prejudice was done to the Commonwealth, by shipping gold and silver, and by conveying away and receiving letters of dangerous consequence, to [or from] persons disaffected; that the Justices of the county had suppressed the licenses, but they had obtained new ones from the Wine Office, or by some other means: and Mr. Martin was charged to move the House to have the bridges removed.‡

May 30. Some gold having been discovered, that was about to be transported in a Dutch man-of-war, an embargo was laid upon shipping generally, that farther search might be made; and nearly sixty vessels, English and foreign, were detained in the river. Whereupon the Council, considering that this might subject the parties to charges for demurrage, and might cause an embargo upon English ships in foreign ports, issued a warrant to the Searchers at Gravesend, and the Governor of Tilbury Fort, or his deputy, to release all the ships that were detained, except that on which the gold had been found; a circumstance which discovers the injury that the unsettled state of affairs inflicted upon commerce, and describes the important duties which devolved upon the governor of the Fort, and the searchers at that critical time.

September 13. It was ordered that the bridge belonging to the tavern of one Bird, in Gravesend, be pulled down, and his tavern suppressed; and the execution of this order was committed to Colonel Temple of Tilbury Fort.§

1650, January 7. It should seem that this and the former order relative to the bridges, or landing platforms, at Graves-

* The number of Searchers, is not stated in this plan, but there have been three officers of that denomination at Gravesend at other times.

† See Order Book of the Council, in the State Paper Office, vol. i. p. 302.

‡ Ibid, p. 367.

§ Order Book of the Council, vol. ii. p. 69.

end, had proved ineffectual; for the following instructions were given to a person, who was probably sent to Gravesend specially for this purpose, to see that no farther delay should occur, in the removal or demolition of them.

“To John Dorrington. Whereas we are informed, that many and great abuses are committed at Gravesend, by means of certain private bridges, by which enemies of the State, do secretly pass over, aboard and ashore, to the prejudice of the Commonwealth * * * and for that it hath been formerly found fit, and so ordered by the Committee of the county, *that there should be no more landing bridges or stairs at Gravesend, but only the common bridge*, that so there may be better watch kept, and account taken, of all persons and things that shall there go on board or on shore; we have thought fit that the said bridges and stairs be taken away. These are to will and authorize you to make your repair to Gravesend, taking with you such assistance as you shall judge meet, and shall there demolish and take down the two bridges and stairs there, the one belonging to the house in the possession of John Riddall in the parish of Milton, and the other bridges and stairs at the west end of Gravesend, lately erected by George Clarke, and now in the possession of And you shall cause all the piles of the said bridges to be pulled up, that there may not be again any bridge there erected; and all officers both civil and military, and especially the Mayor and Justices of Gravesend, are hereby required to be aiding and assisting,” &c.*

1650, May 20. The Council of State,† among their other multitudinous avocations, exercised the functions of a Lord Chamberlain. They despatched Sir Oliver Flemming, Master of the Ceremonies, to Gravesend, with the barges of the State, to welcome Mynheer, the Commissioner Schape from Holland; and at the same time that they were occupied in this courtly exercise, the Corporation of Gravesend were busy with the Heralds, as appears by the following items, from their books of accounts or vouchers.

£. s. d.

“Paid for setting up the State’s arms in the Town Hall . 1 17 6
The whole charge for altering the Mace, in the Mayoralty‡
of John Stacey, Esq., 1649-50, being 23 10 0.”

* Orders of the Council of State, vol. ii page 483.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 370.

‡ Ordered that it be referred to the Committee for the Alteration of Seals, to consider of a new Mace. Journal of Commons, 17th March, 1649.

The following record of a proceeding at Gravesend, though of a later date, may be admitted here.

Gravesend } “ Edward Pashlowe, Mayor. 1653. October 3.
and } The Lord General Cromwell, his Excellency having
Milton. } accepted the High Stewardship of the said Corporation, and having continued and commissioned John Parker, Esq. his Under Steward; it was agreed and voted by the major part of the Jurats and Common-Councillors, that the letter of thanks, as it was written, without any alteration, and then read in Court, and left in the hands of the said Edward Pashlowe, Esq., Mayor, should be forthwith humbly presented to his said Excellency, the Lord General Cromwell.”*

The Register of Marriages in the parish of Milton, contains some remarkable entries, of the period of the Commonwealth. An Act of the Parliament† of the year 1653, directed a new form for the solemnization and registry of marriages. Public notice of an intended marriage was to be given on three consecutive Sundays in the parish church or chapel; or in the public market-place, on three following market-days; by a Registrar appointed under the authority of the Act. The parties were then to make the declaration of their mutual acceptance as man and wife, before a Justice of the Peace, who thereupon was to declare the marriage valid.

The following are specimens of the entries referred to.

“ The consent of Matrimony between Daniel Sampson, of Swanscomb, husbandman, and Ann Sane, of Higham, widow, was first published the second day of November, 1653, in the Market-place at Milton, next Gravesend. The second publication was on the ninth day of November, between the said parties in the Market-place aforesaid. The third was the xvith day of the said month of November, in the year aforesaid, 1653.”

“ Witnesses to the marriage * * * and James Barker.” } “ Upon the Certificate of Benjamin Burt, Register of Milton aforesaid: Charles Bowles, one of the Justices of Peace of the County of Kent aforesaid, did marry the said Daniel Sampson and Ann Sane, according to the Act of Parliament, in that case made and provided.”

“ CHARLES BOWLES.”

“ 21st of November.”

* Corporation Records.

† Anno 1653. Cap. 6. Scobell's Collection, p. 236.

“ Witness y^e } “ John Reddall, of Milton, next Gravesend, in y^e county
 whole con- } of Kent, gent., and Mary Skeath, spinster, of the same
 gregation.” } place, the 4th day of January, 1653[-4], and were pub-
 lished in the parish church of Milton aforesaid, on the three several
 Lord’s daies next followinge, and were married by and before Edward
 Parsloe,* Esquire, Justice of the Peace in the County of Kent aforesaid,
 the 22nd day of January, 1653[-4].”

“ 1659. July. John Griggson and Rebeckah Walker, were published
 three several Lord’s dayes, concerning a marriage by them intended,
 and were married by Collonell Crompton the eighteene day.”

The last of these entries is as follows :—

“ 1660. Thomas Worlie and Elizabeth Mitchell were published three
 several Lord’s dayes, concerning a marriage by them intended.”

At the Restoration, the Act by which these proceedings had
 been regulated, became a dead letter ; and, to remove doubts con-
 cerning marriages contracted under it, an Act† was passed in
 1660, by which the forms of matrimony used before the Great
 Rebellion, were re-established.

This account of the local occurrences during the interregnum,
 may be closed with the following items from the accounts of the
 Corporation relative to Richard Cromwell.

1658, August 6. P^d for wine when my Lord Pro- £ s. d.
 tector was proclaimed 0 9 4

1659, Nov. 10. P^d Mr. Mayor, for his charges about
 making the Address to the late Lord Pro-
 tector 1 10 0

TIDE-COACHES AND STAGE-COACHES.

The following order made by the Corporation of Gravesend,
 nearly two centuries since, is highly interesting, forasmuch as it
 proves the introduction of what have been called, until very lately,
 the Tide-Coaches ; showing also that these carriages, which were
 really stage-coaches, were in use between Gravesend and Rochester,
 some years earlier than such public conveyances, from town to
 town, were provided upon other roads in England.

“ 1647, July 21. Whereas for the prevention of many incon-

* Edward Pashlowe, Mayor.

† Stat. 12 Charles II. chap. 33. An Act for Confirmation of Marriages.

veniences and daily disturbances that have happened within the towns of Gravesend and Milton, by the unlimited and disorderly plying of hackneymen and watermen within the same; divers good and wholesome laws have been made for regulating and keeping them within their several bounds and limits, beyond which they are not to ply;—*and forasmuch as there are of late set up and maintained by foreigners and strangers to the said Corporation, many hackney coaches and carts that daily resort to the said towns, making it a chief part of their trade, to carry and recarry passengers to and from the tides*, the owners and drivers whereof taking liberty to ply for passengers, not only upon the common bridges, but in the streets, houses, highways, and other places, do hereby occasion many tumults and disturbances, more prejudicial to the public peace and governance of the said towns, than any the former:—It is therefore ordered, that henceforth no owner nor driver of any coach or cart, either hackney or other, or any other person for them, shall ply persons to go or pass in any of their coaches or carts, but only within the inns or houses where their coaches or carts shall be, upon pain,” &c.

This is the first notice relative to hackney carriages, that occurs in the records of the Corporation. In the bye-laws made in the year 1573, there were regulations for restraining the disorderly plying of hackneymen, and for providing that they should not exact more than a prescribed fare for the hire of their HORSES; but carriages were not mentioned; and, as the same regulations were re-enacted, when the bye-laws were revised in the year 1636, it must be presumed, that such carriages had not been introduced at either of those periods.

The owners and drivers of the coaches in 1647, are described as “foreigners and strangers,” that is, they were neither freemen of, nor residents in, the town; they resorted to the town, it is said, for the purpose of carrying and re-carrying passengers to and from the tides, which, (reasoning upon the experience of later years,) means, that the men were of Rochester, Chatham, and other distant towns, came with their carriages to Gravesend, at every tide time, with passengers going to London by the tilt-boat, and took back from Gravesend such as came by the boat from

London ; whence they obtained the name of tide-coaches. The carts were for goods or luggage, or for conveyance of passengers at lower fares. It would be mere trifling to suppose that these carriages were used only within the town, for it was neither so large nor so populous, at that time, as to require such accommodation.

These, therefore, were *stage-coaches, running from town to town* ; and it is now proposed to show that stage-coaches were not introduced upon other roads, from town to town, until several years later.

At the commencement of the reign of King Charles I., no coaches stood in the streets of London for hire, but they were kept in stables, to be hired ; and there were not more than twenty of them, in and about London, at that time.*

It was in the year 1634, that carriages were first placed on a stand in the street, to be hired. One Captain Bailey commenced the practice, by placing four hackney coaches at the May-pole in the Strand, with drivers dressed in livery, to convey passengers to different parts of the town, at certain fixed fares.†

Others soon took up the occupation, and the numbers increased so rapidly, that a royal proclamation dated the 19th of January, 1636, recites that great inconveniences had arisen from this increase ; and it directs that no hackney or hired coach should be used in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, unless it should travel (if required) at least three miles out of London and Westminster, and that the owner thereof should constantly keep able horses, fit for his Majesty's service, whensoever they should be required.‡

At that time there were many detached villages, within three miles of the city of London, which have since become part of the metropolis, by the erection of intervening habitations ; but farther than this, there is no evidence that there were coaches travelling from town to town at that time, except the tide-coaches between Gravesend and Rochester.

* Rushworth's Collections, edit. of 1680, vol. i. part ii. p. 317.

† Letter from Mr. Gerrard, dated the 1st of April, 1634. Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 227.

‡ Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 316.

It is supposed that, by means of stage-coaches, a frequent communication between the metropolis and various parts of the country was established, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. The author,* who gives this opinion, produces, in support of it, the following extracts from the Diary of Sir William Dugdale.

“ 1659. May 2nd, I set forwards towards London by Coventre Coach ; 4th, I came to London.

“ 1660. March 13, My dau. Lettice went towards London in Coventre Waggon.

“ 1662. June 28th, given 16^s. in earnest, and for my passage wth my man in Aylesbury Coach on Thursday next.”

Coaches from other towns are also mentioned ; and it is observed that Wood, in his Diary, first mentions a stage-coach, under the year 1661 ; where he states that the journey from Oxford to London occupied two days.

According to another authority, there were coaches upon the Gravesend road in the year 1673 ; and probably not long before ; they being referred to as the cause of recent evils, against which the writer enters the following plea for the watermen.

“ These coaches hinder the increase of watermen, and must discourage those that are now employed ; for, there being stage-coaches set up, unto every little town upon the river Thames, of both sides of the water, from London, as high as Windsor and Maidenhead, and so from London Bridge to and below Gravesend, and also to every little town within a mile or two of the water side ; these are they that carry all the letters, little bundles, and passengers, which, before they were set up, were carried by water, and kept watermen in a full employment, and occasioned their increase, (whereof there never was more need than now) ; and yet by these coaches, they of all others are most discouraged and dejected, especially our western and below bridge watermen,† they having little or nothing to do, sometimes not above a fare in a

* Some remarks on the early use of Carriages in England, by J. H. Markland, Esq., F. R. S., and F. S. A. *Archæologia*, vol. xx.

† The main body of the watermen, not being so much interfered with, by the stage-coaches.

week, so that they do not take apprentices, the work they have not answering the charge they are at in keeping their families.”*

This account of the circumstances of the watermen, produced by the introduction of the means of travelling commodiously by land, is probably somewhat over-coloured ; but it appears by the testimony of the Inrollments of Freemen of the Corporation of Gravesend, that the newly installed knights of the whip, were driving all before them in the locality, at that time.

1672, September 19. William Vernon, a Coachman, sworn.

1673, April 18. Thomas Tilby, a Canterbury Coachman, sworn a Freeman.

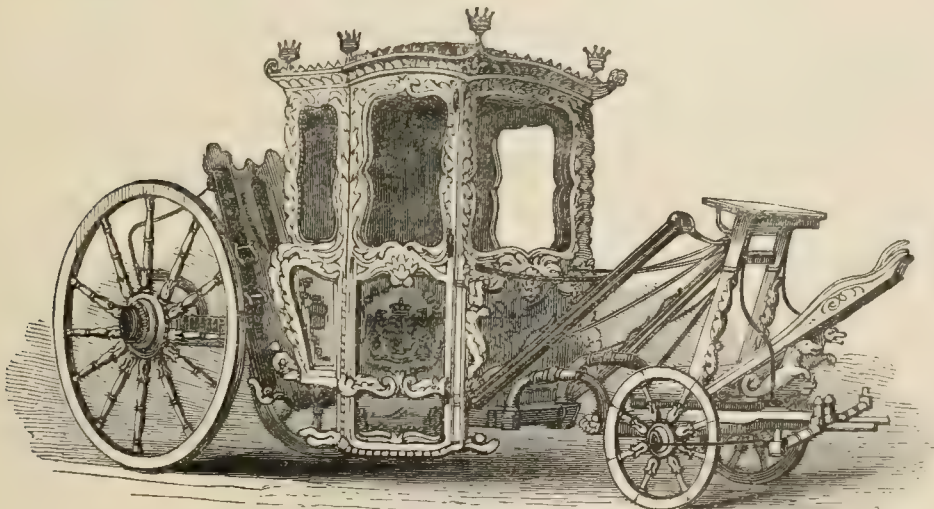
October 3. William Nicholls, a Hackney Coachman, sworn.

As these are the earliest references to stage-coaches generally, that have been published, it is concluded, (as it has already been suggested,) that the tide-coaches at Gravesend, in the year 1647, preceded, by some years, the stage-coaches introduced in other parts of the kingdom.

The foregoing relates only to public vehicles for the conveyance of passengers for hire ; but a few notices of private carriages may be added, and especially, of

THE OLD FASHIONED CHARIOT AT COBHAM HALL.

The following representation of this carriage affords a better account of its form and general appearance, than a verbal description would convey.



* The Grand Concern of England explained. London, 1673.

The panels are of black leather, secured by three rows of brass nails at the edges ; it is lined with green velvet ; the foot-board which appears exposed, being covered, when the carriage was used, with a rich hammer-cloth. Of the exterior ornaments more will be said hereafter. It is hung so low, that the aged or unwieldy might enter it, with facility. The springs which are connected with heavy leather slings, are concealed by the panels of the doors ; but these will be more particularly described.

There is no surviving witness of the first appearance of this chariot, and various are the speculations upon this point ; some would maintain that Queen Elizabeth arrived at Cobham Hall, in her progress through Kent, in the year 1559, or in 1573, in this identical carriage ; while others who have heard their fathers discourse of gilded coaches in the streets, are not disposed to go a day beyond the birth of the relators, in search of the truth ; and others there are, who suppose that it was produced in the middle of the last century, when Tull invented the post-chaise.

Private coaches, according to the present acceptation of the term, were first used in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; and let it be seen how ladies moved in public state processions in the preceding reign.

“ Queen Mary, at her coronation, rode in a chariot of cloth of tissue, drawn by six horses, followed by another in which the Lady Elizabeth, her sister, with Lady Anne of Cleves, rode ; and then came the ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses, trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles likewise of red velvet ; after them followed two other chariots, covered with red satin, and the horses trapped with the same, and certain gentlewomen between the said chariots, riding in crimson satin, the horses bestrapped with the same ; the number of gentlewomen so riding, being forty-six, besides them in the chariots.”*

These carriages were probably constructed upon the same principle, as one which was provided by command of the Queen for the use of the ladies and gentlewomen of her privy-chamber, and described in the warrant,† as “ one wagon of tymbre work,

* Stow.

† Dated the 28th of April, 1557. See Ellis's Original Letters, Second series, vol. ii. p. 253, also Carlisle's Inquiry concerning the place, &c., of Her Majesty's Privy-Chamber, p. 68.

with wheles and axle-trees, strakes, nayles, clowts, and all maner of worke thereunto apperteyninge, [with] five redde cloths to kever and line the same wagon, fringed with redde silke and lined with red buckram, paynted with red colours : collers, drawghts of redde leather, hamer-clothes with our armes and badges of our colours : and all things apperteyninge unto the same wagon."

A "wagon of tymbre work, with wheles and axle-trees," must be supposed to be a vehicle without springs ; and this was the model of the carriages in use in the reign of Queen Mary, differing only in the furniture, according to the rank of the possessors.

Coaches were not used in France before the year 1550, when there were but three in that country, one belonging to the King, one to the Duchess of Valentinois, and another to the Lord René de Laval, who could not ride on horseback because of his excessive corpulency, and was therefore obliged to use a carriage. Henry IV. of France, had but one coach for himself and his Queen.*

1555. According to the testimony of Stow, it was in this year, that the first coach, that was made in England, was constructed for the Earl of Rutland, by Walter Rippon ; who in the following year made the first hollow turning coach, which was for the Queen.†

As private carriages were made chiefly for the wealthy, the workmen would be encouraged by liberal remuneration, to exercise their best art and skill for the improvement of them ; and that they would be aided by the suggestions of their patrons, is interestingly exemplified in the following letter, accompanying the presentation of a coach to Lord Burleigh by Sir Francis Walsingham.

" My very good Lord, this bearer, my servant, having made a very rare coche for ease, strength, and lightness, whereof I made this daye a tryall uppon London streets ; I am bould to present the same unto your Lordship. And in case your Lordship shall not fynd yt large ynough, or shall like to have a new coche made, with some further addytyon, yf yt may please you to acquaynt the sayd bearer with your mynd therein, I wyll undertake he shall see yt performed to your Lordship's contentment.

* Bullet. Recherches Historiques sur les Cartes à jouer, p. 145.

† Stow's Annals.

The seyde coche hath many artyfyciall poyntes in yt, that without his demonstratyon wyll not easily bee discerned; and therefore I have appoynted the seyde bearer, to attend your Lordship's leysure, to acquaint you with the same, [&c.] London, Sept. 18, 1587."

"Yor L. to command,

"FRA. WALSYNGHAM."*

"To the right honorable my verie good Lord, the Lord Th'rer of England."

Private carriages were, at an early date, ornamented with the arms of the possessors. The waggon made in the year 1555, by the command of Queen Mary, was to have the royal arms and badges upon it; and, when coaches were introduced, in the next reign, they were decorated in the same manner.

"1573. Pd for my m ^{res} coche with all the furni-	}	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>
ture thereto belonging, except horses		xxxiiij	xiiij
For the paynting of my m ^r and my m ^{res}	}	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
armes upon the coche		ij	vj."

This practice, of painting and gilding carriages, prevailed also the next century;† and Gay alludes, in his poem of *Trivia*,§ to mythological or allegorical designs painted on the panels of coaches.

"The tricking Gamester insolently rides,
With Loves and Graces by his chariot sides."

Afterwards, the panels were ornamented with armorial bearings and supporters, displayed on a mantle: but, in a few years, the mantle was laid aside, and the arms were surrounded by circlets of flowers, or supported by genii.||

The cumbrous vehicles of the Saxons, borne upon rollers of solid wood, were improved for the use of the infirm, by the introduction of a cot or hammock, suspended between two standards fixed at the ends of the carriage; and this was followed, in after

* Harl. MS. 6694, art. 53.

† Markland on Carriages. *Archæologia*, vol. xx. The Household Book of the Kytson Family, quoted there.

‡ Coach and Sedan, &c. London, 1636.

§ Published in 1713.

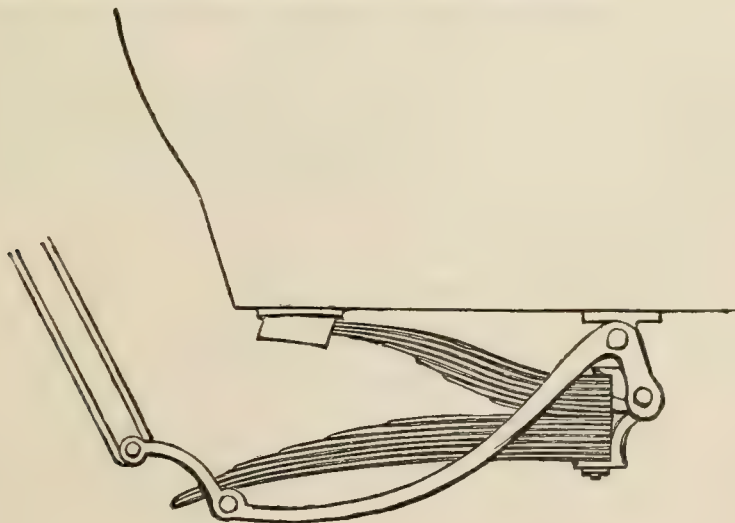
|| Memoirs of George III. and his Court. London, 1808. vol. i. p. 194.

ages, by the plan of slinging carriages by straps of leather, or other flexible materials.

The earliest patent obtained, for coach-springs of metal, was granted in the year 1706, to Henry Mill, gentleman; and, in that document, the springs previously in use are stated to have been placed below the corners of coaches, a set of them usually weighing about one hundred and twenty pounds.

The springs invented by the Patentee are described as "being made to be placed and fixed unto, between, and within, the main leather braces by which the bodies of coaches are hung, being environed or encompassed with the said leather braces, and being placed, or fixed, in or very near the middle of the said braces, forcing them, in their use and operation, to open somewhat like a rhombus, or lozenge; which new invented springs are made and contrived of several forms, viz., semicircular, circular, angular, oval, or of various other forms; a small iron rod or pin running through the middle or extremities of the same springs, and may be put on or taken off at pleasure, in the space of half an hour, and which invention is very much lighter than the springs now in use, a set of them not exceeding twenty pounds weight, and they may be sold at far less charge,"* &c.

This description of the springs in use at the commencement of the last century, is illustrated by the accompanying representation of the springs of the chariot at Cobham Hall.



* Patent dated on the 10th of April, 1706.

This chariot, as it appears in the print, is suspended by slings or braces of leather not thinner than the hide of a rhinoceros ; and connected with these braces, behind, are springs, placed, as Mr. Mill expresses it, below the corners ; their ponderosity being in accordance with his description. There are no springs in front. The chariot is richly gilt and painted, the present being the original work, with the arms and supporters displayed on the panels, and it is material to observe, that the arms are surmounted by the coronet of an Earl.

Considering what has been stated concerning the introduction and progressive improvement of private carriages in England, the style of their ornaments from time to time, the invention of springs, and the Earl's coronet ;—it may be concluded, that the chariot at Cobham Hall was made for John, Baron Clifton, Viscount Darnley, who was raised to the dignity of an Earl, in the year 1725 ; and that it was built for his Lordship, upon the occasion of his elevation to the Earldom.

LOCAL OCCURRENCES AT THE PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II.

Amongst the innumerable instances on record, that prove the mutability of all human affairs, the great and frequent changes in the domestic concerns of this country, in the seventeenth century, are prominent examples.

The pertinacity with which James I., upon his accession to the throne of England, struggled to introduce into Scotland episcopal Church government, as it existed in his new dominions, and to force the liturgy of the English Church into the Scottish Kirk, had the disastrous effect of mixing the bitterness of religious controversy with the acrimony of political disputation, and of inflicting terrible consequences upon the nation, in the next reign. The tyranny of the Star Chamber, exercised in the name of the law, and the imposition of a tax upon the people without the consent of their representatives in Parliament, were followed by the government of two branches only of the constitutional legislature, and ultimately by the despotism of a subtle leader, who pushed on to grasp supreme authority, and with his sword in his

hand and the royal sceptre under his feet, usurped dominion over his unhappy country.

Harassed by civil war, oppressed by arbitrary rule, and perceiving that the calamities they had endured, had no tendency to the security of their future liberties,—the people, longing for repose, cherished hopes of the restoration of the monarchical form of government, that they had been goaded to subvert. Secret measures were in progress for the attainment of this great and universally desired object, and an open demonstration of them occurred at Gravesend. On the morning of the 17th of December, 1659, Mr. Scot, Colonel Okey, and Mr. John Streater, comptroller of the ordnance, reached Gravesend, and proceeded to the ship *Bristol*, Captain Deakins, lying at anchor in the Lower Hope, in pursuance of orders which they had received from the existing government, to confer with Admiral Lawson, and the officers of the fleet. They were followed by Sir Henry Vane, Major Salloway, Mr. Courtenay and Mr. Owen, on the part of the Houses of Parliament. Admiral Lawson, being with the fleet, in Margate Roads, or on his passage towards the Lower Hope, the *Drake*, frigate, was dispatched with the negotiators to meet the Admiral; whom they attended on board his ship, the *James*, which arrived at Gravesend the same evening. Here a conference was held, and a declaration was signed by the Admiral and the officers of the fleet, against the ascendancy of the army; and this was tantamount to a declaration in favour of the immediate restoration of the King. The simultaneous proceedings, under the secret guidance of General Monk, are well known matters of history; and the inhabitants of Gravesend were witnesses of the happy consummation of his design, by the actual restoration of their lawful sovereign, and his appearance among them.

1660. On the 9th of May, the Corporation expressed their joy, and declared their allegiance by a resolution, that “by reason of the most happy alteration of government from a Commonwealth to a Kingly government, under his most excellent Majesty Charles II., the arms of the late Commonwealth and of the late Protector, which were on the mace of the Corporation, should be taken off and defaced, and instead thereof his Majesty’s arms put and

placed thereon, with the motto thereto belonging.”* A few days afterwards, the King was proclaimed, upon which occasion great rejoicings took place, according to the account of expenses † incurred at that time.

On the 25th of May, his Majesty landed near Dover, where he was met by General Monk, and conducted, amidst multitudes of his subjects, to Canterbury, where he remained on Saturday the 26th and the next day, proceeding on Monday the 28th to Cobham Hall, the seat of the Duke of Richmond, and on the 29th (commemorated as the day of his Restoration,) his Majesty left Cobham Hall, visited Rochester, ‡ and then passed Gravesend on his way to London, whither he was attended by a guard composed of the nobility and gentry, and by several regiments to Blackheath, where there was a great body of troops assembled; and at St. George’s Fields the Lord Mayor and Aldermen awaited the King’s arrival, with whom he took some refreshment, and was escorted by a most splendid procession § through the city of London to Westminster.

There is an account of fees paid in the same year to the subordinate officers of the royal household, but whether upon the occasion of the King’s passing Gravesend, or upon his restoration considering it an accession, does not distinctly appear: it is, however, added, as an evidence of a custom now become obsolete.

“Fees due to his Majesty’s servants from all Corporations, upon his Majesty’s entree, for homage;—to the Gentlemen Ushers, and daily

* Corporation records.

† 1660, May 12. Charges of Mr. Mayor and Mr. Watson, when	£	s.	d.
they went to have the Mace altered	2	5	7
Paid for painting the King’s arms	3	10	0
Paid for altering the Mace	17	10	0
Paid to the trumpeters when the King was proclaimed . . .	1	2	6
Paid to the Players on the Waits	1	10	0
Paid to Gravesend town Musicians	1	5	0
Paid to several persons for wine	10	7	8
Paid John Phettiplace for ribbons for the Trumpeters and Wigs	0	14	0
Paid for four barrels of beer	2	8	0
Paid Will Charley, Trumpeter, for sounding about the country	0	5	0

‡ It has been observed (p. 290, *ante*, where a reason is offered for it) that Charles the First, upon his marriage in 1625, took the same route.

§ A minute account of this escort was published in A memorial of the 29th of May, 1660, printed by A. Bettesworth, London, 1715.

waiters, £5 ;—the Gentlemen Ushers of the presence chamber, £5 ;—the Sergeants at Arms, £3. 6s. 8d. ;—the Knight Harbinger, £3. 6s. 8d. ;—the Knight Marshal, £1 ;—the Gentlemen Usher and quarter waiters, £1 ;—the Shewers of the chamber, £1 ;—the Yeomen of the Wardrobe, 16s. 8d. ;—the Wardrobe, £1 ;—the Yeoman Usher, £1 ;—the Groom of the great chamber, £1 ;—the Pages of the presence, 10s. ;—the Footmen, £2 ;—the Porters of the gate, £1 ;—the Serjeant Trumpeter, £1 ;—the Trumpeters, £2. 16s. ; the Yeoman of the Mouth, £2 ;—the Coachman, 10s. ;—the Yeoman Harbinger, £1 ;—the Waymaker, £1 ;—the Yeoman of the field, 10s. ;—the Taster, 10s. ;”—Total £36. 6s.

1661. An Act of Parliament was passed for regulating Corporations, “forasmuch as questions were likely to arise concerning the validity of the [late] elections of magistrates and other officers and members in Corporations, as well in respect of the removal of some as of placing others ; and to the end that the succession in such Corporations might be most probably perpetuated in the hands of persons well affected to his Majesty and the established government ; it being too well known, that notwithstanding all his Majesty’s endeavours, and unparalleled indulgence, by pardoning all that had passed, many evil spirits were still working.”*

1662. Commissioners, appointed to carry this Act into effect, in the county of Kent, held a session at Gravesend, on the 14th of August, and removed the following members and officers of the Corporation.

James Woodcott, Mayor ; John Parker, Esq., Sergeant at Law, Subseneschal, or Recorder ; Thomas Woodcott, and Jacob Parson, Jurats ; and Thomas Hill, Common-councilman, and Collector of the Fair and Market dues ; and appointed as their successors :—

John Smith, Esq., Mayor.

John Heath, Esq., Subseneschal, or Recorder.

Thomas Morris, John Leedes, and John Marlow, Jurats.

William Leedes, Henry Russell, John Lyon, Henry Fry, and William Nayler, Common-councilmen.

Edward Radcliffe, Chamberlain, and Thomas Foord, Collector of the Fair and Market Dues.

* 13 Car. II. stat. 2, cap. 1.

Thomas Castleton, a Common councilman, who was Chamberlain of the Corporation, and Searcher of Leather, appearing before the Commissioners, and refusing to subscribe the required declaration, the offices he held were declared vacant.

As a greater number were appointed than had been removed, other vacancies that had occurred must have been filled upon this occasion.

There is a transaction arising out of the civil war, the interregnum and the restoration; which, although it occurred many years afterward, should be mentioned also in connexion with the account given of those events.

At an assembly of the Corporation held on the 23rd of July, 1680,* the following renunciation of the solemn League and Covenant was made,—

“I, Walter Nynn, Mayor, do declare, that I hold that there lies no obligation upon me, nor any other person, from the oath formerly taken, called the solemn oath and covenant, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of the realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom, and that all and every the persons hereafter named did publicly take the oaths mentioned in the said Act, and also subscribe the declaration above said.”

This declaration is signed by the Mayor and twenty-eight other members of the Corporation, and George Etkins, whose name appears in the list, supposed to have been headed with the declaration of the acceptance of the covenant.†

The humiliating position of those who, upon the above occasion, abjured their former oath, should teach a lesson of prudence to political partisans, and check the influence of demagogues.

* The renunciation of the covenant so long after the settlement of affairs at the restoration requires some explanation. The Covenanters in Scotland, in the year preceding this declaration, had murdered Archbishop Sharp, and at the same time, the King and his brother, the Duke of York, were seeking to introduce popery. Hence the continued jealousy on both sides, and the precautions which that jealousy suggested. Another reason for renouncing the covenant at this late period, was probably the necessary observance of the Act of 13 Cha. II. chap. 4, “for the Uniformity of Public Prayer,” &c., by which it was provided (sec. 12) that from and after the 25th of March, 1682, the declaration of renouncing the covenant should be discontinued: until which time therefore, the formal renunciation would be required.

† See p. 314, ante.





View of the Harbour of Bristol, from the Clifton Suspension Bridge.

GREENWICH.

Greenwich, or the Green Town,* what a happy interpretation of the *rus in urbe* ! itself a volume of panegyric ; and yet incomplete, for it fails in duteous homage to the stately Thames, reflecting as in a mirror, its amenity and grandeur.

In its primitive beauty, the hill, so much admired and so celebrated by historians, poets and painters, rose above the river, like Ararat above the waters of the Deluge.

The manors of East Greenwich, Deptford (formerly called West Greenwich) and Lewisham, were conferred upon the church of St. Peter at Ghent, by Elstrude, niece of King Edgar, and consort of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders. King Edgar is said to have confirmed the grant, by his charter dated 964, upon the interposition of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been Abbot of St. Peter's at Ghent.

The manor, or part of a manor, granted to the Abbot and Monks of Ghent, was held by them until the suppression of Alien Priories in the second year of the reign of King Henry V. (A.D. 1414) ; when the manor of Greenwich, which had been held by the Grey Friars or Franciscans, subject to the Abbey of Ghent, was conferred upon the Carthusians of Shene, near Richmond, in Surrey.

It has been assumed that a palace was here, in the year 1300, because in that year Edward I. made an offering of seven shillings at each of the Holy Crosses in the chapel of the Virgin Mary at Greenwich, and the prince made an offering of half that sum.†

This conclusion, however, must not be hastily formed upon such premises, without regarding the following circumstances.

Henry III. founded the Maison Dieu at Ospringe, in Kent, for the brethren of the Holy Ghost, in which edifice there was an apartment called the Camera Regis ; and this is supposed‡ to have been a chamber wherein the King, in his progresses, was wont to sojourn and take rest. In like manner, Edward I. might have

* " In Saxon *grenapric*, that is to say, the Green Towne." Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, Edit. 1596, p. 429.

† Lysons' Environs, vol. iv. p. 426.

‡ Southouse. Monasticon Favershamiense, p. 149.

made his offerings at the shrines of the Priory at Greenwich, without having a palace there; and the presumption that there was not one at that time, is the stronger, there being no evidence of one, for a hundred years afterward.

The argument founded upon the circumstance that King Henry IV. dated his will in 1408, from his Manor of Greenwich, is not more conclusive than that founded upon the offering of King Edward.

Lambarde, who, with the other advantages he possessed, qualifying him to render a correct account, enjoyed also the means which the custody of the archives in the Tower of London, and a residence at Greenwich afforded; expressly says, that “*Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle to Henry VI. and Protector of the realme, (a man no less renowned for approved virtue and wisdom, than honoured for his high estate and parentage,) was the first that laid the foundations of the faire building in the towne, and towre in the parke, and called it his manor of Plaisance.*”*

1432. “In the eleventh year of Henry VI., a grant was made to the Duke of 200 acres of Land in Greenwich for a park; in the fifteenth year of the same reign, a further grant was made to enclose 200 acres more, for a park there, and with a licence to the Duke, and Eleanor his wife,—“their manor of Greenwich to embattle and build with stone, and to enclose and make a tower and ditch within it, and a certain tower within the park to build and edify.”†

Upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, in the year 1447, this manor reverted to the crown; and afterwards, when King Edward IV., delighted with the spot, enlarged the residence of the late Duke at a great charge, it became for the first time a Regal Palace.

In the fifth year of his reign, the King granted it to his Queen, Elizabeth, by the description of his Lordship, or manor of east Greenwich, with the tower of Greenwich and the parks there,

* Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, p. 432.

† Philipot's Villare Cantianum, p. 162. Hasted's Kent, 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 393.

and all meadows, woods, &c., with the appurtenances thereto belonging.*

At the demise of this Queen, the manor and palace fell into the hands of King Henry VII., who enlarged the latter, giving it a new brick front towards the river, and adding a low building† at the east end of the palace, for the reception as it is supposed, of some Observant Friars, who came to Greenwich at the latter part of the reign of Edward IV., from whom they had obtained a Chantry, with a small chapel of the Holy Cross.‡

Henry VIII. was born here in the year 1491, and was baptized in the parish church, by Fox, Bishop of Exeter. On his accession to the throne, he improved the palace in which he was born, “sparing no cost in garnishing Greenwich, till he had made it a pleasant, perfect, and princely palace.”§

Greenwich Palace was a favourite residence of Elizabeth, and in her long reign, as well as in that of her royal father, it was the scene of splendour and festivity, relating to which, teeming chronicles might be found to supply materials for a large volume.

King James I. erected a brick building towards the garden: he also walled in the park, and laid the foundation of the structure then called the Queen’s House,|| afterwards the Ranger’s House; and now the naval schools occupy the site.

Charles I. resided occasionally at Greenwich before the civil war. His Queen, Henrietta Maria, employed Inigo Jones¶ to finish the edifice which James had begun for his consort, Ann of Denmark. It was completed in the year 1635, as appeared by a date in the front.**

* Pat. 5 Ed. IV. p. 1, m. 15.

† See a “View of the ancient royal palace, called Placentia,” engraved from a drawing in the possession of Dr. Ducarel, and published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1767.

‡ Vetusta Monumenta, vol. ii.

§ Lambarde.

|| “Queen Ann, in the time of King James, builded this new brick work towards the Garden, and laid the foundation of the House of Delight, towards the Park, which Queen Mary (Henrietta Maria) so finished, that it surpasseth all others of that kind in England.” Philipot, Villare Cantianum, edit. 1776 p. 162.

¶ “The last, and one of his (Inigo Jones) most beautiful works, that I shall mention, is the Queen’s House at Greenwich.” Walpole’s Painters and Architects, vol. ii. p. 153.

** Lysons’s Environs, vol. iv. p. 484.

Walpole has observed that, during the prosperous state of King Charles's affairs, the Court was conducted with much taste and magnificence; which, being the dictum of such an authority, must be interpreted as an encomium upon the King, as a patron of the arts.

Alas! what a sad contrast to the splendour of a court, and the encouragement of the arts at the period referred to, may be found in the narrative of the events which followed.

The King quitted his Palace at Greenwich on the 28th of February, 1642, never to return to it.

Soon after the catastrophe of the 30th of January, 1649, the Parliament ordered that the crown-lands, and the goods and personal estate of the late King, Queen, and Prince, should be sold: but it was provided in the ordinance of the 16th of July, in that year, for the sale of the crown-lands, that nothing therein should extend to the honor and manor of East Greenwich, nor to the house commonly called Greenwich House, nor to the buildings commonly called the Queen's new buildings there, nor to any of the gardens, orchards, yards, courts, &c., belonging thereto, nor to the park adjoining to the said house, commonly called Greenwich park, nor to the castle, within the said Park, known by the name of Greenwich Castle, all situate in the County of Kent.*

Subsequently, it was considered that the royal palaces were fit places for the residence of the Lord Protector, and that of Greenwich was retained; but it does not appear that it was at any time inhabited by Cromwell.

The personal estate of the King was disposed of, and the pictures, statues, tapestry, and other property in the several palaces, were dispersed.†

The beautiful grove under Greenwich Castle, was demolished in the general destruction of the royal parks, woods and forests,‡ in the great rebellion.

The accompanying view of Greenwich§ represents the scenery,

* Scobell's Acts and Ordinances of Parliament.

† See a most curious and interesting catalogue of them, with the prices. Harl. MS. 4898. Brit. Mus.

‡ Hasted's History of Kent, vol. i. p.400.

§ From the original, by Sir Jonas Moore, in 1662, see page 40, *ante*.

at the point of time, to which this short account of the royal domain and palace has been brought. The denuded hill, the remains of the castle erected on the summit by the Duke of Gloucester in the fifteenth century, the uninhabited walls of the old palace, and the few and mean habitations, present a melancholy contrast to the grandeur of the royal establishment in more ancient days.

At the restoration, the manor and lands were recovered by the crown; and soon afterwards Charles II. commenced a new palace, and formed the park; respecting which the following brief but pleasant notes have been left by eye witnesses.

“ 1664, March 4. At Greenwich I observed the foundation of a very great house for the King, which will cost a great deal of money.”*

“ 1664. This spring I planted the Home Field and Week Field, about Sayes Court (*Deptford*) with Elmes, being the same yeare, that the Elmes were planted in Greenwich Park.”†

The design of building a palace, was pursued no farther by King Charles II., than the erection of a portion, that now forms the west wing of the Hospital.

1675. The scenery of modern Greenwich was embellished, in the reign of the same King, by the erection of the Observatory on the hill in the park, on the site of the ancient castle.

Several accounts of the origin of this establishment have been given, but that which ensues, is from the pen of Mr. Lysons.‡

Monsieur de St. Pierre, a Frenchman, came to London in 1675, to demand a reward for his discovery of a method of finding the longitude, by the moon's distance from a star. A commission was appointed to examine his pretensions; and Mr. Flamstead, the astronomer royal, being a member of the commission, furnished

* Pepys' Diary.

† Evelyn's Diary. The park was formed under the direction of Le Notre, a French architect of groves and grottoes at Versailles. Walpole on modern Gardening.

‡ Environs of London, from which work much that is here given relating to the locality, is derived; an acknowledgment which it would be as uncandid to omit, as it would be presumptuous to attempt to supersede the authority referred to.

St. Pierre with certain *data* of observation, by which to calculate the longitude of a given place. This he was unable to do, but excused himself by asserting that the *data* were false. Mr. Flamstead contended that they were true, but he allowed that nothing could be deduced from them, for want of more exact tables of the moon, and more correct places of the fixed stars, than Tycho's observations, made with plain sight, afforded. This being made known to the King, he declared that his pilots and sailors should not want for such assistance.

Hence the origin of the design. Several places were proposed for an Observatory, but Sir Christopher Wren recommended the site of the ancient castle on Greenwich hill. That spot was determined upon, and the old castle was pulled down; the King allowing five hundred pounds towards the new building, with a supply of bricks from Tilbury Fort, where there was a spare stock, and the materials of the castle, promising to grant anything farther that should be necessary. The foundation of the Observatory was laid on the 10th of August 1675; and in the next following year, Mr. Flamstead took possession as Astronomer Royal; which post has been filled by the following eminent persons, in succession.

- 1675. John Flamstead.
- 1719. Dr. Halley.
- 1742. Dr. Bradley.
- 1762. Nathaniel Bliss, M. A.
- 1764. Dr. Nevil Maskelyne.
- 1811. John Pond.
- 1836. George Biddell Airy.*

The benevolent scheme of a Hospital for the reception and maintenance of seamen, having served in the royal navy, originated with Mary, Queen Consort of William III. This having been considered and determined upon, Sir Christopher Wren, the Surveyor-General of public works, was called upon to select a

* Of Trinity College, Cambridge, senior wrangler in the year 1823, appointed Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in 1826; and Plumian Professor of Astronomy in 1828, which office he resigned in 1836, upon being appointed Astronomer Royal.

proper site for the building; and he advised that it should be at Greenwich, and that the building erected there by King Charles II., should be part of the intended Hospital.

In the year 1694, the King and Queen, by letters patent, granted the palace with other buildings and certain parcels of ground adjoining, to the Lord Keeper Somers, the Duke of Leeds, and others, in trust, to be converted to and for the use and service of an hospital to be then founded, for the relief and support of seamen of the royal navy, who, by reason of wounds, or other disabilities, should be incapable of farther service at sea, and unable to maintain themselves; and for the sustentation of widows, and the education of children of such seamen as should be slain or disabled in the royal service.

Commissioners were appointed to carry out the trust, and the following interesting notes of the commencement of the Hospital, have been preserved by Evelyn, who was one of the most active of them.

“ 1696, May 29. We settled divers officers, and other matters relating to workmen for the beginning of Greenwich Hospital.

“ June 4. A committee met at Whitehall about Greenwich Hospital, at Sir Christopher Wren’s, his Majesty’s Surveyor-General.* We made the first agreement with divers workmen, and for materials, and gave the first order for proceeding in the foundation, and for the weekly payments to the workmen, and a general account to be made monthly.

“ June 30. I went with a select committee of the Commissioners for Greenwich Hospital, and with Sir Christopher Wren, where, with him, I laid the first stone of the intended foundation, precisely at five o’clock in the evening, after we had dined together, Mr. Flamstead, the King’s astronomical professor, observing the punctual time by instruments.”†

The Hospital was opened for the reception of pensioners, in January 1705, when forty-two seamen were admitted.

* Sir Christopher Wren contributed his time, labour, and skill, and superintended the progress of the work for several years, without any emolument or reward.—*Lysons’s Environs*.

† Evelyn’s Diary.

The proudest testimony of the natural attractions of Greenwich, is borne by the preference which has been given to it, for the erection of public edifices.

In the days of remote antiquity, ecclesiastics fixed their abode there, Sovereigns have raised palatial residences on the spot, and in later times, royal benevolence and national gratitude have provided an asylum there, for the brave seamen, who after years of devotion to the service of their country, find hearths and homes there ; and in admirable harmony with this noble naval institution, towering above the eleemosynary abodes, the Observatory lifts its head, and there the philosopher cultivates the sublime science of astronomy, under royal auspices.

The building on the river side, eastward of Greenwich Hospital, with a square turret in the centre, is called Norfolk College. It was built and endowed in the year 1613, by Henry, Earl of Northampton,* a younger son of the accomplished Surrey, son and heir of the Duke of Norfolk ; and from this descent the name was given to the establishment. The founder endowed it for the support of twenty poor persons and a warden, twelve to be of the parish of Greenwich, and eight of the parish of Shotesham in Norfolk.

The Mercers' Company are the trustees of this charity.

The chapel was consecrated on the 4th of February, 1617. The remains of the founder were removed to this chapel in 1696, from a ruinous church in Dover Castle, where they had been interred at his death in 1614.

The edifice † that appears from the river, between the east and west sides of the Hospital, over which the Observatory is seen, is appropriated to the use of children of such seamen and marines as have served in the royal navy ; who are fed, clothed, and educated here. This establishment consists of three schools, two for boys, and one for girls. The former are distinguished as the upper

* He resided some time in the Castle built by the Duke of Gloucester.

† This building occupies the site of the house built by James I., for Ann of Denmark, his Queen ; it was afterwards occupied by the Rangers of the Park. The Princess Sophia, who is now Ranger, inhabits a house at Blackheath, at the west boundary of the Park, which was formerly Lord Chesterfield's favourite "*Babiolo*," so often mentioned in his letters to his son.

school, which is for 400 boys, the sons of officers of the navy, and the lower school for 400 boys, the sons of seamen or marines. The school for the girls is for 200, who are provided for with similar benevolence.

There is also at Greenwich an asylum for the poor, founded by the eminent William Lambarde, the Kentish topographer, and no less distinguished for his learning than for his high moral character, which has secured for his memory an enduring respect. This building stands in the town, and is not to be seen in passing on the "silent highway" to Gravesend: it therefore does not demand farther notice in this work.

It is not possible within the space that can be assigned to this subject, to pursue it farther, nor is this to be regretted, inasmuch as more ample justice has been done to Greenwich, in many admirable works, in which the locality is described with accuracy, and in detail.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE THAMES AND MEDWAY, A. D. 1667.

The attack made by the Dutch, upon the ships and forts on the Thames and Medway, in the year 1667, occurred within the circle embraced in the design of this work, and as many local circumstances are omitted, and some misrepresentations have been admitted in the general history of that event; some additional information, drawn from authentic sources, will be given to amend the defects. It is not necessary to sacrifice national feeling, or compromise national honour, to the pretension of a successful enemy, in the performance of this task. Great Britain can well afford to render homage to the illustrious names of Van Tromp and de Ruiter, and their distinguished compatriots; while she points to the contemporary roll, and succession of her own immortal heroes.

1667. This country being then at war with the United Provinces, the latter began early in the year to prepare a naval armament. At the same time, England manifested a desire for peace; and, upon the mediation of Sweden, it was agreed that a congress should be holden at Breda for negociation. The States

General, by the counsel of the Grand Pensionary Jan de Wit, appear to have considered that the treaty might be accelerated by a demonstration of power, and that they might obtain better conditions, by means of some great and successful enterprise, which, therefore, they prepared to undertake. Admiral de Ruiter being appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet to be sent to sea, he went to Helvoetsluys to hasten the equipment of some of the ships ; and it is a curious fact, that while he was there, an English ship of war arrived with the Swedish Ministers of Peace, who were on their way to Breda, and they were saluted by the ship bearing the Admiral's flag, and the others lying there.* Whether this display of good feeling in the midst of warlike preparations was consistent with good faith, may be left to casuists to decide, and need not be discussed here.

On the 17th of May, Admiral de Ruiter left Gorée with the squadron of the Maese, and on the 25th anchored at the Texel, the appointed rendezvous for the whole fleet. On the 3rd of June, without waiting longer for the ships to be supplied by the provinces of Zealand and Friesland, he sailed with a fleet consisting of sixty ships of the line, frigates, and smaller vessels, with two fire-ships, carrying 3168 guns, 12,800 seamen, and 2195 troops ; and with the exception of five ships that separated, and a fire-ship that was lost in a gale of wind, this fleet anchored on the 7th of June in the King's Channel.

The preparations made to repulse this powerful armament were disproportioned to the exigency, and were very tardily prosecuted.

Mr. Secretary Pepys, in a letter dated the 8th of February, 1667, addressed to Lady Sandwich, intimated, that the parliament had just voted a supply too little for the occasion ; that the enemy were busily preparing, that the preparations in England were as backward as want of money and stores could render them, though he hoped the parliamentary supply would, in a little time, better the condition of affairs ; that Prince Rupert was too ill to take the command of the fleet, and the Duke of Albemarle declared he would not go to sea ; concluding thus,—“ who ever goes, I

* Leven van de Ruiter, door Gerard Brandt. *Amsterdam*, 1687.

pray God give him more success than I can, without presumption, hope he will find.”*

In February,† ground had been marked out for a fort at Sheerness.

On the 25th of March, the Duke of York, High Admiral, wrote to the commissioners of the navy, signifying that he had lately directed that the safety of his Majesty’s ships in the river Medway should be taken into consideration, upon the place by some persons‡ sent down for that purpose; and having received their report, he desired the Commissioners to give orders for four vessels to be manned and furnished with hooks, chains, and grapnels; each of them to have a pinnace with ten oars and a small grapnel and chain, for the defence of Sheerness. As for the upper part of the Medway, his Royal Highness says, “I desire you to take care that all his Majesty’s ships may be moored in the safest places you can, especially the first and second rate ships, and that, besides the completing the chain for their farther security, the ships *Charles V.* and *Matthias* may be moored within the chain, in such manner as upon that occasion they may bring their broadsides to bear upon the chain; that a competent number of seamen may be allowed to be borne on them; and that thirty good pinnaces well fitted with oars, grapnels, and chains, may be provided in readiness,”§ &c.

It is evident from this, that the preparations of the enemy had been known, and the object of them foreseen, long enough to have enabled the government to be better prepared, than they were found to be when the crisis arrived; but when the enemy appeared at the entrance of the Thames, threatening the capital

* Life, Journals, and Correspondence of S. Pepys, 8vo. London, 1814, vol. i. p. 115.

† It was on the 27th of February, that the King and the Duke of York were at Sheerness, to see the ground marked out for the fort.—*Pepys’s Diary*.

‡ “1667, March 23. At the office where Sir W. Penn came, being returned from Chatham, from considering the means of fortifying the river Medway, by a chain at the stakes, and ships laid there with guns to keep the enemy from coming up to burn our ships: all our care now being to fortify ourselves, against their invading us.”—*Ibid*.

§ Memoirs of Naval Affairs, by his Royal Highness, James Duke of York, High Admiral, 8vo. London, 1729, p. 57. Walpole says, that this work was drawn up by Pepys. Royal and Noble Authors, 4to. Strawberry Hill, p. 277.

itself, the utmost consternation prevailed, and the government was thrown into the greatest confusion and embarrassment. Instead of a promptitude and energy equal to the occasion, a want of vigour and a miserable insufficiency are testified, by letters dated the 9th and 10th of June, (when the Dutch had commenced operations,) written by command of the High Admiral, to the Commissioners of the Navy, desiring them to buy or hire some fire-ships, as his Majesty and the Duke of York conceived that to be the means most likely to annoy the enemy.*

But to return to the relation of the movements of the enemy. It has been stated already, that the Dutch fleet anchored in the King's Channel, on Friday the 7th of June. On the evening of the same day, a council of war was holden on board the flag-ship of Admiral de Ruiter, at which it was determined, that an attack should be made upon the ships and forts in the Thames and Medway.

Saturday, } Information having been obtained, from the master
June 8. } of a Norwegian ship coming from London, that there were ten or twelve ships of war, and twenty merchant ships from Barbadoes, lying at anchor in the Lower Hope, near Gravesend, it was resolved that a force should be sent against them. It was also determined to reconnoitre the fort lately erected on the Point at Sheerness, at the entrance of the Medway; and to take soundings in that river.

A division of the fleet was appointed for the former enterprise, the command of which was given to Lieutenant Admiral van Gent: it consisted of one ship of 62 guns, four of 50 guns, three of 46, 44, and 40 guns respectively, and three frigates, with seventeen smaller vessels, of which one was armed *en flute*, and loaded with ammunition.†

Sunday, } At break of day, the Commissioner of the States
June 9. } General, Cornelius de Wit,‡ repaired on board the

* See Letters dated 9th and 10th of June, written by Sir William Coventry, to the Navy Board, in a supplement to this account of the proceedings of the Dutch in the Thames and Medway, at the end of this volume.

† Leven van de Ruiter, page 569.

‡ It was the practice of the States General to appoint Commissioners to accompany their fleets, with full powers to guide the operations, for effecting

Agatha, the flag-ship of Admiral van Gent. At 4 P.M., the division got under weigh, and proceeded towards the Lower Hope ; but, as the wind subsided, it reached no higher than Hole Haven that night.

Monday, 2 Admiral van Gent finding that the ships had June 10. } removed from the Hope in the night, and had retired above Gravesend for safety, at high water sailed down the river, in furtherance of the premeditated operations in the Medway.

Although the enemy did not effect the object for which he had proceeded up the Thames, and Gravesend was spared the horrors of an attack, yet a considerable alarm prevailed ; and there, as well as at Chatham, it was perceived, when the danger was most pressing, that, by a very culpable negligence, the means of defence had not been provided. The defenceless state of Gravesend, and the alarm of the inhabitants, are described by unexceptionable witnesses.

The first of these is Sir John Mennes, a commissioner of the navy ; who wrote to the Board,* that on Sunday, the 9th of June, he went to Gravesend, and on the following morning, seeing twenty-eight sail of the enemy in Sea Reach, he ordered the ships in the Hope to come nearer to Gravesend. He found the town in great distraction ; he says, the inhabitants were removing their goods, and that Sir John Griffiths, the Governor of the Fort, could not collect twelve men, though the Mayor, (Mr. Mason) had given him his assistance.

At a subsequent period, the Duke of Albemarle presented to parliament a narrative of the proceedings at Gravesend and Chatham, at the time of the Invasion ; and the following extract from that document, will reveal the state of affairs at the former of these towns.

“ His Majesty having intelligence that the Dutch fleet had with their cannon beaten those from Sheerness, that were to defend that

the object of the armament ; and upon the present occasion, Cornelius de Wit, an eminent statesman, the brother of the still more eminent John de Wit, the grand pensionary, was appointed to accompany this fleet, as Commissioner.

* Letter dated the 16th June, 1667, preserved among the Naval Papers in the Record Office, Tower of London.

place,* was pleased upon Monday the 10th of June, about noon, to command me to repair to Chatham, to take the best order I could, to defend and secure the ships there; and his Majesty gave order to the Commissioners of the Ordnance to dispatch a train after me that very day, which I heard came that night to Deptford, and the next day to Gravesend, and I myself went from the Tower, at four o'clock that afternoon, and came to Gravesend in the evening. When I came there, I found the fort on the Kent side, with few guns, and that on the Essex side, (Tilbury Fort,) had not above two in it mounted. I thereupon gave order to Sir John Griffith, the Governor, to mount as many guns as he could, and to repair the fortifications, to be able to make the best resistance he could, in case the Dutch should advance farther up the river, part of them being then sailed to the Lower Hope. I also appointed Sir William Jennings to command the men-of-war and fire-ships that lay by the fort, till his Royal Highness† should farther direct in that particular.

“And in regard I found so few guns in the forts mounted, and seeing the Dutch fleet on Tuesday morning, with their topsails loose, in sight of Gravesend, I gave orders, that, when the train of artillery should come to Gravesend, they should stay there till farther orders; for I was in hopes to find Chatham better provided than it was.

“After I had made this provision there, I went early on Tuesday morning to Chatham,‡” &c.

That is not the least interesting part of this narrative, which discloses the fact, that it was not until noon on Monday, the 10th of June, when the enemy had commenced their operations, that the Duke of Albemarle received the commands of the King to take order for the defence of the approach to his capital, against the invaders.

Mr. Secretary Pepys also may be referred to, for testimony upon the proceedings on the 10th of June.

In a letter§ dated the next day, to Sir William Coventry, he says, that he had been down the river to Gravesend, and relates what he had seen and heard there: but the following more diffusive account is given in his Diary, and it is a curious commentary upon what has already been stated.

* This is a mistake, for the enemy did not attack Sheerness till the afternoon of Monday, the 10th of June.

† The Duke of York, High Admiral.

‡ Journals of House of Commons, 31st of October, 1667.

§ See letter dated 11th June, in the supplement.

"June 10. Down to Gravesend, where I found the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle Lords and Gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries, and the bulwark not able to have stood half an hour, had they" (*the Dutch*) "come up ; they are fallen down from the Hope and Shellhaven, as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stays here to-night, and hath (though the Dutch are gone) ordered our frigates to be brought in a line between the two Blockhouses, which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the town hath removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them, and from Sir John Griffen," (Griffith) "that last night, there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it, which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he (at the Ship) removed their goods. Thence went to an Ostend man-of-war, just now come up, who met the Dutch fleet, who took three ships that he came convoying hither, from him ; says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts."

On the same day, the 10th of June, Admiral van Gent relinquished the attempt to capture or destroy the ships in the Lower Hope, and returned to the Nore, when he detached three ships* of his division to the attack of the Fort at Sheerness.

Captain Jan van Braakel, in the *Vreede* of forty guns, led them, and opened a fire upon the fort, which was maintained for an hour and half ; under cover of which, Colonel Dolman,† with 800 men, landed from the squadron in boats, but the garrison retired before the enemy reached the fort, and Captain Cornelius Vos, with a boat's crew, took possession of it.

This is the Dutch version of the capture of Sheerness, the following is another account given by Mr. Gregory, Clerk of the Check at Chatham Dock-yard,‡ who accompanied Sir Edward Spragg, in the *Henrietta* yacht, to reconnoitre the Dutch fleet, on Sunday, the 9th. Returning to Sheerness, Sir Edward remained there that night, giving orders to the guard-ship and

* The *Vreede* of forty-six guns, Captain Jacob de Bois ; the *Vreede* of forty guns, Captain Jan van Braakel ; and ' *T Raadhuis van Haarlem* of forty-six guns, Captain Pieter Magnuszoon. As the fleets of the States General were composed of ships supplied by the several provinces, it would sometimes occur that two of the same name would be in service together, as in this instance, there were two ships called the *Vreede*.

† An Englishman who had served in the rebel army.

‡ Report of Mr. Gregory, dated Chatham, the 20th of July, 1667, addressed to Samuel Pepys, Esq., preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

fire-ships there; sending Mr. Gregory (who gives the account) with orders to the *Monmouth* to get under weigh, and go within the chain, which was higher up the Medway. He sent also to Lord Middleton to send Lord Douglass's regiment to Sheerness, and they were embarked before midnight, but were ordered to re-land; and only one company of that regiment, which marched from Sittingbourne, came to Sheerness. Mr. Gregory was also ordered to bring 100 seamen from the *Monmouth*, when she should be within the chain, to the relief of the garrison at Sheerness; and Captain Clarke, of that ship, sent them in his long-boat to be put on board a dogger and a hoy, to be conveyed thither: but the masters of these vessels run them aground in the night, when the greater part of the men got on shore, forty-four only going to Sheerness. In the afternoon of Monday, the 10th, a company of the trained-bands, under Major Hugheson, came to re-enforce the garrison. There were sixteen guns in the fort, nine of which were nearly unserviceable.

About five o'clock in the afternoon the attack commenced, and the progress and result of it are described by Mr. Gregory, who says, that one man being killed and another wounded, the garrison ran away, except seven, of whom the relator was one; that seven of the guns were dismounted; when farther resistance being impracticable, and having notice that a considerable number of the enemy had landed and were approaching; the fort was abandoned.*

The Dutch represented that they had found in the fort fifteen iron 18 pounders, with many large masts, spars and other stores. On the following day they removed the spoil to their ships, and quitted the fort, after laying that and the adjoining lands under water.

On the morning of that day, Mr. Pett had, by letter, apprised the Commissioners of the Navy, of the appearance of the Dutch fleet; expressing his fear, that "they would get within Sheerness the same evening, there being little to interrupt them," and intimating an opinion that the whole stress of the business would be

* Mr. Gregory's Report, or Letter to Secretary Pepys, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

at the Chain, a little beyond Gillingham. At midnight he wrote to them again, announcing the loss of Sheerness.*

The Deputy de Wit, who accompanied the division that had effected the destruction of that Fort, resolving to advance up the Medway, sent to Admiral de Ruiter to join him, and desired that the main fleet should advance.

Tuesday, } The Zealand and Friesland ships, and two others,
June 11th. } joined the fleet this day, which then consisted of 72 ships of the line and frigates, beside armed transports, fire-ships, sloops, and galliots; having on board 2790 troops.

With the exception of the division in the Medway, above Sheerness, this mighty force was spread across the entrance to that river and the Thames, actually blockading London.

The English ships in the Medway, which were all lying in ordinary; were,

	Guns.		Guns.
The Loyal London, of . . .	90	The Helverson	60
— Royal Charles	82	— Vanguard	60
— Royal James	82	— Unicorn	60
— Victory	80	— Rainbow	56
— Royal Katharine . . .	76	— Matthias	54
— Royal Oak	76	— Charles V. . . .	54
— Henry	72	— Princess	52
— Triumph	72	— Sancta Maria . . .	50
— Monmouth	70	— Golden de Ruiter . .	48
— Old James	70	— Marmaduke	42
— St. George	60	— Unity	42

To capture these ships, or to destroy them and the Dock Yard at Chatham, were the objects of the next movements of the enemy, and measures were taken to meet the attempt.

* See both the letters of Mr. Pett, written on the 10th of June, in the Supplement. The official notification of these events to the public, in the *London Gazette*, is curious for its coolness and brevity; after announcing the appearance of the Dutch fleet on the coast, it proceeds,—“On the 10th in the morning, they appeared at the lower end of the Hope, but at the turn of the tide fell down again. Yesterday they, with some others, fell upon the platform at Sheerness, which being a place of small strength, and unable to resist the force of their artillery, after a stout resistance made by Sir Edward Spragg, and some few men with him, they were constrained to quit it.”—*London Gazette*, June 10—13, 1667.

† Guard-ships.

Lords Middleton, Douglas, and Carlisle, with a force of 6000 men assembled at Chatham and in the neighbourhood.

Sir Edward Spragg, who had retired from Sheerness when the fort was lost on the preceding evening, proceeded early to take soundings of the river at the Muscle Bank, where some old ships were to be sunk, and finding a second channel, the passage through which could not have been obstructed by all the ships they could spare; he concluded that the proposed sinking of ships would be fruitless.* Notwithstanding this discovery, the order for sinking the fire-ships was persisted in, and Captain Rand and a Pilot who were sent on board the *Royal Charles* to bring her above Upnor Castle, were taken from this service, to proceed to the Muscle Bank to sink the ships,† *Constant John*, *Unicorn*, and *John and Sarah*.

The Duke of Albemarle having left Gravesend, at four o'clock in the morning, arrived early at Chatham. It appears, in the narrative of his Grace to the House of Commons, already noticed, that at Chatham he found scarcely twelve men, out of eight hundred, who were then in the King's pay in his Majesty's yard, and those so distracted with fear, that he could have little or no service of them; that, of thirty boats which the High Admiral had ordered to be provided, only five or six remained, the rest being sent and taken away by the example of Commissioner Pett, to remove his own goods; and that there was no ammunition there, but what was on board the *Monmouth*; whereupon he sent to Gravesend for the train of artillery; that there were no works provided for the defence of the chain across

* Mr. Gregory's Report, Bodleian Library.

† "On Monday night, I was sent down by Sir Edward Spragg to the Muscle Bank to sink the fire-ships, but on Tuesday morning Sir Edward not liking it, commanding me from the sinking them, and ordered me up to the chain,—that day at noon Captain Rand ordered me down (in company with him) to sink the ships, which was accordingly done." Examination of Stephen Woodgate, boatswain of the *Great Victory*. Naval Papers, Record Office, Tower.

"On Monday night I was ordered, by the Lord Middleton and Sir Edward Spragg, to go down with my boat to Long Reach, to lay fire-ships to pass for sinking, which was done the next day following." Examination of William Cadbury, boatswain of the *Unicorn*. *Ibid*.

The Muscle Bank is not laid down in more recent charts; but, from the above account, it was in Long Reach in the Medway.

the Medway; that no other men than the soldiers could be got, nor any tools, for Commissioner Pett would not furnish them, till by breaking open the stores, some were found; that the Duke ordered batteries to be raised at the ends of the chain, and that ships should be sunk to obstruct the passage of the enemy. The narrative contains many details upon these points, but it is chiefly remarkable for the imputations cast upon Commissioner Pett.*

Wednesday, 2 The attack upon the ships at Chatham was made

June 12. } on this day, by the division of the Dutch fleet conducted by Admiral van Gent, under the view of the Commander-in-chief, de Ruiter, and the Commissioner de Wit.

Captain Jan van Braakel, who had been placed under arrest, for having permitted some seamen of his ship to go on shore the previous day, contrary to general orders, volunteered to lead the attack, and his services were accepted.

At 10 A.M., he made sail in the *Vreede* of forty guns, with a favourable tide and a fair wind. He advanced to the chain without firing a gun, until he was within pistol shot of the *Unity*, the ship that had retired from Sheerness on the Monday preceding, and which was placed as near the chain as she could be got, to obstruct the passage; where also the *Matthias* and the *Charles V.*, with the *Monmouth* between them were placed, ready to present their broadsides to the enemy. Van Braakel was exposed to a brisk fire from these ships and from the batteries on shore, but he advanced to the *Unity*, firing his forecastle guns, and boarded that ship, and carried her with the loss of three of his men.†

Captain van Braakel was followed by the fire-ship *Pro Patria*, which grappled the *Matthias*, and set her on fire; another fire-ship, the *Katharine*, attempted to board the *Charles V.*, but failed,

* It should be observed that the narrative was not presented to Parliament until October, when Mr. Pett was before the House of Commons upon charges against him.

† "Jan Danielzoon van dan Ryn, in his fire-ship *Pro Patria*, followed van Braakel, and sailed right against the chain so that it broke. * * * Then, some say, that the chain was cast loose by the order and under the conduct of Rear-Admiral Vlug, leading or sending some seamen on shore, by breaking the iron bolt, that it was fastened by; and that the bolt is at this day (1687), kept at Enkhuisen, in memory of this brave action." Leven van de Ruiter, page 576. See Letters of Secretary Pepys, dated 1st July, 1667, and of Lord Brouncker, dated Chatham, 3rd July, 1667, in the Supplement.

and was sunk at her bow. A third vessel of the same description, the *Schiedam*, made a similar effort, and was also sunk, but not before she had set the *Charles V.* on fire. A vigorous fire was kept up from the batteries, which was returned with so much effect by the enemy, that the troops were withdrawn. Seeing the *Matthias* in flames, the forts abandoned, and the force of the enemy increasing at that point, the crew of the *Royal Charles* left her, and she was taken possession of by the enemy in boats, without resistance.* The *Helverson*† was also abandoned.

The conduct of Captain van Braakel obtained the highest approbation of the Admiral-in-chief and the Commissioner de Wit, and they went on board the *Unity* the same day, to compliment him upon his achievement.‡

The enemy having observed four large ships lying higher up the river, which they could not venture then to approach, the tide having already begun to ebb, they were to be attacked on the following day; and the Admiral and the Deputy went on board their ship *De Bescherming*, for the night, that being the headmost of the squadron.

Thursday, } The premeditated attack was made on the following
June 13. } morning, by a squadron consisting of seven frigates

* “ June 22, 1667. In the evening came Captain Hart and Haywood to me about the six merchant ships now taken up for men-of-war; and in talk, they told me about the taking of the *Royal Charles*, that nothing but carelessness lost the ship, for they might have saved her the very tide that the Dutch came up, if they would have but used means, and had had but boats; and that the want of boats plainly lost all the other ships. That the Dutch did take her with a boat of nine men, who found not a man on board her, (and her lying so near them was a main temptation to them to come on;) and presently a man went up and struck her flag and jacke, and a trumpeter sounded upon her, *Joan's Placket is torn.*” Pepys's Diary.

† A ship that had been taken from the Dutch upon a former occasion.

‡ “ About ten of the clock on Wednesday, the enemy came on with part of their fleet, and two men-of-war, and five or six fire-ships, and some other men-of-war seconding them; they first attempted the *Unity*, which was placed on the right hand, close without the chain, to defend it, and they took her; and one of their fire-ships struck upon the chain, but it stopped it; then came another great fire-ship, and with the weight of them two, the chain gave way, and then the ships came on, in that very passage where the *Sancta Maria* should have been sunk. They burned the two guardships, and took off the *Charles*, wherein the boatswain and gunner did not their duties in firing her, though they say they did attempt it twice, but the fire did not take. This was all that I observed of the enemy's action on Wednesday.” Narrative of the Duke of Albemarle. Journals of Commons, 31st October, 1667.

and sloops,* the object of which was, to capture or destroy the *Royal Oak*, the *Old James*, the *Loyal London*, and *Marmaduke*; these being the large ships they had observed the day before.

It was ordered that the frigates should not advance higher up the river than Upnor Castle, because of the shoals, and because in the winding reaches they might encounter contrary winds.

At 2 P.M., the frigates reached Upnor Castle, upon which they opened a fire that was briskly returned by the castle, as well as by a battery that had been thrown up in the night, on the opposite shore of the river, and three ships had been sunk in the passage.

The *Loyal London* was lying about half cannon-shot below Upnor Castle, and the fire-ship *Rotterdam* had passed the *Old James* to reach the former, which was effected, and the *Loyal London* was set on fire. They next burned the *Old James*, and a third fire-ship boarded the *Royal Oak*, which was also set on fire. The *Old James* and *Loyal London* burned with less rapidity than satisfied the impatient enemy, and a fire-ship was sent against each to accomplish their speedy and utter destruction. Thus says the Dutch writer,† the three largest and most powerful ships of England, each carrying eighty guns, were burned to the water's edge, and entirely destroyed.‡ The *Marmaduke* escaped by retiring up the river.

Friday, } The enemy attempted nothing farther this day, but
June 14. } rigged the *Charles*, which it is alleged, there were no
means of interrupting.§

* *De Harderwyk*, of 36 guns;—*Gornichem*, 36;—*Utrecht*, 26;—*Star*, 32;—*Brak*, 20;—*Postlejon*, 20;—*Windhout*, 18.

† Leven van de Ruiter, p. 577. The proceedings of this day are related in the narrative of the Duke of Albemarle, as follows:—"About noon the enemy came on with two men-of-war and six fire-ships, and some more men-of-war following them. The first two anchored before Upnor, and played upon it, whilst the fire-ships passed by, to the *Royal James*, the *Oak*, and the *London*. The two first fire-ships burned without any effect, but the rest went up and burned the three ships mentioned. And if we had had but five or six boats to have cut off the boats of the fire-ships, we had prevented the burning of those ships; but these being burned, as soon as the tide turned, they went back and made no attempt after."

‡ This is incorrect: for, these ships being surveyed, it was found to be "feasible to transport the *Royal James*, the *Royal Oak*, and the *Loyal London*, up the river Thames, to what places they should be ordered, (to be repaired) and good husbandry so to do."—*Naval Papers, Record Office, Tower*.

§ Letter from Mr. Gregory to Secretary Pepys, dated 5th August, 1667.

With this exploit the expedition in the Medway terminated, with a loss to the enemy of ten fire-ships, one man-of-war disabled, another blown up by themselves, and another burnt, also by themselves.*

The following account of the ships in the river Medway, in June 1667, after the attack by the Dutch, is taken from an original paper preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

Chatham River, Narrative per Richard Tylor.

Dolphin	} Fireshippes suncke by ourselves to stop ye enemy, and by them burnt on Friday morning.
Barbadoes Merchant	
Unicorne	
John and Sarah	
Constant John	

Edward and Eve	} Ketches	} Suncke as above, &c.
The Hinde		
Fortune Dogger Boate	}	} Burnt by the enemy.
Crowne and Brill Hulke		

Wednesday 12.

Matthias	} Guard shippes burnt by the enemy, and most of the men lost.
Charles the 5 th	
Sancta Maria	} Burnt by the enemy.
Royal Charles	
Unity	
	} Taken by the enemy.

Thursday.

Royal Oake	} Burnt by the enemy, not a man lost nor hurt but one man on a hill.	
Loyal London		
Royal James	} Below ye Docke Against ye rope ya ^d Against ye Church	} Suncke
Royal Katharine		
St. George		
Victory	} Against Chatham Towne	} Safe.
Monmouth		
Vangard		
Rainbow		
Unicorne		
Triumphe		
Helverston		
Golden Rutter		
Henry	} Ashore at Rochester Bridge	}
Old James		
Princes	} In the two Docks	}
2 pleasure Boates		
	} Through Bridge.	

The Marmaduke is omitted in this list. That ship was sunk near the chain on Tuesday night.

* "All the fire-ships nearly are consumed, so that we must be provided with others." Letter of Admiral van Gent, to the Amsterdam College of Admiralty.

Saturday, } The enemy having but too well succeeded in the
June 15. } Medway, meditated further hostilities, in conformity
with the policy of the Pensionary de Wit.

Sunday, } Three divisions of the fleet were sent to cruize in
June 16. } different directions, and Captain van Braakel was sent
away at the same time, with the two captured ships, to Holland.
The Admiral-in-chief de Ruiter remained at the entrance of the
Thames, with thirty-eight ships of the line and frigates, four fire-
ships, and several tenders, and other small vessels. These were
re-inforced by fire-ships and troops from Holland, under Count
van Hoorn; and at the same time, orders were received from the
States-General to resume their operations, and to enter the Thames
as far as Gravesend,* or higher up, as might be found expedient.

These orders were received on the 25th of June, and preparations were made accordingly.

The Admiral had obtained information of the state of the Thames from one Teunis Williamszoon, the master of a vessel of Rotterdam, who was well acquainted with the river, and who had lately conveyed the embalmed body of Admiral Sir William Berkeley, who was slain in the memorable battle with the Dutch off the North Foreland, in June 1666, with orders from the Grand Pensionary Jan de Wit, to Williamszoon, at the same time to take soundings therein, with the utmost precision that circumstances would allow; so that the enemy were acquainted with the Thames. Information had also been received upon the same point, from the master of a vessel of Dordrecht, who had for many years navigated the river.

Upon this intelligence, it was considered that the large ships of the enemy could not with safety venture higher up than the lime-kilns, about cannon shot above Gravesend; and orders were given that fourteen ships of the least draught of water, with two fire-ships, under the command of Admiral Bankert, should approach Gravesend, and if no English ships should be found there, then to remain there at anchor.

Thursday, } At sun-rise, the squadron of Bankert got under
June 27. } weigh, with the wind at N.E., and proceeded to the

* Leven van de Ruiter, p. 585.

Hope, where he anchored. The Admiral-in-chief followed with the main fleet, and upon reaching the Hope, he and the Deputy de Wit went on board the ship of Admiral Bankert, to deliberate upon further proceedings; and finding no English ships riding in the Hope, as they had expected, seeing from the masthead but few lying at Gravesend, and having received information from a vessel of Flanders, that the most formidable means of defence had been provided in the river; it was determined not to encounter so much difficulty, (not to say danger,) for objects apparently incommensurate, and the squadron returned to the Nore, without making any attempt against the ships and forts at Gravesend at that time.

There were then about 80 guns mounted on the batteries, and four companies of foot at Gravesend.

Under the influence of the same hostile disposition, and in furtherance of the same design, to obtain a peace upon terms more advantageous to themselves, by striking a blow; express instructions, dated the 18th of July,* from the States-General, were received by de Ruiter, to re-enter the Thames and attack the English ships lying in the Hope near Gravesend, and to harass the country with continual alarms.†

Tuesday } In conformity with these orders, Admiral van Nes,
July 23. } with a division of the Dutch fleet, proceeded up the Thames. There were then lying in the Hope, the *Diamond*, *Reserve*, *Portland*, and *Zephyr* frigates, and 17 fire-ships, which had been joined the same morning by the *Success* and *Cygnets* frigates from the Nore.‡ The Dutch reached the Hope about noon, when eight of their fire-ships, supported by five men-of-war under Captain Naalhout, advanced to attack the English: some of the fire-ships of the latter that were riding at the Lower Hope Point, immediately cut their cables and retreated to the frigates at anchor higher up.§ Naalhout had followed them so closely, that he reached them at the moment of their junction, and a

* Leven van de Ruiter, p. 600.

† “I hear de Wit is resolved that their fleet shall not give over action, till the very ratifications of the treaty are exchanged.” Letter from Sir William Temple to Lord Arlington, dated Brussels. July 19, NS. 1667.

‡ See *London Gazette*, Thursday, August 8th.

§ Letters of R. Elkin, Clerk of the Check at Gravesend, and Captains Proud and Haddock, in the Supplement.

brisk firing commenced. The wind subsided, and the English frigates opened a heavy cannonade upon the Dutch fire-ships, which compelled the enemy to abandon them, after setting them on fire. The conflict was short but severe, as to the fire-ships, for the men-of-war were but little damaged. The English lost eight fire-ships, and the enemy lost eleven, having but one left.* The Dutch being in great force, the English frigates availed themselves of a favourable breeze that sprung up, and retired under the guns of the forts at Gravesend; and the enemy occupied the ground which they had quitted.

Wednesday, 2 On the following day, Admiral van Nes left the
 July 24. } Hope to return to the Nore: upon the passage down, he was followed by the English to harass his rear; and the only fire-ship of the enemy that had escaped, got aground, and was set on fire by themselves, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English.

With these exploits, the operations of the Dutch in the Thames and Medway terminated, though they continued to hover upon the coasts for some days.†

On Sunday the 21st of July, a Treaty of Peace had been signed at Breda, and the ratifications were exchanged on the 14th of August, 1667.

* Leven van de Ruiter, p. 601.

† Charnock, treating of the plan of naval combats at that period, observes with respect to fire-ships, "The frequent use of these most destructive engines during the wars between Charles II. and the Dutch, peculiarly distinguish the contest of that era from those of any other, either prior or subsequent. An engagement then only consisted of two operations; the mutual contest or cannonade that took place between the ships of war, and the conclusive scene to this terrific tragedy, which scarcely ever closed without a conflagration." vol. ii. p. 343.

GRAVESEND AND MILTON.

TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

It is one of the prerogatives of the Sovereign, to regulate the coinage of the realm : but there have been occasions in modern times, when it has not been effectually exercised ; and the necessities of traders have produced encroachments upon the right.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was no copper coinage, and tokens for substitutes, were made of tin, lead, or leather, by tradesmen, or sometimes by the authorities in towns or parishes.* Sir Richard Martin, warden of the mint, proposed an issue of farthings, either of silver, debased silver, or copper ; when, for want of some such small coins, most of the chandlers, victuallers, grocers and other dealers, made tokens of lead or brass, to pass current among their customers and townsmen ; but the Queen would not consent to debase the coin as the warden had proposed.† In the same reign, a proposal to provide small copper coins, was made to Lords Leicester and Burleigh, by an individual who had a claim upon the government, to the amount of two thousand pounds ; which he was ready to relinquish, upon the condition of having the sanction of the Crown, for making such an issue of halfpennies and farthings. The following extract, from the paper containing the offer, conveys a curious exposition of the circumstances and uses of the small coins at that time.

“ It is to be presumed that nobody doth doubt how necessary it is to have small money (as half-pence and farthings) in our land, seeing both the hindrance of charity towards the needy and pitiful sort, and what loss the common people and artizans do bear by the want thereof ; for many would be contented to give to an almsman a half-penny or farthing, whose ability could not so well serve to give a greater value ; and many small mites, rise to a good relief ; whereas now few bestow a penny, and so nothing ; whereby many perish for lack. On the other side, the artizan, when he is driven to buy any thing, either of the

* Mr. Loscombe refers to an old account book of the parish of Chudleigh in Devonshire, which contains the following charges :—

1562. This count made, by Nichas Balle, markytman. Expences, Item, pd for an yron with a prynt &c. for lede and for smything of my tokense, iiis.

1566. Expences pd for ii pounce of led for tokens and for makyng of the same to tokens, xxiiid &c. *Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 54.

† Ruding's Annals of Coinage.

vintner, baker, victualler, chandler, or any such as sell beer or ale, or other small wares by retail, must needs bestow either a whole penny, which is often times more than he would, or else he shall receive in lieu of the overplus, a small piece of lead, stamped with their several marks, which they call tokens, and deliver one of them for the fourth part of a penny, or two for a half-penny. They that receive them cannot repay them again for any thing, but to a person of whom they had them, and in the same place, which for divers causes, belike is seldom or never done: for it is known that even the meanest of these occupiers do yearly make 20 pounds weight of these tokens; and that a prentice, by his own confession, hath got £20 sterling by them in one year.”*

It was not until the year 1613, that there was an issue of copper farthings from the Royal Mint; which issue is referred to, in a proclamation of King Charles I., dated the 30th of May 1625; and by the same proclamation it appears, that letters patent had been granted in that year to the Duchess Dowager of Richmond and Lennox,† and Sir Francis Crane, to issue farthings, for seventeen years, in consideration of an annual payment of 100 marks, and other considerations not specified. In the year 1635, another proclamation was issued against the circulation of tokens.

There was no other copper coinage, under the royal authority, during the reign of King Charles I.

According to Ruding, there were patterns for farthings both of pewter and copper, during the Usurpation; but that writer adds, that they were never put into circulation. This, however, is controverted by Sir Henry Ellis,‡ who adduces proof of the circulation or issue of one, at least, of these farthings.

There was also a copper farthing coined during the Protectorate, having on the obverse, a laureated bust of the Protector, to the left, legend *Olivar. Pro. Eng. Sc. Irl.*; reverse, arms of the Commonwealth, crowned, legend, *Charitie and Change.*§

These together formed but a scanty supply of small coin, for the transactions of retail traders. The pewter and copper farthings of the Protectorate were few, and the tradesmen of most of the

* From a copy of a MS. in the Lansdown Collection, vol. xxii. art. 4. Brit. Mus.; communicated by J. Pulman, Esq.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 108.

‡ Numismatic Journal, vol. i. p. 273.

§ One was sold for £4 at the auction of Baron Bolland's coins, in April 1841.

towns of England struck tokens, of the nominal value of half-pennies and farthings, for their own use in their retail dealings.

The private tokens appeared soon after the catastrophe of the King, and were in circulation during the whole period of the interregnum, and for many years after the Restoration.

Drake, in his history of the city of York,* introduces an account of tradesmen's tokens struck there, with a plate of them, to the number of fifty, of different impressions; which it may be observed, were all circular, and all halfpennies. In a note, he adds that one of this sort of coins, in Mr. West's collection, is as early as the year 1649.

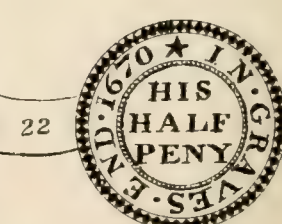
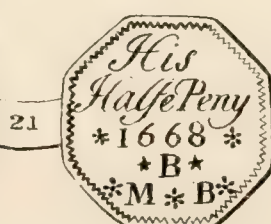
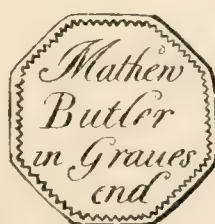
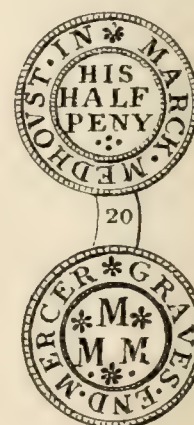
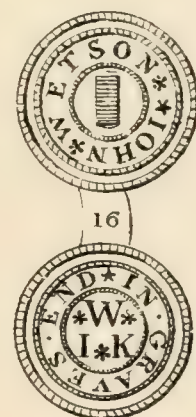
The following extracts, from the accounts of the chamberlain of the Corporation of Gravesend, demonstrate the bad state of the copper coinage at that time, (soon after which the Gravesend tokens were issued,) and the consequent inconvenience and loss which tradesmen had sustained for want of a proper circulating medium.

		£.	s.	d.
1636-7.	Rest in the chest in bad farthings	4	5	9 ^{ob}
1643-4.	Lost by odd farthings	1	12	6
1649-50.	1 brass shilling, and 1 brass halfpenny.			

The Gravesend tokens were of various forms; and, like those of York, some of them were without dates: the others, that were dated, were struck between the years 1651 and 1671.

It will be observed in the accompanying plates, that they generally bear figures that may be supposed to be shop signs, as almost every tradesman's house exhibited in front of it, a symbol of his vocation, such as the mermaid and the angel, which were probably the signs of inns. Others have the arms of trading fraternities or guilds; and many have three initials on the reverse, signifying the christian names of the tradesman and his wife in a line, with the initial of their surname over them.

* Drake. Eboracum, or History and Antiquities of the city of York; folio, London, 1736.



LIST OF TOKENS.

GRAVESEND.

1. JACOB PARSON, 1651. There is another impression of the same date in which the name is spelt Parsson. Mr. Jacob Parson was chosen Mayor, in the year 1656, and again in 1668. A whimsical memorial of him occurs in a MS. note, on a fly leaf of a copy of Ricarde's Grounde of Artes, 8vo. London, 1573.

“Hic liber mihi pertinet
Deni it who can
Ad Jacobum Parsons
A very honest man.
In Gravesendia
He is to be founde
Si non moveatur
And laid in the grounde
1669.”

2. JOHN WATSON, 1653. Chosen Mayor in the year 1660, and again in 1670.

3. Without a name, 1656, with the figure of a Mermaid. In the front of two brick houses under one roof, in West Street, is the figure of a Mermaid, with the initials L. D. and the date 1688, all neatly executed in brickwork.

4. THOMAS WOOD, 1657. Some of these tokens are of brass, and others of copper.

5. MARGRET BIRD, 1657. Probably the widow of an innkeeper, see p. 318, *ante*.

6. WILLIAM CROUCH, 1658.

7. JOHN CHEESMAN, without date.

8. JOHN PIKE, without date.

9. THOMAS HILL, without date. Some of brass, others of copper.

10. THOMAS CLARK, without date.

11. JOHN REDDELL, without date. Obverse, an anchor.

12. JOHN REDDELL, without date. Obverse, a crowned head.

These were both the tokens of John Reddall, who was chosen Mayor in the year 1659. See some particulars relating to him, at pages 318–19, *ante*. The anchor being the symbol of Hope, denotes his desire for the restoration of the King; the King's head crowned on the second token, signifies his satisfaction at the restoration. Being Mayor at the period of that event, when the King's arms were painted and set up in the Town Hall, his name was inscribed on the frame, where it remains.

13. JOHN MAY, 1666.

14. Without a name or date, with the figure of a swan.

15. WILLIAM OLIVER, without date.

16. JOHN WETSON, without date.

17. THOMAS BOONE.

18. ROBERT DAY, 1667.

19. THOMAS WARREN, 1671.

20. MARCK MEDHOVST.

21. MATHEW BUTLER, 1668.

22. JOHN BIDDLE, 1670. Brass.

MILTON.

1. EDWARD PASHLOWE, 1656. Mayor in 1653.
2. WILL. READ.
3. WALTER NINN, 1666. Mayor 1679, and again in 1694.
4. ARTHUR WHITE Mayor in 1658.
5. JOHN JONES.
6. ANTHONY SIFFLET.
7. GEORGE OLLEVER. Mayor in 1680.
8. JOHN SMITH.
9. WILLIAM READE, 1666, his halfpenny. See his farthing, No. 2, above.
10. WILLIAM BALDWIN, 1667.
11. WILLIAM KEMSTER, 1668. Of Milton, which means Milton next Gravesend: for his name occurs in an assessment upon the parishioners, in the year 1687.
12. GEORGE HEAD, 1669.

In the year 1797, a deficiency of copper coin induced an issue of private tokens; among which was one struck at Birmingham, purporting to be a Gravesend Token, and a copy of it is given in the plate of Milton Tokens, No. 13.

These lists show a circulation of twenty-two tokens of the tradesmen of the parish of Gravesend, and twelve of Milton. This is another proof of the greater populousness of the former of these parishes, which has been noticed before.

In an account of the tokens issued at Bedford, in the seventeenth century, it appears, that of fourteen names of tradesmen who issued them, not one of them had left a successor of the same name at Bedford, when that account was written;* and the same observation applies to those of Gravesend, for all the names upon the tokens of both parishes, have disappeared.

The latest date on the Gravesend tokens is of the year 1671; and they soon afterwards were suppressed: for, on the 16th of August, 1672, a royal proclamation was issued, for "making current his Majesty's farthings and halfpence of copper, and forbidding all others to be used."

FEES ILLEGALLY DEMANDED FROM MASTERS OF SHIPS
PASSING GRAVESEND.

An exaction of fees from the masters of vessels passing Gravesend, by, or in the names of, the authorities of the forts, prevailed, from first to last, during two centuries.

* Numismatic Journal, vol. i. p. 139.

Milton-next-Gravesend Tokens.



1



2



3



4



5



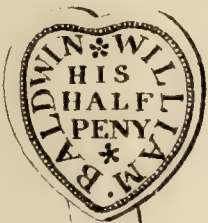
6



7



8



10



9



12



11



Town Token.



13



1630. Rushworth in his historical collections,* commends the Lord Keeper Coventry for his attention to all petitions presented to the Privy Council, against grievances ; and gives the following case, for an example of his diligence. The fishermen of Barking complained against Captain† John Smith, of the South Blockhouse, for divers wrongs and extortions of fees, in taking money of the petitioners, under pretence of requiring their bonds and the like ; whereupon it was ordered, that the fishermen should bring certificates and bonds ready made, to Sir Thomas Fanshaw, Knt., dwelling in Essex, and before him sign and seal the bond, which was to be delivered by the fishermen to Captain Smith, and thereupon they might proceed to their vocation of fishing, without any other bond being required, and without any other trouble or molestation.

This measure, no doubt, checked the practice for a time : but when the vessels passing Gravesend, were placed under the superintendence of the captains of the forts, acting in conjunction with the officers of the customs, during the civil war and commonwealth, many circumstances occurred giving facilities for resuming the practice, and eventually it again became the subject of complaint.

1669. On the 17th of November, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, complaining of a grievance, consisting of the exaction of a toll for hoys and other vessels of the river Medway, on passing the fort at Gravesend. The petition was referred to a Committee appointed to inquire into the alleged grievance, with instructions to admit and hear the petitioners, and Sir John Griffith the governor of the fort, and to report the result of their inquiry ; and he being called upon, submitted the following petition, which contains a full confession of the matter of complaint.

“ The humble petition of Sir John Griffith, Knt.‡

“ Sheweth, That upon the petition of divers masters of shippes, presented to this Honourable House, complaining of your petitioner and

* Vol. ii. p. 80.

† This is a mistake, Captain *William* Smith was at that period the commandant of the bulwark at Gravesend. See p. 292, *ante*.

‡ The original was lost at the late destruction of the Houses of Parliament by fire, having been previously copied for this work.

his officers exacting several sums of money from them, upon their vessels passing Tilbury or Gravesend forts, your petitioner was sent for to answer the said charges before a Committee of this Honourable House.

“That your petitioner being sensible of his great error, humbly acknowledgeth his fault, in suffering such things to be done, and is heartily sorrowful for the same ; howbeit your petitioner takes leave to inform this Honourable House, that the same thing was always done by his predecessors, and that he never made any advantage thereby, to himself, which he humbly hopes may extenuate, though not wholly excuse his crime.

“That for the future, your petitioner takes leave to assure this Honourable House, he will take such course that there shall be no grounds for any such complaint against him, or any under his command, by putting an end to such irregular actions.

“The premises considered, your petitioner humbly implores favour of the Honourable House, to pass by and pardon the misdemeanour committed by him, and relieve him from the intolerable burthen he suffers under whilst loaded with the sense of your high displeasure ; which, nevertheless, he will endeavour to bear without repining, whilst your Honourable House shall think fit to inflict the same, as knowing it rests upon him for his great demerits. And your petitioner, &c.

(Signed)

“JOHN GRIFFITH.”

On the 29th of November, the Committee made their report and delivered the petition of the Governor ; whereupon it was resolved, “That this matter of grievance is a high extortion ; and that it be represented to his Majesty, by such members of the house, as are of his Majesty’s Privy Council.”

On the 2nd day of December, Mr. Secretary Trevor stated to the house, that his Majesty had commanded him to let them know that he had examined the matter concerning Sir John Griffith, and his instruments, and finding, both by his own confession and other evidence, the truth of this fact, his Majesty had commanded him to signify, that he thought fit not to continue him any longer Governor, and that he would give order to discharge him.*

This signal chastisement only abated the practice for a time, but it was afterwards resumed.

1724. It is related by a traveller, who published an account of his tour in this year, that it was then the practice (as of old) for all outward-bound ships to stop at Gravesend, that a searcher might go on board and ascertain that the regulations of the customs had been complied with ; and if any vessel failed to stop, the guns

* Journals of the House of Commons.

of the fort were brought into play, to compel them to do so. This applied to outward-bound vessels only ; and so generally were these required to conform to the practice, that the masters of empty colliers and coasters, he says, landed to give an account who they were, and they paid sixpence, when they received a signal, which was probably to enable them to inform cruizers lower down the river that they had been regularly passed. The writer represents also, that the searchers had authority to rummage the cargo, to see if there were more goods on board than appeared in the Custom-house cocket or certificate of lading ; but that they seldom did so, though they forgot not to take a compliment for their civility, and besides being well treated on board, had generally three or five guns fired in honour to them when they visited a vessel. There is nothing in this account which shows that fees were demanded in the name of the commander of the fort, but there are strong indications of such a practice, for the commandant acted in concert with the officer of the Customs, and money passed.*

Mr. Pocock, in his History of Gravesend, appears to have met with the above account, though he refers to another authority for it ; and then he adds conclusive evidence of the prevalence of the practice, which he might have received from the parties who had been engaged in the transactions. “ The custom,” he says, “ of firing at ships was discontinued about the commencement of the American, French, Spanish, and Dutch war, at the very juncture of time that it ought to have been enforced with rigour upon the appearance of any ship coming *up* the river, where, perhaps, by the enemy’s privateers, &c. they might have committed some sudden depredations upon the forts of Gravesend and Tilbury ; for before, the firing was only as a signal for a vessel coming *down* the river ; however, firing or no firing, the gunners of the fort on the Gravesend side still expect, and do receive, a perquisite for every vessel cleared out at the searcher’s office in Gravesend.”†

1806. The fees of Custom-house officers were abolished in this

* A tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies, &c. 8vo. London, 1724. See Letter II. p. 14.

† Published in 1797, where he refers to “ A. Moor’s Travels in England,” p. 245.

year, by an act of parliament, which reached the searchers at Gravesend; and then the boatmen of the searchers demanded and received fees in the name of the gunner of the fort: but, upon complaint being made to the Commissioners of Customs, the practice was discontinued at Gravesend.

Notwithstanding this, the fees were afterwards demanded and paid at the Custom House at London, according to the testimony of the following document.

Copy of a Receipt.

“ Custom House, London, 6th March, 1819. These are to certify, that Mr. M‘Taggart, master of the ship *Rose*, burthen 984 tons, bound from London to India, hath paid the duties to the North and South Foreland Lights.

£4. 2s. 0d.

“ W. W. Collector.”

0 5 0 Fort dues.*

£4. 7s. 0d.

1682. In the month of February in this year, a horrid murder was committed at Westminster, attended with very remarkable circumstances, and the miscreant who “ designed and directed it,”† was apprehended at Gravesend.

Joceline, Earl of Northumberland, died, and left Lady Elizabeth Percy his only surviving child, the heiress of vast possessions. Her rank and wealth attracted a host of suitors, and she was married at the age of thirteen, to Henry, the only son and heir of the Duke of Newcastle. He died within a few months after his marriage, and again the youthful Countess was surrounded by aspirants for her hand. Among them was Thomas Thynne, of Longleat Hall, Wiltshire, Esquire, a gentleman of fortune and a courtier. Unhappily for him he had contracted a marriage with the widowed lady, which excited the envy and malignity of Count Koningsmark, who formed the desperate resolution to remove the great obstacle to his attempt to gain an alliance with the lady, by the murder of Mr. Thynne.

* The receipt for the light-dues was printed, but the charge for “ fort-dues ” was added in manuscript.

† Judge’s charge to the jury, upon the trial of the offenders.

For this fiendish purpose, he engaged three ruffians, who being mounted on horses, armed and instructed for the dreadful occasion, attacked their victim, as he was riding in his coach in Pall Mall about eight o'clock in the evening of Sunday, the 12th of February, and discharged a blunderbuss at him, which inflicted four wounds, of which he languished till the next day, and then died. The three murderers were George Borosky, a Pole, by whose hand Mr. Thynne was shot, Captain Christopher Vratz, and John Stern, a Lieutenant.

On the day after the murder, Koningsmark fled, going to Rotherhithe, where he remained concealed in the house of one Derrick Raynes, a Swede, till Thursday, when he was conveyed in a sculler by a waterman, named Richard Chappell, to Deptford, on the next day to Greenwich, then to Greenhithe, where he remained till Sunday. He was disguised in a black perriwig, a coat, and stockings, with which Raynes had supplied him.

Mr. John Kidd, an officer, went in pursuit of the fugitive, having received information that he was to leave England in a vessel lying in the Hope below Gravesend, which was to sail on Monday. Kidd proceeded to Gravesend, where he awaited the coming of Koningsmark, who reached the town between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of Sunday.

The officer understanding that there were thirteen or fourteen Swedes at the Red Lion, the house to which he expected the Count would proceed upon landing, he determined to make the capture before he should reach the house, lest a rescue should be attempted.

Kidd, in his evidence upon the trial of the murderers, says "as soon as he came on shore, I walked by him, and gave him a little kind of a juggle, to see whether he had not on him a black under coat; and while I was thus walking near him, he turned back to speak to a waterman, when I seized him by the arm, and he demanded whether I meant to rob him; upon which I said, you are my prisoner, I am an officer, and have been waiting here some days for you. Holding him very hard, (whether that was the occasion of it, or the watermen who were on the other side of him) he dropped his sword between his legs; and when I called him by his name, he gave a little start, and his perriwig dropped off his

face. We went up the street to the Mayor's house, and the people crowding about us, were very rude and very rugged, and he begged to be well treated. At the Mayor's house he was searched; then he was removed to an inn, and the next day I brought him to London. I told the Count that Captain Vratz had confessed some particulars, and so had Borosky, the Pole; at which the prisoner seemed much concerned, and took up his clothes and bit them."

The three murderers were tried and convicted on the 18th of February, and on the 10th of March were executed in Pall Mall, on the spot where they had perpetrated their dreadful crime. Koningsmark was indicted at the same time, as an accessory before the fact: but the assassins would not disclose his wicked compact with them, and the evidence being insufficient, he was acquitted. So, having escaped the punishment due to his enormous guilt, he left the country.

TILBURY FORT.

It has been shown, in the progress of this work, that the bulwarks and forts at Gravesend and Tilbury have been found, upon every emergency, in a neglected and dilapidated condition. The alarm and danger experienced when the Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames, and at Chatham, as it has just been related, appears to have roused the attention of government, to the necessity for providing a more adequate and permanent defence of the river, leading to the capital; and a regular fortification at Tilbury was determined upon.

Sir Martin Beckman is said* to have prepared the plan of a fort to be erected at Tilbury, and to have constructed one at Sheerness; but it will be seen that Sir Bernard de Gomme† was employed at both places, though possibly under the direction of Sir Martin Beckman, the Engineer-in-Chief.

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 164.

† "To the Duke of York, where we all met, there was the King also, and all our discourse was about fortifying of the Medway and Harwich, which is to be entrenched quite round, and Portsmouth; and here they advised with Sir Godfrey Lloyd, and Sir Bernard de Gun, the two great engineers, and had the plates drawn before them," &c. *Pepys's Diary*, 24th March, 1667. In a note it is stated that Sir Bernard was Engineer-General, and had been employed to construct the works at Dunkirk.

When Tilbury fort was erected, two great masters of military science, Coehorn and Vauban,* were giving instructions to Europe; and to these distinguished men, the engineers employed in the work at Tilbury, were indebted for the principle of the design; as Genibelli who repaired the bulwarks at Tilbury and Gravesend, and strengthened them with outworks, in the year 1588, was indebted to the instructions of Maggi and Marco Manini, for his knowledge of the rudiments of his art.

The defence of towns against military assailants had anciently consisted of polygonal walls, with round towers at the angles, the walls between them being of great height, with machicolated parapets; but the invention of fire-artillery rendered it necessary to give another form to the towers, and by an easy transition, they were displaced by salient angles and flanks, which constituted the bastion system.

Great as the improvements in the construction of fortresses, introduced by Coehorn and Vauban, have ever been acknowledged to be, yet their improvements upon previous theories, and their own original conceptions, led to such a train of further advantages, that when the work at Tilbury was in hand, there was yet much information to be sought; and the career of the great adepts themselves is marked, by the palpable distinctions of three several systems, in the progressive improvements in the constructive art of each. The great talent of Vauban was manifested by the tact with which he subdued local difficulties, and adapted his works to all the varieties of situation. Coehorn has been denominated the Vauban of the United Provinces, for his systems were mainly appropriate to marshy sites: from him, therefore, were to be obtained, the most applicable lessons for the construction of a fort in the marshes of Tilbury; which is erected upon a foundation of piles.

Sir Bernard de Gomme prepared a specification and estimate, "according to the draught presented to his Ma^{tie}," in which he submitted two forms of construction, a pentagon and a parallelogram.

* Memnon Coehorn was born in 1632, and died in 1704. Sebastian Vauban was born in 1633, and died in 1707.

The paper, in which the details of that work are given, although it does not bear the signature of Sir Bernard, has the indorsement and form of an official copy ; and the inaccuracies in the orthography, and in the composition, disclose the hand of a foreigner, and afford internal proof of its genuineness. The details are too voluminous to be inserted here, but the amount of one of the estimates is given, and some details of the other.

The parallelogram, whereof the two sides, north and south, were to be 800 feet long, and the west and east sides 600 feet, was estimated to cost £29,260, beside the cost of the site.*

The specification and estimate for the proposed pentagon are given, in order to show the great expense to be incurred for piles for a foundation ; and the heading is curious, for it suggests that the bastion in the centre of the south side, should extend to low watermark.

The estimate of the Pentagone—to lowe water marke, with the Stooone Bastion.

The Free Stone, Anchor Stones, and Cramping with Iron and Lead, £1600. The bricke wall 40 foote high, 12 foote in the bottom, 8 foote at the topp, £2450. 32 Butteryyses, 24 foote backwards from the inside of the brickwall, 6 foote broad, 10 foote distance, and to turne the arches over, for making the breadth of the Rampart, £3840. For Pyles to the Foundation to the said Butteryyses, £4608. For Pyles to the Foundation to the Bastion, £4320. For Elme planecks to cover the Foundations, £102. For long Baux of 30 and 34 foote long for making of a Frame to be laid and fastened upon the pyles, £140. For labourers to drive the said pyles in the ground, £300. For making of 16 Portholes, 2 foot above high Water marke into the brickwall, being a lower teyer Canon—2 doors for each Port-hole, with iron Barrs, locks and keys, £368. For cleiring of the foundation and to keepe it dry, besides severall charges which doe fall in the building of such a worke, £600. For makeing of a Frame of Timber in severall partitions against the outside of the brick wall being made 2 foote belowe high water, against the wall, and sloop to low Water marke, filled in the middle with stones for preventing the force of the water that it doe not damage the Stone Wall, £1000. 1200 long pyles of 12 inches square and 24 foote long to be drove in the ground without, 24 or 30 foote from the

* Sloanian MS., No. 2448, art. 27, Brit. Mus. Indorsed, "Estimat made by Sr Ber. de Gomme, of two new forts, the one a pentagon, and the other a parallelogram, at the ould Block-House at Tilbury Fort.

The paper, in which the details of that work are given, although it does not bear the signature of Sir Bernard, has the indorsement and form of an official copy; and the inaccuracies in the orthography, and in the composition, disclose the hand of a foreigner, and afford internal proof of its genuineness. The details are too voluminous to be inserted here, but the amount of one of the estimates is given, and some details of the other.

The parallelogram, whereof the two sides, north and south, were to be 800 feet long, and the west and east sides 600 feet, was estimated to cost £29,260, beside the cost of the site.*

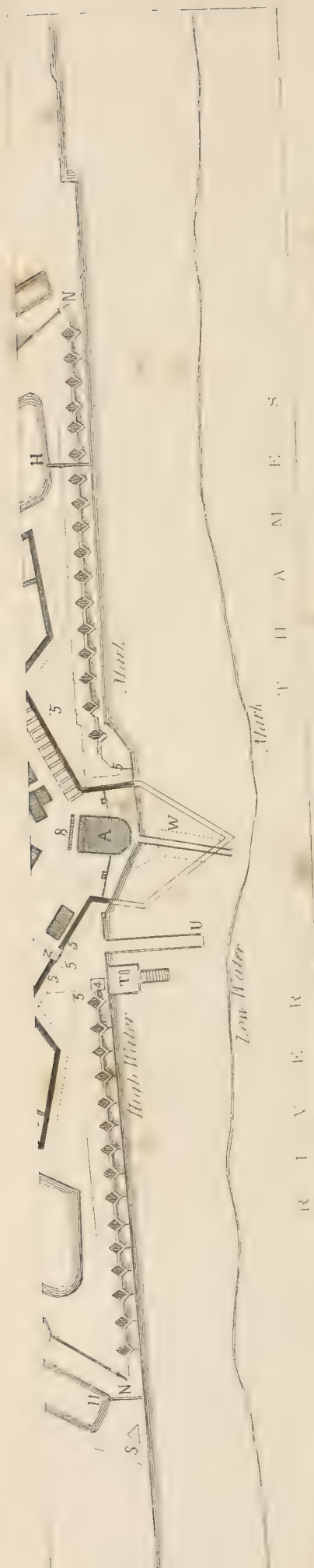
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* Sloanian MS., No. 2448, art. 27, Brit. Mus. Indorsed, "Estimat made by Sr Ber. de Gomme, of two new forts, the one a pentagon, and the other a parallelogram, at the ould Block-House at Tilbury Fort.





TISBURY FORT FROM A GOVERNMENT PLAN TAKEN A.D. 1729

Stone Wall for preventing any Shipping comeing to the fortification,	£900	£20228 00 00
The Earthenwourck, &c.		27220 00 00
		<hr/>
Pentagono		£47448 00 00
		<hr/>

The accompanying plan of the present fort, taken from a drawing made by order of government, in the year 1724, proves that the suggestion of a pentagon was adopted, though the bastion in the centre of the south side has never been completed. The stone gateway marked in the plan is not mentioned in the specification of the pentagon, but it was in that for the parallelogram, and the estimated cost of it, was £634.

The powder magazines, seen in the plan, were erected about the years 1716 and 1724.*

According to an inscription† on the stone gateway, the fort was constructed about the year 1682: but this probably was the date of the commencement of the work, or the completion of that portion of it, for the following extracts, from official accounts, (which will be interesting to the local reader,) show that it was not completed before the year 1687. These extracts will also confirm the fact that has been assumed, that Sir Martin Beckman and Sir Bernard de Gomme were both employed in the King's service, at the time when the works of the fort were in progress.

From "Order Book, 1687." Ordnance Office Tower.

14th April, 1687. That Sr Ber de Gomes Draught of Tilbury be delivered to Sr Hen. Sheere his Maties Surveyor to be by him considered of. That when the Surveyor goes next to Tilbury he take care to remove y^e guns on Gravesend side to Tilbury, leaving only such small guns as he shall think fitt, and y^t y^e platformes y^t are not of use be taken up and applied to those that are of use, and y^t care be taken to repaire y^e Rain-tanks at Tilbury and to make them serviceable as soon as can be.

That Sir Martin Beckman go down to Tilbury on Munday next, and examine y^e condicion of the Ravelyn to face it within and without with

* See plans of them, in a Book of Drawings, in the King's Library, British Museum.

† Carolus II., Rex, A Reg. xxxiv.

bricke, and to face y^e inside of the outermost spurr before y^e north redoubt, to bring up an estimate what the charge will be.

That the Surveyor take care to drawe an estimate of finishing y^e Land-port Gate at Tilbury, and y^t y^e contract made formerly with S^r W^m Prichard be shewed to y^e Surveyor.

10th May. The repairing of y^e way leading from y^e Old Road at Tilbury, upon y^e petition of Edw. Clayton is referred to S^r Hen. Sheere, who is to report to my Lord,* w^t is best to be done for his Maties service.

2nd June. 3000 tons of chalk for West Bastion by Anth Oxnard, Anth Aubrey, &c.

9th June. That Mr. Baylie have a warrant to send downe his men to Tilbury Forte, to prime and lay in wainscot colour in oil y^e Armoury there, and that he faile not to have them there next Thursday.

5th July. That Lt. Coll. St. Claire to be writt to, to get the order of sessions, to enjoin the severall parishes in repairing the Highway rented by Edw. Clayton at Tilbury, who have promised soe to doe continually after the King hath made the first repaire.

11th August. That orders be issued to the plumber to repaire y^e pump in y^e great cisterne at Tilbury, and y^t Clayton y^e Carpenter make coverings to all y^e cisternes.

18th August. That a Flagg of Beauport be sent to Tilbury for y^e round Tower.

27th August. That Anth. Oxnard, Anth. Aubrey, and Robt. Barker at Tilbury be directed to go in hand with repairing and making good y^e great Sluice or Trunke which carrieth y^e water from y^e Round Tower there into y^e river of Thames : their demand is 15^{li} but that is to be regulated by S^r. H. Sheere.

11th October. Do for Tilbury of y^e charge of conveying y^e Water in leaden pypes from y^e West Barracks to y^e great Cisterne there, £39. 6s.

8th December. Sending y^e particulars downe to Tilbury Forte, they being provided for y^e house of y^e Storekep^r W^m Legge, Esq., living there for his Maties Service.

10th December. That the Storekeeper be writ to, to contract for a Stepp Ladder to be fitted for going to y^e building over the gateway, which is to be a lodging for his Clerke ; y^t he pay y^e plumber, &c.

That an Armourer be forthwith sent downe to cleane y^e Arms at Tilbury, and as they are cleaned y^e Storekeeper take Care to place them in y^e new Armoury in the best manner he can.

* George, Lord Dartmouth, was Master General of the Ordnance, in the year 1687.

References to the Plan, with explanations.

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| <p>A The Blockhouse or Bulwark built in the reign of King Henry VIII.</p> <p>B The West Bastion.</p> <p>C The North West Bastion.</p> <p>D The North East Bastion</p> <p>E The East Bastion.</p> <p>F The Berme, or narrow path between the parapet and edge of ditch before it.</p> <p>G The Moat or Water surrounding the Fort.</p> <p>H The Sluice or Channel for escape of Water to the River, and for admitting it.</p> <p>I The Ravelin, or outwork projecting in front of the Curtain between two Bastions.</p> <p>K Covered way, a communication round the works in front of Ditch screened by a Glacis.*</p> <p>L Parapet or breastwork of the Glacis.</p> <p>M Place of Arms, or Area within the Fort used for assembling the Men, &c.</p> <p>N Lines of Guns in front of the Walls of the Fort on a lower level.</p> <p>O 'Avant Fosse' or Ditch outside the Counterscarp, which is the side of an inner Ditch.</p> | <p>P Redan, or Work consisting of two faces, forming a projecting angle, employed to cover Men.</p> <p>Q Digue, Causeways.</p> <p>R Flood Gate, &c.</p> <p>S Redoubt, or enclosed work undefended by re-entering or flanking angles.</p> <p>T Wharf.</p> <p>U Landing Bridge.</p> <p>W Powder Bridge.</p> <p>X Cisterns or Water Tanks.</p> <p>Y Offices.</p> <p>Z Stone fronted Gateway, or Entrance.</p> |
|--|--|
-
- 1 Land Port.
 - 2 Main Bridge.
 - 3 Bridge of the Ravelin.
 - 4 Gunner's Guard.
 - 5 Barriers.
 - 6 Barbette Platform, or Platform raised for Guns to be fired over Parapet.
 - 7 Store House.
 - 8 Master Gunner's Store Room.
 - 9 Chapel, Guard Room under it.
 - 10 Barracks.
 - 11 New Sluice.
 - 12 Old Powder Magazine.
 - 13 New Powder Magazine.

* Glacis, a Parapet gently sloping to the level of exterior ground.

SEIZURE OF THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION, BY KING CHARLES II.

1684. The reader need not be reminded of the seizure of the charters of the cities and corporate towns of England, in the reign of Charles II. The blow, which the corporation of Gravesend had seen inflicted upon others, now fell heavily upon themselves. The Mayor, Jurats, and Inhabitants were served with a writ of *Quo warranto*, dated the 20th day of November, 1684.

As they were defenceless against the power of the crown, their acquiescence followed as a matter of course ; and to make their submission at once complete, they surrendered their charter into the hands of the King. In this they followed the course suggested by an influential adviser, Sir Joseph Williamson ; who, being connected both with the government and with the corporation, had a knowledge of the designs of the former, and feeling an interest in the latter, he promptly interfered in their behalf, as will appear by the following letter in his own hand,* addressed to the Secretary of State.

Sir Joseph Williamson to the Earl of Sunderland.

“ MY LORD,—Having heard by chance that direction was given for a *quo warranto* against y^e Charter of Gravesend, where my Lady Catharine, as heire to her Brother y^e Duke of Richmond, is High Steward, I immediately endeavoured to waite on yor Lo^{pp} to know y^e truth of the report. I was not so happy as to find yor Lo^{pp}, but at y^e office I was informed y^e thing was so, and that the order was given by his Ma^{ties} particular command, which so soone as I knew, I immediately signified to the Towne what would become them to doe in duty to his Ma^{ties} pleasure ; and accordingly I am expecting the Mayo^r and officers in Towne within a day or two, with their Charter, to be layd at his Ma^{ties} feet, with that submission that becomes them. I am ever with all esteeme and respect.

“ *St. James's Square,*
Nov. 23, 84.”

“ My Lord yor Lo^{pps}, &c.

“ J. WILLIAMSON.”

The ceremony upon the occasion has been described by one who was present, and is so amusing, that it is given without abridgment.

“ Note,—That this summons was out of date two days before it was served, and signified nothing : yet notwithstanding, to shew our innocence and our loyalty, we in a full body went to London on the 26th day, a night tide about eight o'clock. The 27th, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Sir John Heath, with the Mayor, 11 Jurats, and 17 of the Common council, did wait and attend at Whitehall, where we were ordered to

* State Paper Office.

attend the next day at eleven o'clock, which we did, and were presented to the King by the Earl of Sunderland and Sir Joseph, where Mr. John Preston, then Mayor, did, on his knees deliver the Charter into the King's hand, which he graciously returned to Mr. Mayor again, and twice bidding him rise, and on the rising of Mr. Mayor, he said he would take care of us, which hope he will. After that we returned the Charter to the Earl of Sunderland, being Secretary of State, and so went about our concerns."*

This seems to have answered very well for the day, but there must have been an intimation received, that something more was required, for on the 3rd of December, 1684, the corporation made a formal declaration under seal, of their surrender of the charter.

The King died on the 6th of February, 1685.

Proceedings, with respect to this surrender, appear to have been suspended for some months, and in the mean time, the corporation proceeded to exercise an authority, under the permission of the crown expressed in the two following letters.

From Under Secretary Bridgeman to Sir Joseph Williamson.

Whytehall, Sept. 15, 85.

"SIR,—I beg your pardon I have not sooner acknowledged the honor of yours of the 27th past, concerning the corporation of Gravesend, what I have now to let you know is, that the rule set in all such cases, is, that until the surrender of charters are by special order enrolled, the corporations proceed to election of their officers as they used to doe, and in y^e same manner as if their charters were not surrendered; only great care is to be taken that the officers chosen be persons of known loyalty and affection to the government. I am, &c.

"WM. BRIDGEMAN."

From the Earl of Sunderland to the Mayor of Gravesend.

Whytehall, 3rd Oct. 1686.

"MR. MAYOR,—I have acquainted the King with your letter concerning the election of your officers for the year ensuing; and his Ma^{tye} directs me to tell you, that he allows you should proceed to the choice of officers for that corporation, according to your old charter, till such time as you have a new one. I am,

"Mr. Mayor, your affectionate friend and Ser^t.

"SUNDERLAND."

1686. On the 17th of December, King James II. in council, signed a warrant to the Attorney General and Solicitor General, to prepare a new charter; and, as the business might then be considered as hastening to a conclusion, measures were taken to provide farther funds, to defray the expenses incurred. This was

* Appended to a copy of the writ, in a book of the Corporation.

effected by raising a hundred pounds on loan, and by an advance of ten pounds from each Jurat, and five pounds from each common councilman. Sir Joseph Williamson, the High Steward by courtesy, contributed twenty pounds as "a gift towards the charge of receiving the new charter."

At length the time arriving when the charter was completed, a day was appointed for the ceremonial of receiving it at Gravesend; the following being an account of the proceedings upon the occasion.

"At a Court Burghmote held in the Town House the 10th day of June, A.D. 1687. The new Charter was then and there read, in the presence of the Hon^{ble} Sir Joseph Williamson, High Steward; Sir John Heath, Under Steward; Sir John Banks; Sir William Swan, and a great Company of Gentlemen; and Richard Bishop, Gent., was then sworn Mayor, and the rest of the Jurats sworn in order, and likewise the Common Council. And then Sir John Banks, Knt.; Sir W^m Swan, Bar^t; William Dixon, Esq.; Francis Banell, Esq.; Henry Parker, Esq.; James Fortrye, Esq.; Thomas Bliss, Gent.; Thomas Cupps, Gent.; Thomas Brewer, Gent.; John Browne, Gent.; Bonham Hayes, Gent.; Benjamin Wakelyn, Gent.; and Joseph Hernesby, Gent.; all had the Freedom given them by the unanimous Consent of the Court, and tooke their Oaths accordingly."

This business like record of the proceedings, relates only to the more serious part of the affair, without doing justice to the manifestations of joy upon the occasion; but due care was taken, to have a faithful narrative of them, recorded among the notices of state affairs, in the *London Gazette*.

"Gravesend, June 10, 1687. His Majesty's Royal Charter was this Day brought hither by the Honourable Sir Joseph Williamson, Hereditary High Steward of this Corporation in Right of the Lady Katharine O'Brien, Baroness Clifton, Sister and Heiress of the late Duke of Richmond, accompanied by Sir John Heath, Understeward, by Water; being met by the Mayor, Jurats and Common Council, in their formalities, and divers Gentlemen of the Country in Boats, with a noise of Trumpets, Hoboys and other Musick, landing at the Town Bridge: the High Steward delivered the Charter to the Mayor, who received it upon his Knee, then it was carried before the Mayor, to the Town Hall, and being read, the Mayor, Jurats and Common Council took their Oaths, and gave the Freedom of the Corporation to several Gentlemen of the Country; afterwards they went to the Market Place, where there were several Hogsheads of Beer and Wine, and Biskets, &c., given by Sir Joseph Williamson, and having drank the King's Health, the Queen's

and the Royal Family's, they went to the Mayor's House, where was a Noble Entertainment, the Street being drest with Boughs, and strewed with Flowers and Herbs ; and the Evening was spent in ringing of Bells, and with all other Expressions of Joy and Thankfulness for His Majesty's Gracious Charter."

Notwithstanding these proceedings, doubts have been entertained of the validity of this Charter of James II. In the year 1735, the Corporation repudiated it ; and again in the year 1818, it was questioned. Upon both occasions it was considered, that a grant, relating to the markets and fair in the reign of William and Mary, had been obtained, in which the provisions of the Charter of James were disregarded ; and it appears that, in a proclamation, dated the 17th of October, 1688, by which the charters that had been seized, were restored by name, that of Gravesend is not mentioned, and therefore, the grant must be taken to have been repudiated, even by the Crown itself.

1687. A vessel named the *Palestine* of 140 tons burthen, laden with 300 bales of cloth and other merchandise, of the estimated value of twenty thousand pounds, belonging to the Turkey Company, was lying at Gravesend, on Thursday the 23rd of June, preparing to depart on her voyage to the Levant ; when, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, she was struck by lightning, and the rigging which had just been tarred, taking fire, the flames raged with such fury, that the vessel was burned to the water's edge, the crew escaping by leaping overboard, and the whole cargo was consumed.*

GRAVESEND AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION. A.D. 1688.

At the period which history designates the Revolution of 1688, the inhabitants of Gravesend witnessed the flight of the King ; and were themselves exposed to a fatal tumult, which arose from the abdication.

King James II. was but too well acquainted with the way to Gravesend. When Duke of York, at the age of fifteen, he was a captive in the power of those who soon afterwards imbrued their

* "The sad and dreadful accident of the burning of a rich Turkey ship by lightning in the road of Gravesend, on Thursday the 23rd of June, 1687." Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Pamphlets and Papers, vol. xii. "G. 17."

hands in the blood of his father, and he effected his escape from them, dressed in female attire ; leaving England on the 20th of April, 1648, in a vessel waiting for him below Gravesend.*

At the Restoration, he was invested with the office of High Admiral ; and having occasion to be frequently at Gravesend, to direct the movements of ships of the royal navy, victuallers with stores for the fleets at sea, and prize ships ; a house for his reception was erected on the ground attached to the Blockhouse, and was recently the residence of the ordnance storekeeper. The front of the house was appropriately decorated with an anchor, and a semisphere† above it, with the date 1665, all in brickwork over the door, where they remain ; but are enclosed by a porch, the interior of which is represented in the print below.



When James reached Paris, in 1648, he alighted, it is said, at the College of the Jesuits, and became an associate in that order. In his exile he must have reflected upon the cruel policy that drove him, an unoffending youth, to seek security in a foreign land ; and he returned at the Restoration, little disposed to respect the religious institutions, over which he was eventually to rule. At length he stood before the world a devoted papist, determined to subvert the ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom. As Sovereign, he issued a declaration of general indulgence, and assumed an authority to suspend all penal statutes, which required conformity to the established Church. He made popish lords his privy coun-

* Stuart Papers, 4to. London, 1816. Vol. i., page 34.

† This semisphere is now hidden by the ceiling of the porch.

cillors ; and four popish bishops were consecrated in the Chapel Royal at St. James's.

By these and similar measures, he alienated the affections of his protestant subjects, and they sought protection from the Prince of Orange ; who, being invited by, and relying upon the support of, the most influential of the nobility, attached to the Constitution, landed with his troops, on the 5th of November, 1688, in the west of England, and advanced towards London.

The King, alarmed at the approach of this military force, and awed by the defection of his powerful subjects, seeing too, the general discontent of his people ; quitted his high position, and abandoned the kingdom to the danger of anarchy.

On Tuesday the 11th December,* the King left Whitehall, about 3 o'clock in the morning, proceeding to Gravesend with a design to retire to the continent. Rapin† says, that the King, dressed in a plain suit and a bob-wig, took water at Whitehall ; having for his attendants, only Sir Edward Hales, who had been Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Sheldon, and Abbadie, a French page.

The Queen‡ had fled on the day preceding, with the infant Prince of Wales, attended by Father Petre, (whom the King had made a Privy Councillor,) and others, in three coaches to Greenwich, whence they proceeded by water to Gravesend, where they embarked in a yacht prepared for them, and sailed for France.

On Friday the 7th of December, seven companies of the Royal Irish Regiment, had marched into Tilbury Fort ; whereupon the protestant officers, consisting of four captains and two lieutenants, resigned their commissions.

Upon the King's flight, he commanded the Earl of Faversham to disband the army, which was done ; and thus was the kingdom left without legitimate protection, either civil or military, and the soldiery left without control and without subsistence. As might be expected, under these circumstances, disturbances occurred, before a restraining authority could be organised ; and at Gravesend a violent outrage was committed, of which the following account has been given.§

“ There is a tradition among the inhabitants of Gravesend, that

* Stuart Papers, vol. ii, page 273. † History of England.

‡ Stuart Papers, vol. ii, p. 246. § Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 236.

their town was pillaged, and partly burnt, by an invasion of some Irish, (in the time of King James,) and that a schoolmaster having taken horse, alarmed the country with the information, that the streets run with blood;—the next day numbers of countrymen armed with pitchforks, &c., came to their assistance, the Irish were subdued, the church filled with prisoners; pikes, flags, and coats of mail were taken from them, and hung up in the church as trophies of the victory; afterwards they were removed to the old Town Hall, and upon building the present edifice, in 1764, the pikes and flags were then lost or destroyed, but the coats of mail with morion caps (which are very heavy), still remain deposited under the stairs of the present Hall.”

It is to be regretted, that this account is not given upon better authority than a traditionary tale, for then the matters of fact might have been examined. It is not correct to say, that the coats of mail and morions taken, were deposited in the Church, and then removed to the Town-hall; for it has already been shwon* that the armour now there, was in the Town Hall in the year 1595.

That there was a conflict at Gravesend, is proved by documentary evidence, extracted from an order, dated the 13th of September, 1691, for the payment of certain pensions and gratuities, signed by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

“To three poor persons wounded and disabled in their Maj^{ty}s service, in a skirmish that hapned the 12 December 1688, in y^e defence of the Corporation of Gravesend against the Irish, and to the wives and relations of others who were killed or dyed of wounds they received in the said service, (to wit) Tho: Fry, Thomas Gunnings, and W^m Bawkham, wounded; Joane the Relict of W^m Head; Jone the Relict of Benjⁿ Mills; Katharine the Relict of Edward Roberts; Joane the Relict of Edward Lance; whose husbands were slaine, and to Ursula Clark alias Ellis, Mother of George Clarke, who dyed of his wounds, the sum of two pounds ten shillings each, and is for one quarter due to them upon their respective Pencions of Tenn pounds per ann. each, (xx^{li}); the 13th day of September 1691.”

(Signed.) GODOLPHIN, JOHN LOWTHER, R. HAMPDEN, J. PELHAM.

The account founded upon tradition, of a conflict at Gravesend, and the record of payment of pensions to the surviving relatives of five persons who were slain, and to those who were wounded, in a

* See page 268, ante.

skirmish at Gravesend, on the 12th of December, 1688, taken together, may reasonably be assumed to relate to an outrage committed by the disbanded soldiers from Tilbury Fort, let loose upon the inhabitants, at the dissolution of the army by the King, at the moment of his flight.

When the King landed at Gravesend on the 11th, he proceeded to Faversham, where he remained till the 15th; and on the evening of that day he came back to Rochester, where he was received with all public demonstrations of joy, and he remained there that night. On the 16th, he left Rochester, and proceeding through Dartford, where he remained an hour, he reached London at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

By the time the king arrived at Whitehall, the Prince of Orange had reached Windsor. The Prince sent forward three battalions of his guards to take possession of all the posts about Whitehall, and St. James's, either by persuasion or by force; but he steadily rejected every suggestion to place the King under restraint. On the 17th of December, about an hour after midnight, the Marquess of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Delamere, were sent to demand an audience of the King at Whitehall. Having retired, at the hour when he was apprised of the arrival of the Lords, he desired that they should come to his bedside, and there they communicated to him the message with which they were charged, which was, that the King should depart and go to Ham. He at first assented, but then desired that he might be allowed to go to Rochester; and to this the Prince of Orange agreed. The assent was communicated to the King about 8 o'clock, on the morning of Tuesday the 18th of December; and at noon that day he proceeded by water to Gravesend, attended by the Earls of Aylesbury, Lichfield, Arran and Dumbarton, with six yeomen of the guards, and about a hundred of the Dutch guards, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel of their regiment. He reached Gravesend at 9 o'clock the same evening, and found there, his own coaches, and some militia. He remained at Gravesend that night; and, on the following morning, he was conducted to Rochester.

On the same day that the King left Whitehall, the Prince of Orange arrived at London, and took possession of St. James's

Palace; where he received the compliments of the nobility, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London.

When the King arrived at Rochester, he was received at the house of Sir Richard Head, where he remained till the 23rd of December; and about 3 o'clock in the morning of that day, he left the house on horseback, attended by the Duke of Berwick, his natural son, Mr. Skelton, and Abbadie his page; and embarked on board a small vessel lying in the Medway, in which he was conveyed to Ambleteuse in France.

The day before the king departed, he drew up a paper containing his reasons for the step he was about to take, and gave directions that it should be printed and published; which was done; and hand-bills, dated Rochester 22nd December 1688, were distributed accordingly.*

1689. King James, after his abdication, struggled to regain the crown which he had lost; and his design was supported by France. Ireland was the theatre of his operations, for there he expected to raise a force among the papists, many of whom had served in the army during his reign.

The ministers of William and Mary had received information of the movements of a knot of partisans about to embark in the cause of the late King; and instructions were given, to the Mayor of Gravesend to intercept them, as appears by the following letter.

The Earl of Shrewsbury to the Mayor of Gravesend.

Whitehall, 5 March, 1688-9.†

"SIR.—Information being given that several dangerous and suspected persons, whose names are in the enclosed, who were privately conveying themselves beyond the seas, on design to disturb the peace of the Kingdome, His Ma^{ty} hath commanded me to signify his pleasure to you, that you should forthwith send and secure the said persons, and commit them to safe custody till His Ma^{ties} pleasure be further knowne, or that they be discharged by due course of law.

"I am Sir your aff^{te} friend

"To the Mayor of Gravesend."

"SHREWSBURY."

The following list was inclosed in the letter:—

"A list of Passengers aboard the *John* of London.

John Joyce, alias Jousy, bound for Bordeaux.

* "His Majesties reasons for withdrawing himself from Rochester, writ with his own hand, and ordered by him to be published." Small folio, *penes me*. The contents are correctly printed in Rapin's History of England.

† In the State Paper Office.

*Thomas Burk, late Souldier in the Duke of Grafton's Regiment.

*James Drummond, of the Scotch Horse Guards.

*Owen McCarthy, Adjutant to Col. Macellicott.

*John Scott, Ensigne to Col. Bohun's Regiment.

Major Darby Mecarty, late Town-Major of Portsmouth.

*Gilbert Hara, Ensigne to Captain Smith.

*William Cantwell, Sergeant to the Lord Litchfield's Reg.

*Alexander Petree, a pretended seaman.

*Garrett Barry, and } Troopers in the Lord Salisbury's Reg.
*Cornelius Mahan. }

The same instructions, appear to have been given to others, for the fugitives were captured by a Mr. Gibbon, who pursued them to Gravesend, and found them on board the ship *John*.

The parties taken, were those whose names are severally marked with an asterisk in the above list ; and the following arms, and gunpowder in their possession, were seized at the same time :—Muskets 50,—Musquetoons 80,—Cartridge boxes 12,—Cartridges 20,—Javelins 6,—Half pikes 12,—Barrels of gunpowder 2,—Cases of pistols 10.*

The prisoners were brought on shore from the ship *John*, and placed in the custody of the keeper of the gaol at Gravesend.

Here an untoward event occurred, which is described in a letter from the Mayor to the Secretary of State.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

11 Sept., 1689.

There hath been several officers and souldiers in the prison of this towne a long time, which I caused to be taken into custody pursuant to your Lordship's letter of the 5th of March last, and ordered the Keepers to be very watchful over them : yet on Monday last, 6 of them, viz. John Scott, Gilbert Huron, James Drummond, Walter Cantwell, Alexander Petre, and Garrett Barry, made their escapes by a rope out of a window, by a gallery wherein they had liberty to walk, being duly watched. But some of the chiefe of them, busied the Keepers in reckoning and paying their money, whilst the rest made their escape as aforesaid. As soon as I knew it, I sent out several horses, and made strict search all over the towne, but cannot find them yet ; wherefore I thought it convenient, humbly to acquaint your Lordship therewith, and to beseech your Lordship to believe that I gave strict orders to the Keepers to take especiall care to keep them safely, and since their escape have been at great charge and took much paines to find them ; and so do humbly hope and pray, that your Lordship will so favourably give His Ma^{ty} accompt of this matter, that I may not incur His Maties or your Lordships displeasure for the same, who am, My Lord &c.

“ ROBERT STACEY, Mayor,

“ Gravesend.

* From a printed broadside, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, vol. xii. “G 17.”

“ P. S. MY LORD,—There is now in prison here of the said offenders and Souldiers, Major Darby Mackartey,—Adjutant, Owen Mackarty,—Thomas Bourke,—Cornelius Makane, also Mills Prance, who was seized y^e 15 day of January last.”

The letter of the Mayor seems to have satisfied the Secretary of State: for, on the 13th of December following, the expenses incurred by the Corporation for the subsistence of the prisoners, were repaid by the government.

1690. Another capture was made, on board a vessel passing Gravesend, of parties engaged in the cause of James.

The Marquess of Carmarthen, Lord President of the Council, having received information of a conspiracy, in which Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, (who had been in the service of the Queen of James II.) and Mr. Elliott, were implicated; and it having been represented to the Lord President, that they were going to France with papers of dangerous consequence upon them; one Captain Billop was employed to apprehend the fugitives. Having succeeded in his undertaking, the prisoners were brought to trial upon a charge of high treason; and upon that occasion Captain Billop, being a witness, gave the following particulars relative to their arrest:—

“ Lord Danby having procured a Boat, we went to the Tower, where Lord Lucas (the Governor), supplied us with arms. About midnight, we put off from Tower Wharf, it was calm, and we rowed down towards Gravesend, where I refreshed my men, and afterwards went down to the Hope, judging then, that no vessel that came from London that tide could be ahead of me. I then rowed back and boarded several vessels, and when we came to Tilbury Fort, I spoke a smack, a man on board which informed me which was the *Thomas and Elizabeth*. I then hailed this vessel and desired them to lie to, which was complied with, and I boarded her. I found two lusty men, standing near the master, who upon my questioning him, said he had no more men, upon which I proceeded to search the vessel, and found Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, and Mr. Elliot below, concealed. I searched Lord Preston and as I found papers upon him, I put them into my own coat pocket. After I had searched him, Mr. Elliot came upon deck, and then Mr. Ashton, to whom I said, I think you had a night cap on, upon which he went below again and put on a perriwig, and when he came upon deck one of my men having observed him put something in his bosom, I searched him, and found a packet with lead affixed to it, which I took from him, and put in my pocket. We then conveyed the prisoners to Whitehall bridge, sending forward a man to open the gate, and then conveyed the prisoners to the office of Lord Nottingham and there delivered them, and the packet that I had seized, to his Lordship.”*

* State Trials.

Lord Preston was convicted of high treason, but received a pardon; Ashton also was found guilty and was executed; but Elliot was not arraigned.

GRANT OF A FAIR AND MARKETS,

5th WILLIAM AND MARY, A.D. 1693.

The Corporation appears by several records upon the subject, to have been perplexed concerning the days on which the fair and markets should be holden, in consequence of the discrepancies of the numerous grants for holding them, as they have been represented above in chronological order. At length all doubts were removed, by a special grant in the year 5th William and Mary, founded on an inquisition under a writ of *ad quod damnum*;* declaring that there should be two markets weekly, on Wednesday and Saturday; and an annual fair on the 23rd of April; but the latter has been kept on the 4th of May, annually, in conformity with the Act passed in the year 1752, for altering the style.

The fair holden on the 24th of October annually, in what is called the Fair-field, pertains to the manor of Gravesend.

THE MANOR OF PARROCK.

1694. The Corporation purchased the manor of Parrock, from George Etkins, Esq., in this year. The cross-ferry from Gravesend to Tilbury, and the sites of the Town Hall with the market-place, and of the Free School, being parcels of the manor, the Corporation, by that purchase, obtained the estate therein, which they now possess.

When the first Town Hall was built in 1573,† the ground on which it was erected was held on lease of the manor of Parrock for 2000 years, by William Child of Northfleet, the Corporation being then the under-lessees, paying a quit rent of £1. 3s. 4d. per annum.‡ The indentures mentioned in the account of the origin

* Corporation accounts, 1692-3.

“Paid to Mr. Kipps, at the Crown at Northfleet, when the Jury were summond upon the writ of *ad quod damnum*, concerning the Corporation Markets and Fairs £. s. d.
5 17 4

“Paid the Jury, who appeared upon that Service 5 5 0

† Page 198, *supra*.

‡ Page 264, *supra*.

of the Free School,* were probably a pair of leases, by which the ground was held of the manor of Parrock, paying a quit rent of two-pence annually. Here the interest of the Corporation in the bridge or causeway should also be noticed. This public landing place was anciently maintained by those who held the manor of Gravesend, and the men of Milton.† There are many entries in the corporation accounts, of pontage paid to Lord Cobham, who held the former manor, or his agents, in respect of it; but upon his attainder in the reign of James I., his possessions were seized by the Crown, and the manor reverting to the King, he conferred it upon the Duke of Richmond. By the Charter of Incorporation, granted by Charles I., it was provided, that the corporation should pay the sum of £6. 13s. 4d. annually to the Duke, for the maintenance of the bridge.‡ This payment was regularly made, to the 27th of March, 1677. The possessions of the Duke ultimately devolved upon Lady Katherine O'Brien, his heir, who carried them with the manor of Gravesend, in marriage to Sir Joseph Williamson. The pontage not having been paid after the year 1677, and the corporation having in the mean time maintained the bridge; they prepared an account of the sums they had expended upon it, amounting to £115. 13s., and presented it to Sir J. Williamson, at Cobham Hall, on the 28th of March 1692. After that time, the payment of the £6. 13s. 4d. per annum as pontage, wholly ceased; and the corporation continued ever after to maintain the bridge; probably by tacit agreement with Sir J. Williamson. The liability of the men of Milton to repair a portion of it, fell upon the corporation, when the inhabitants were incorporated; and Mr. Etkins conveyed to them, with the manor of Parrock, all his right, title, and interest, in the town-quay, &c. Thus the corporation became vested with the entire wharf, and causeway or bridge.

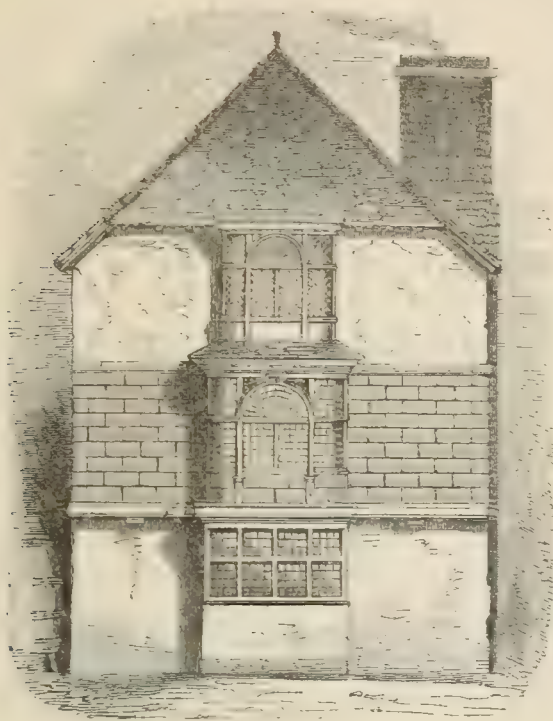
Mr. Etkins, of whom the estate was purchased, was a member of the corporation, and served the office of Sheriff of Kent, in the year 1681. He resided, it is said, in a house on the west side of Queen Street, in the parish of Milton, on the south side of

* Note, Page 222, *supra*.

† Page 57, *supra*.

‡ Page 308, *supra*.

what is now called the Anchor and Crown yard, from which, the north end of the house may be seen as represented in the print.



A remarkable case of the infliction of summary vengeance occurred at Gravesend ; and as a transaction somewhat similar to that for which this was executed, had occurred some years before, they may be related together. There was a great demand for labourers in the colonies in America, and in the West India Islands, and means were resorted to for procuring them, which gave rise to these events.

1680. One John Wilmore went to Billingsgate to proceed in a boat to Gravesend, taking with him several workmen, and two boys, to be conveyed in the ship *Grenada* to Jamaica ; and, whilst at Billingsgate, another boy named Civiter, pressed to be allowed to accompany them, which was assented to. After his departure, the parents of the boy came forward and criminated Wilmore, who, in his defence said, that he was not desirous that the boy should go, but as he persisted in saying he had no father or mother, and would be glad to go for his subsistence, he at length consented to take him, and that he went before the Mayor at Gravesend to have the boy bound as an apprentice to him, to serve for a term of

nine years in Jamaica. The friends of the boy Civiter, prosecuted Wilmore for a misdemeanour; and upon his trial he produced the certificate, dated the 31st of March 1680, of the Mayor of Gravesend, Walter Ninn; the Searcher, Richard Creswell; and William Codd, the Town Clerk, to prove that the boy had been regularly bound as an apprentice, in their presence. The result of the trial is not given in the account of the proceedings published by Wilmore; but, upon his own showing,* there were circumstances that left his justification very questionable.

1699. The other case was reported in the newspapers† of the time, as follows:—A boy of about 12 or 14 years of age, being kidnapped on board an outward bound ship lying at Gravesend, and some persons on board discovering who he was, and how he came there; a mob soon afterwards gathered in boats about the ship, and demanded the kidnapper, who was delivered up to them, and making him fast by a rope, they dragged him to the shore at the stern of a boat, and then released him; they returned to the ship and demanded the boy, whom they sent home, threatening the master of the ship, that if they should ever find any body on board his ship, under similar circumstances, they would serve him worse than they had treated the kidnapper.

In concluding the annals of Gravesend in the seventeenth century, it should be observed, that it was an era of a progressive and great improvement in the condition of the town. The East India Company having been established early in this period, their shipping conduced to the advantage of the inhabitants; and the trade with America and Barbadoes, and other of the West India Islands augmented the trade with shipping. The very frequent occasions upon which sovereigns and other personages, with large retinues, visited the town, from the beginning of the reign of James I., to that of William III., who frequently was at Gravesend, afforded farther advantages. The assizes for the county of Kent, were holden in the town occasionally,‡ to the benefit of the

* The Case of John Wilmore related; or, a Looking-Glass for all Merchants and Planters that are concerned in the American Plantations. Folio. London, 1682., p. 17.

† The *Postman* newspaper, August 26, 1699.

‡ Kilburn's Survey of Kent, 4to., 1659. Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend p. 114.

inhabitants it must be presumed, inasmuch as it was in (some cases) at their own solicitation that they were held here.*

The increment of these and other resources, is obviously denoted, both by the great number of local tokens that were required for the transactions of the tradesmen, and by the description of the dwelling houses erected in the period. The first of these, are two houses in West Street, with the date of 1639, in the front. The house erected on the Blockhouse ground for the Duke of York, in 1665; and that of Mr. Etkins, have already been noticed. The Katharine Wheel in High Street, opposite to the Town Hall, bears the date of 1686, in front; and the character of this building will be best described by the annexed print of it.



* At an assembly of the corporation, on the 23rd January, 1670, it was ordered, that the Mayor should request the interposition of Sir John Heath, the Sub-senechal, with the Judges, to prevail upon them to hold the next assize at Gravesend; and that the inhabitants, in that case, should be assessed for the expenses, of the necessary arrangements.

1634. The disbursements for the assizes amounted to £31. 12s. 10d. 1680. October 2nd. "Paid for building the Assize House, and for the whole charge of the assizes, £78. 18s. 8d. ;—paid charges at London, with Mr. Mayor and the Justice, about getting the assizes, £4."—Corporation accounts.

There are also in West Street, two others ; one of them, on the south side of the street, has the figure of a mermaid, and the date 1688, in the brick work in front : the other is on the opposite side of the street, and known by the sign of the "Privateer," which was erected about the same time, though it exhibits no date. These houses are all built of brick, and are such substantial dwellings as to denote the propitious circumstances, of those by whom they were erected, and of those who occupied them ; and warrant the opinion, that the Town had been considerably improved in the period.

1702. There was a very extensive illicit exportation of English wool to France, Holland, and Flanders, at this time ; and an inhabitant of Gravesend took a somewhat prominent part in the discussions upon the subject.

Mr. William Symonds, one of the Jurats of the corporation, was a woollen-draper and wool-stapler, carrying on a large trade with the farmers and woolgrowers in this neighbourhood, and in Romney Marsh. Being conversant with the trade, he was examined before a committee of the House of Commons respecting the extraordinary exportation of wool, to whom he submitted certain proposals for checking the practices of those engaged in the contraband trade. Subsequently he published a pamphlet upon the subject.*

Mr. Symonds seems to have had some notions on trade and political economy, which would ill accord with the opinions now entertained upon these subjects. His grand panacea for the disorders in this particular branch of trade, was, to establish a great number of register offices in Kent, near the coast and rivers, and a vigorous system of superintendence, and the check of permits and certificates, for guarding the removal of wool after the fleece was taken from the sheep's back, never losing sight of it, till it reached the manufacturer.

In the course of his work, Mr. Symonds falls foul of some parties

* A New-year's Gift to the Parliament ; or, England's Golden Fleece preserved, in proposals humbly laid before this present Parliament. By William Symonds, of Milton next Gravesend, in the county of Kent, Gent. Small 4to. London, 1702. pp. 38. *pence me.*

and practices at Gravesend, in a manner which will best appear in his own words.

“ The conveying of wool by vessels and boats, is in a great measure the only mischief that attends us, for Monsieur would be troubled to find any other way to get our wool, if boats and vessels were not in use ; and it is come to so impudent a practice, that our Gravesend wherries tempt the providence of God, and venture over with wool to Calais, and bring back brandy or other prohibited goods ; and I cannot see anything that contributes more to their encouragement, than suffering the entry of brandy after seizure, and letting them have their boats again.

“ There is another inconvenience to her Majesty’s revenue by bomb-boats ; for these bomb-boats, under pretence of [selling] brooms, brandy, and gingerbread, I am persuaded run uncustomed goods ; but if not so, they are a great mischief to her Majesty’s cordage in men-of-war, and also in merchant ships, for I doubt not but many a good coil of rope, spikes, and nails, have found their way out of the gun-room port into these boats. These bomb-boats are a most pernicious evil, but they shroud themselves under the pretence of poverty, and by that means are overlooked and little or no notice taken of them, which is a very strange oversight, and is as much as to say, if a highwayman be taken, and proves a poor rogue, (as generally they are) that for that reason he should be discharged.”*

The writer proposes that, “ it may be the particular care of her Majesty’s Searchers at Gravesend, to be strict in examining all ships and vessels cleared by them, after wool, in order to prevent the evil practices of transportation of wool from London and places thereunto adjoining, under pretence of other goods, *and upon neglect of their duty,*” &c.†

With this proposal concerning the Searchers, Mr. Symonds supplies the following remarks :—

“ There is no part of the kingdom more dangerous (*convenient?*) for the prosecution of this mischief of transporting wool, than London and the places adjacent ; for it hath been well known, that divers contrivances have been practised, as pressing of wool into casks, bales, or packs, under the name of butter, soap, stuff, and

* Symonds’ pamphlet, p. 25.

† Ibid. p. 25.

cloth (which have been detected) and may be continued still, if a strict care be not used in examining and searching ships and vessels cleared at Gravesend. The river Thames, from London to the sea, may be a large avenue for the transportation of wool, and be as capable to do mischief as most places of the kingdom; and if the gentlemen in the Searcher's office at Gravesend *will but extend their search, from the Round-house or Great Cabin, into the ship's hold*, there might be a greater service done, not only in preventing the transportation of wool, but of other goods, to the prejudice of the government;—and if the nearest friend I have were concerned in this employment, and gained by the half-part of the patent,* a thousand guineas per annum by it, yet for the good of my country, I should not forbear to lay (if in my power) an obliging care upon him to prevent those inconveniences that may arise. I could enlarge on this subject, but I beg excuse.”†

Here Mr. Symonds displays some tact; his patriotism seems of too sturdy a character to sacrifice anything to complaisance, yet he prudently refrains from offering further provocation to his neighbours, the Searchers.

1712. In this year, the Reverend Arnold Sydall, sometime Curate of the parish of Gravesend, and Master of the Free-School, published a pamphlet, which gives a lamentable exposition of the prevalence of a bitter party spirit, that it may be useful to notice, as affording an example to be deprecated and avoided. The revolution that removed James II. from the throne, for the preservation of the Protestant Church of England; left behind a controversial spirit, with an infusion of political acrimony, that for many years kept society in a restless state. In 1709, the affair of Dr. Sacheverell occurred. On the 13th of December, the attention of the House of Commons was called to two sermons which he had preached and published, that were contrary to revolution-principles, to the existing government, and to the Protestant succession.‡ The proceedings upon this subject,

* The office of Searcher was held by patent; and the duties were executed by deputy who divided the emoluments with the patentee.

† Pamphlet, pp. 28, 29.

‡ Dr. Smollett's History of England.

divided the nation into two parties ; one denominated the High Church party, the other consisting of Whigs and Dissenters.

It was in this warfare that Mr. Sydall became a belligerent. A letter appeared in the *Observer* newspaper, on the 17th of October, 1711, which, as it appears in the passages set out in his pamphlet, charged Mr. Sydall with sundry offences, committed in the discharge of his clerical duties, and with certain political transgressions ; and some strictures were added upon his early career in life.

He was represented as having served as a foot soldier ; and denounced (upon the gossiping evidence of his wife) as a Jesuit, for having openly pleaded for the legitimacy of the Pretender, for having drunk his health ; for calling Dissenters the off-scourings of the earth ; and for railing against the magistrates of Gravesend, both in and out of the pulpit, because most of them were Low Churchmen. To this, and much more of a like nature, there was added a specific charge against him, of having associated with an individual confined in the town prison for debt, and devised lampoons against the magistrates, which he gave to his boon companion to be read between the bars of the prison windows, to a mob collected at the outside ; and, furthermore, of having assisted at hanging out a calf's head at the prison window, in derision of the said magistrates ; and exhibiting there a portrait of Doctor Sacheverell, and raising a mob to drink his health, throwing lighted squibs and serpents,* and firing guns out of the window ; with divers other misdemeanors.

It was in answer to the charges against him, that Mr. Sydall published his pamphlet, in which the Reverend disputant pleads not guilty to several of them, explains others, and has recourse to recrimination, (which it must be confessed) is not the most conclusive mode of disproving accusations, though it may find some ground of excuse in the malevolence of the provocation ; and

* The passage in the pamphlet contains also the following evidence of the early origin of a practice which prevails at present, on the day when the Mayor is elected.—“ The whole truth of the powder plot is, that it has been a custom, time out of mind, upon the election of a Mayor, for boys to throw their serpents and squibs ; and this man in prison had given some to them for that purpose ; the Town Hall, and the two (*late and newly elected*) Mayors' houses, being the accustomed places they are fired at.”

Mr. Sydall availed himself of this ground, without ceremony or reserve.

There was, however, a very grave and direct charge, which is rebutted by the solemn asseverations of several competent witnesses. The accusation was not less shocking, than that of habitual drunkenness; and, that Mr. Sydall had, in a state of inebriety, administered the most sacred rite of the church, to the benevolent James Fry, upon his death-bed; and under so serious a charge it would be less than justice to the memory of the accused, to omit the following copy of the certificate, given (among others) by the widow of Mr. Fry.

“Whereas there has been a scandalous report raised upon the late Curate of Gravesend, that he administered the Sacrament to James Fry, gentleman, on his death-bed, when he was drunk, I, the relict of the said James Fry, do certifie, that to the best of my knowledge its false, nor did I see any grounds to believe him so, but he behaved himself in the administration, decently and devoutly, and performed all other offices the Church requires on such occasions, distinctly and well.”

“*March the 25th, 1712.*”

“SUSANNAH FRY.”

The answer of Mr. Sydall, to the letter published in the *Observer*, was followed, after a long interval of time, by a pamphlet in reply; the matter of which is as scurrilous, as the letter itself, (which it appears was written by the same hand), or the pamphlet of Mr. Sydall, which was not deficient in coarse vituperation. There, is, however, this redeeming feature in the latter, that the writer avowed himself, while the author of the slanderous attack wrote anonymously. The reply, as it will be supposed, was written in support of the original accusations; and like the answer to them, it contains an array of certificates; among which is one by Mr. Richard Ireland, a Jurat of the corporation, supporting the charge of inebriety, against the vindictory certificate of Mrs. Fry.

If the reader considers that the notice of these performances, (the titles* of which betray the *animus* with which they were

* The Mask pulled off; or, the Dissection of a Whaggish Corporation, being the late Curate of Gravesend's vindication from a villanous and libelling letter inserted some time ago in the *Observer*, where the restless and envious spirits of a factious party are displayed, and some reasons assigned for the barbarous usage he has found there. 8vo. London, 1712, pp. 54.

A Caveat against the Tories, &c., to which is added a Tory-example, in

written,) has been carried to too great a length, he will excuse the prolixity, when he considers that, if, by the exposure of such an altercation, and the discredit which it entails upon the parties, it should upon any future occasion induce mutual forbearance, it will have effected a desirable end.

1714. Upon the accession of King George the First, to the throne of Great Britain, at the demise of Queen Anne, according to the several Acts of Parliament for settling the succession in a Protestant line, His Majesty embarked at the Hague in the *Peregrine* Yacht, Captain Saunderson, under the convoy of a squadron commanded by the Earl of Berkeley, and arrived in the Lower Hope on the following day. On the 18th of September 1714, the royal yacht got under way, to proceed to Greenwich; and, in passing Gravesend, His Majesty was waited upon by the Mayor and Corporation, who, being introduced by the Earl of Dorset, presented a loyal address to the King, and were most graciously received.

The Corporation of Gravesend, therefore, was the *first* public body that welcomed the *first* Prince of the House of Brunswick upon his accession; and they studiously laid their claim to this distinction, by the express notice of the circumstance in the address which they presented to the King.*

1716. It has often been a subject of complaint, that trading on Sunday, at Gravesend, has been more extensive than on any other day in the week; which arose from the suspension of business at the Custom House in London on that day. This left the ship-owners and commanders disengaged, and they were wont to employ the Sunday for hastening their ships from Gravesend. The practice does not seem to have been of remote origin, for on the 24th of December, 1716, the Corporation resolved to apply to the Lords of the Treasury to suppress the practice; and in the minute of their resolution it is stated, that the Searchers or their

the infamous life and character of the late Curate of Gravesend, proved by remarkable testimonials, affidavits, and certificates. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England. 8vo. London, 1714, p. 25.

* Printed in Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 237.

deputies had taken upon themselves, *for some years past*, to clear ships and vessels on the Lord's Day.

1727. A calamitous fire occurred at Gravesend in the night of the 24th of August, by which so large a portion of the town was destroyed, that it is still remembered and referred to, as the Great Fire.

It commenced in a barn-yard, on the south side of the church, and was first seen by Mr. Mann, a surgeon, at eleven o'clock at night; upon his reaching the spot, on his return from the country, where he had been to visit a patient. He is said to have given the following account of the origin of the fire:—"At first sight it might have been covered with a hat; so inconsiderable did it appear, that he stabled his horse, and then upon going to the spot, he found that it had spread so rapidly, and so far, that it was out of his power to extinguish it." To this account of the beginning of the fire, the writer adds the following relation of its destructive progress. "The fire of Gravesend broke out at eleven o'clock in the night of Thursday, the 24th of August, 1727, in the barn-yard adjoining the church-yard, which in six hours burnt down, on Gravesend side, from Mr. Bishop's house adjoining the Katharine Wheel, all the houses in the High Street, to the Chequers corner, and thence on both sides of the way in the West Street, from the Christopher Corner, to the Red Lion Brewhouse, and was then stopped by blowing up the Unicorn. The Church of Gravesend was also entirely destroyed. On Milton side (of the High Street) it burnt the prison adjoining the market; all the inns and houses in the High Street to the Town Quay, and thence on both sides of the way in East Street to the Brigantine; in all, near one hundred and twenty dwelling-houses, besides out-houses, wharfs, stables, &c.; and was stopped in the East Street by blowing up the Rose."*

Several shops that stood upon the Town Quay or Wharf, were destroyed, with the stairs leading down to the causeway, and the wooden front of the wharf on both sides of the stairs.†

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 239.

† Records of Corporation. The following is an item of their accounts for the year of the fire; "To several people, extinguishing the fire, and watchmen for many days and nights, and bills at public houses, £44. 19s. 6d.

Dr. Thorpe, the eminent antiquary and author, was at Gravesend at the time, and confirms the account of the great extent of the calamity. He says, “ the Chapel of St. George, which had become the parochial Church was destroyed, with the greatest part of the town itself, by the dreadful calamity of fire which happened in August, 1727 ; and of which I was an eye-witness.”*

Upon that, as well as upon similar occasions, contradictory accounts were published ; among which the following appeared in a London newspaper, in the form of a letter from Gravesend :—
 “ The desolation here is hardly to be expressed, about 250 houses lie in ashes ; the Church steeple, which was of timber, is burnt, and whatever within the Church was combustible ; so that all which remain are naked walls ; the largest and the best half of the town is destroyed ; several hogs, cows, and horses, were burnt to death ; but, though the fire broke out in the dead of night, when the whole town almost were asleep, not a single soul, praised be God, has been killed or hurt. The fire was occasioned by a spark falling from a pipe among some corn, in a barn near the Church, and not by any persons lying in the barn as has been reported. *We were ill-provided for such a visitation, having but one engine in the town and that unfit for service, it not having been so much as played these three years.* What added to the calamity was, *our not blowing up of houses* ; which, if it had been done in time, as it ought to have been, and in such cases is the practice, a multitude of houses might in all probability have been saved. The houses being insured, our people perhaps did not take so much pains as they would have done, had the loss been wholly to fall upon themselves. The Sun Fire Office is in for about £9,000, and another much more. The whole damage is computed to be upwards of £200,000 sterling.”†

This computation appears to be very extravagant ; and, the whole number of houses, now standing upon the ground described to have been cleared by the fire, presents a striking evidence that, in respect of numbers there must be an error, and in point of value,

* Dr. Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, with *Antiquities in Kent*, within the diocese of Rochester. Folio, 1788, p. 116.

† London Journal, Saturday, September 2nd, 1727.

great exaggeration. It has been stated that, soon after the fire, the Mayor, and Corporation, sent circular letters to several Corporations, Ministers of parishes and others, imploring their assistance in this dreadful scene of distress; and that the money collected by the public for the assistance of the sufferers, amounted to £4,767. 4s. 2½*d.*, but their loss was so great, that it only paid them £28. 10s. per centum.*

Upon this calculation, the sum total of the loss of those who received pecuniary aid, was £16,727; and supposing that no property that had been insured, though destroyed, was included in this amount; and supposing also that no portion of the sum collected was bestowed upon those who could bear their own losses; the aggregate value of the property destroyed must have been great.

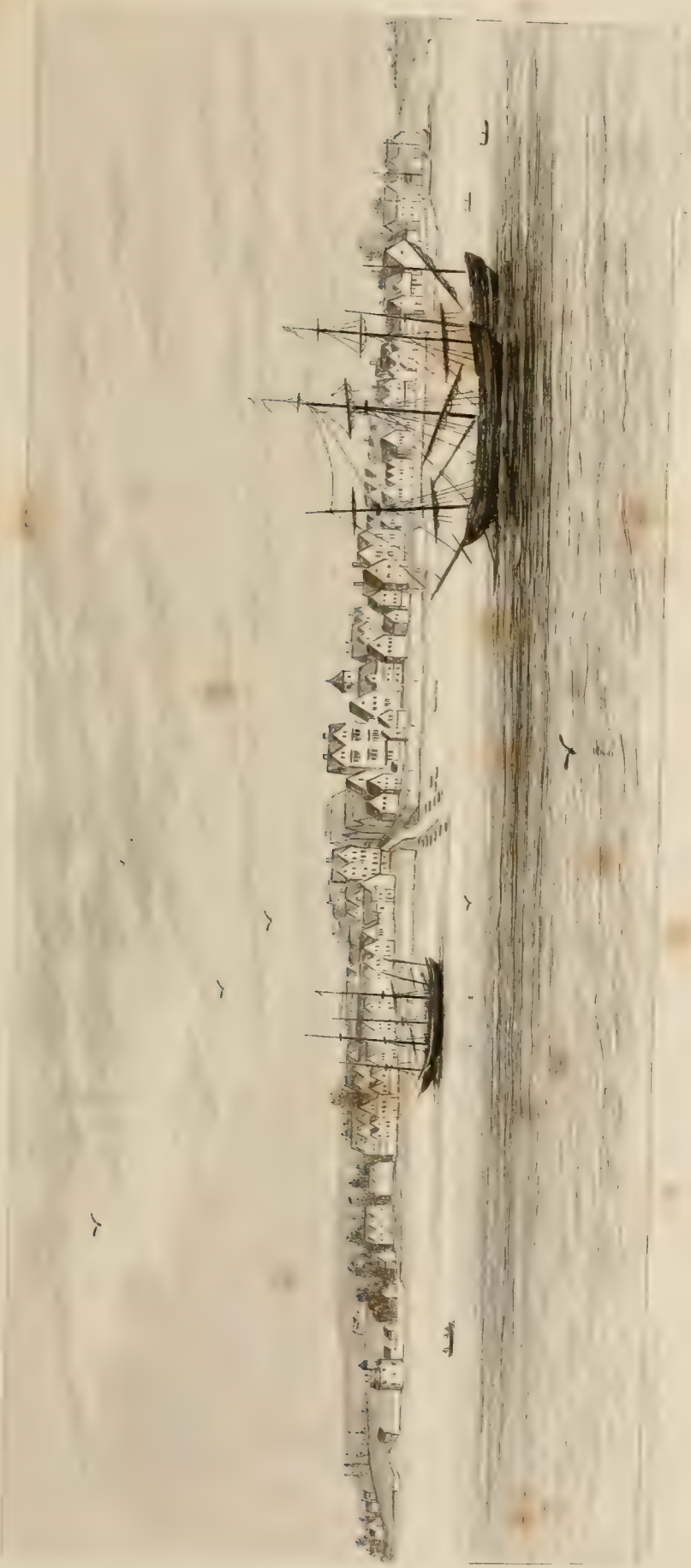
One account represents, that the fire was at length stopped by blowing up some houses with gunpowder, (to make a space beyond which the flames would not reach;) while the other makes it a matter of reproach that this expedient was not resorted to; a discrepance that cannot now be reconciled.

Those who are not acquainted with the situation of the marks by which the extent of the fire has here been described, may better appreciate the extent of the scene of desolation presented after the fire, by taking the following bounds. On the south, the Town Hall, as far west as the church; the end of East Street on the east, and the river on the north.

Gravesend, as it appeared when seen from the river, before the great fire, is represented in the accompanying engraving from a drawing† taken in the year 1662; which is the more valuable, because no other representation of the town at that period is extant. This view, even if no improvement had been made at the water-side in the interval, affords a striking proof of the disastrous consequences of the conflagration. The church seen in the engraving, is the edifice which had originally been the Chapel of St. George, and afterwards became the parish church. The lofty building near the public landing place, represents the ancient Christopher Inn.

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, page 240, who quotes Hasted's History of Kent, page 451, but no information of the kind is given in the latter work.

† By Mr., afterwards Sir Jonas Moore. See pp. 40 and 152. *supra*.





The inhabitants were ill provided for this sad visitation : for they had but one fire engine, and that was unserviceable, not having been used during three years preceding the time of the fire ; and the melancholy result was, that the conflagration was stopped only by the explosion of some houses on the east and west sides of the burning habitations ; while, on the north side, it reached the river before it could be controlled.

In the month of May, 1731, another fire occurred in Cross Street, (now Pipe Street,) which destroyed about seven houses ; and upon this occasion a house was blown up with gunpowder, to prevent the extension of the fire. The property destroyed was estimated at four thousand pounds. A similar calamity occurred in the year 1748. It began at half-past seven o'clock in the evening, in the stables of the Horn Inn, adjoining to which was a warehouse containing a great quantity of pitch, tar, and rosin, with all sorts of ironmongery ; there were also five half-barrels of gunpowder, which exploded ; and this, by destroying both the stables and the warehouse, occasioned a space that prevented the communication of the fire to other buildings. Many persons were hurt by the explosion, but happily no life was lost. The damage was computed at one thousand pounds.*

On the 3rd of April, 1779,† a fire broke out at the house of a tailor and woollen-draper, on the west side of High Street, where the house, No. 70, now stands ; which entirely consumed it, and materially damaged two others adjoining. The Sussex regiment of militia, being quartered in the town, rendered effective assistance ; and Captain Teale, of the Custom House, and Harris, a boat-builder, by their exertions, contributed in a great degree to the suppression of the fire. Harris, at the risk of his life, broke through the roof of the adjoining house, to render his assistance to the occupants.

The Roebuck public-house, in Queen Street, was burned down in the year 1801 ; and Mr. Slaney, a pilot of Deptford, lodging there, perished in the flames. The loss of property destroyed upon

* London Magazine, 1748, p. 522. Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 240.

† The General Advertiser, and other London Newspapers of the time.

these occasions, and the danger of the loss of lives in such cases, render the necessary precautions to meet such emergencies, a subject of vast importance. By the co-operation of the inhabitants and the several insurance offices, upon which the losses by fire eventually fall, might be attained the organization of an efficient establishment for the purpose. The funds necessary, for the purchase and maintenance of fire-engines, are raised at present with great difficulty, but the means of working them are very inadequate. Until a permanent force be provided, ready at least to direct, if not employ, the means of suppressing fires, the lives and property of the inhabitants must be exposed to the most disastrous casualties.

1730. On Wednesday, the 29th of May, Rachel Lander was stopped on the highway near Milton Church, and robbed of half-a-guinea. The robber fled, and Rachel Lander proceeded to Gravesend, where she saw him about half an hour afterwards in the street; and he was apprehended by William Silver, the constable, who took him to his own house, the Swan. The prisoner, Thomas Goodman, was taken before the magistrates, and eventually committed to Maidstone gaol, to take his trial for the robbery, upon the positive testimony of the woman robbed.

It is alleged that, while the prisoner was detained in custody, by Silver the constable, they concocted a plan to accuse a third party, who was to be prosecuted upon an impeachment by Goodman; and the charge was to be supported by the testimony to be procured by Silver. This is the account of one John Sherwin, the intended victim, who published the particulars of the whole affair.*

Goodman and Sherwin, with his wife, were, according to this account, tried at the assizes before Mr. Justice Probyn, when Goodman was convicted and received sentence of death, but was reprieved; and Sherwin and his wife were acquitted.

The relation published is *ex parte*, and by an implicated party;

* The Gotham Swan; or, the Rook's Flight from Gravesend, being the remarkable case of John Sherwin and his wife, written by himself, &c. 8vo. London, 1736, pp. 54.

but he produces the confession of Goodman, certified by the Mayor of Maidstone, Deodatus Bye, Minister, and the Under Sheriff, Mawdly Best.

It does not show what became of Silver, but it is probable that his participation in the nefarious act ruined him, and that he left the town; for in the year 1737, the Swan having been shut up for several years, was let, and was advertised by William Gates, the new tenant.*

Sherwin, in his publication, gives some account of himself, and describes his passage to Gravesend by water, in the tilt-boat. He had served as a soldier, and being disabled, had left the army, and sought a maintenance by exhibiting feats of legerdemain at fairs and in public-houses. The narrative of his voyage is as follows:—
“ I set out from home on the morning of the day when the robbery was committed, at half an hour after four o’clock, in order for Maidstone fair. I got to Billingsgate by seven, took water at eight for Gravesend, but fell short a mile and half: the watermen landed their passengers at three o’clock, except myself, wife, and son; for John Bull advised me to sit in the boat because I was lame, for he would strive to run to town. We did so, and I and my son laid down on the straw, covering ourselves with the tilt, and I fell asleep. In half an hour after he came and helped me out of the boat, over a lime-hoy, and had much ado to get me ashore; telling us at the same time he could not get to Gravesend till three hours after, the tide ran so strong against them. I got on shore, and being cold and chilly went to an alehouse to clean and brush our clothes from the straw. We asked our way of the watermen, who bid us keep the low road, and we could not lose our way. We kept the same, till we came to a lime-kiln, where were several men at work, and a coachman and porter inquiring after the tilt-boat and wherries; there I lost the low road, and went through a stile, where were two foot paths; we left that on the right hand, and kept that next the water side, and on our way met with four or five cliffs, which made it very troublesome for me to get up and down, but as my wife and son helped me, the

* Daily Gazetteer Newspaper, May 30, 1737.

place being covered all over with bushes. Passing the cliffs, we came to a little house near the town, with a well on one side the door : there I sat down, and my son wiped the lime off my shoes ; and getting up we saw John Bull the waterman going into town by himself, for he kept the low road, and we got to the end of the street."

Here is a picture, more than a hundred years old, of the tilt-boat, and the straw for the accommodation of the passengers, with the tide-coachman on the look out for the arrival of the boat, with a case of the disappointment to which passengers were frequently exposed, when the boat could not reach the town in one tide. The whole may serve for an amusing comparison with the present state of the conveyance by water from London.

GRAVESEND CHURCH.

According to the description of the manor of Gravesend, in the eleventh century,* there was at that time a Church in the parish, which is co-extensive with the manor. That edifice had probably yielded to the ravages of time, before the Church now to be mentioned was erected.

John Thorpe, rector, by his will, dated the 25th August, 1473, directed that his remains should be buried in the Church-yard ; and that his tomb should be covered with a stone of marble.

The site of that Church was at an inconvenient distance from the habitations of the greater part of the parishioners ; being situated at the south extremity of the parish, on the west side of the road, leading from Gravesend to Perry Street in Northfleet parish, very near the old Dover high road.

To relieve themselves from this inconvenience, the inhabitants provided themselves with a chapel near their dwellings, at their own great expense. This fact is authenticated, by the licence, dated the 22nd of April, 1497,† for the chapel ; which document shows that spot, near the river, selected for the site of the chapel, must have been the ground whereon the present parish Church stands.

* See page 10, *ante*.

† Licentia celebrandi in Basilica de Gravesend. Thorpe's Regist. Roffense, p. 377. Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 62.

1510. On the 2nd of April in this year, the Chapel was consecrated,* and on the following day the parish church† dedicated to St. Mary,‡ also, which had been rebuilt in consequence of the destruction of the former edifice by fire, was consecrated.

1522. The parish Church contained a chime of bells; for Christopher Westgerth and William At-Wod, the wardens, were cited to appear before the bishop, to answer for failing to have the bells rung upon the occasion of a recent visitation.§ A feature of the interior of the church was obtained, a few years ago, by the discovery of a portion of a sculptured mural monument of marble (*penes me*) upon the spot where the Church anciently stood.

The circumstances that had induced the parishioners to build the chapel, which was dedicated to St. George, in a few years led to the abandonment of the parish church.

In the inventory of effects and muniments of the Corporation, in the Town Hall, in the year 1595,|| there is mentioned, "A grant made by King Henry VIII., for the Chappell to be made our Parish Church, under the greate seale, in grene waxe:" but that document has been lost; the inrolment, however, has been discovered, and consulted. It is dated the 22nd of May, 1544; and, after reciting that the Church was so distant from the habitations of the parishioners, that infirm people, pregnant women, and others, experienced great inconvenience, gives authority that the Church

* "Consecratio Capelle Sancti Georgij in Gravesend.—Die Martis, videlicet, secundo die Aprilis, (A.D. 1510,) idem reverendus pater, [Johannes episcopus Roffen.] consecravat capellam dedicatam in honore sancti Georgij, primitus protestando quod eandem capellam non aliter consecravat, neque sic de facto consecrare intendebat, quod esset in prejudicium ecclesie parochialis, et quod non liceret eisdem parochianis, aut alicui alii nominibus eorum, corpora mortuorum sepelire, infantulos baptizare, seu aliquod aliud sacrum in eadem capella ministrare, preterquam consecracionem corporis dominici." Thorpe's Regist. Roffen. p. 377. Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 63.

† "Consecratio Ecclesie parochialis de Gravesend.—Tertio die mensis Aprilis (A.D. 1510) idem reverendus pater, [Johannes episcopus Roffen.] ecclesiam parochialem de Gravesende, nuper igne crematam, et de novo re-edificatam, solempniter consecravat, et postea tunc ibidem tabulam majoris altaris ejusdem ecclesie de novo erectam, cum omni solempnitate in talibus consueta consecravat, benedixit, et sanctificavit." Thorpe's Regist. Roffen. p. 377. Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 64.

‡ Thorpe's Antiq. of Kent, appendix, p. 261.

§ Thorpe, and Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 65.

|| Pat. 36 Hen. VIII., p. 5.

should be abandoned, and the chapel of St. George be used as the parish Church.

The former edifice, probably, soon mouldered into dust ; but the old church-yard was occasionally used as a cemetery, till the end of the sixteenth century, according to the following entries in the register of burials in the parish.

1566. August 10th, was William Barber buried in the old Church-yard.

1566. Sept. 11. Symon, a Douchman of high holland buried in the olde Church-yard.

1566. Oct. 17. A Spaniard, (*and three others in that month.*)

1587. Oct. This monthe was xiiij. souldiers buried, in the olde church-yard.

1598. December the second daye, was Widdow Mortimer buried in y^e Greene nere the olde church-yard.

The chapel of St. George, licensed in the year 1497, and consecrated in 1510, and which became the parish church in 1544, was found in the beginning of the eighteenth century in a dilapidated state ; as appears by a petition to parliament, in the year 1710, for assistance to restore the structure, by a grant of funds from the duties imposed upon coals brought into the port of London, to be applied to the building of new churches.

That application for aid is so important as a precedent, although the claim was not for several years admitted, that the petition of the parishioners should be kept in view. It is contained in the Journals of the House of Commons, and has been published in a former local history.*

“ The humble petition of the Minister, Churchwardens, and other inhabitants of the parish of Gravesend, in the county of Kent, sheweth, —That the said parish of Gravesend is within the port of Gravesend, and has, therefore, paid the duty upon coals for building and repairing churches in the city of London.

“ That your petitioners have, at their own great charge, hitherto kept their church in very good repair and decent order, but having no other steeple than a case of boards, which is now very old, ruinous, and ready to fall, which your petitioners are utterly unable to build at their own charge,

“ They, therefore, humbly implore the favour of this Honourable

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 66.

House, that they may be permitted to partake of the public money appropriated by Parliament to this use, or may be assisted in such other manner as to this Honourable House shall seem meet."

"And your petitioners shall ever pray."*

It is said, in proof of the failure of this application for assistance, that some steps were taken by the parishioners in vestry in October, 1725, to ascertain the expense of repairing the church, and to build the steeple with stone and brick ;† but, before effectual measures were taken to repair the Church, it was destroyed by the great fire in the year 1727.

The aid of Parliament was again invoked, and with a more happy result than upon the former occasion.

On the 28th of January, 1731, a Court Burghmote ‡ was holden, when it was resolved that petitions to parliament should be prepared, and that the Mayor, with certain of the Jurats, and the rector of the parish of Gravesend, should wait upon the Duke of Dorset,§ to solicit his Grace to support the prayer for pecuniary assistance for building a new church upon the site of that which had been destroyed, by a grant from the funds raised by the duties upon coals levied at London and Gravesend, for building fifty new churches, after the great fire of London.

The petition to the House of Commons was committed to the care of Sir Roger Meredith, Bart., and Sir Robert Furnese, Bart., the representatives in parliament for the county of Kent.

Such was the celerity with which these applications were followed up, and the benevolent spirit in which they were entertained, that an Act || was immediately obtained, granting five thousand pounds towards the erection of a new church, and appointing trustees to see this carried into effect. It was provided that the sum granted should be paid on or before the 24th day of June, in the same year. His Majesty King George II. munificently bestowed one thousand pounds, and Her Majesty Queen Caroline

* Journals of Commons, 2 April 1711.

† Pocock, pp. 66, 67.

‡ Corporation Records.

§ "John Sidney, Earl of Leicester, was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Kent, on the 5th of May, 1724, and at the same time Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset, was appointed *Custos Rotulorum*."—Hasted, vol. i. p. 233.

|| Stat. 4 Geo. II. c. 20.

five hundred pounds, to be applied under the direction of the Duke of Dorset.

Articles of agreement were entered into by the trustees, with Mr. Sloane, for building the church, with a gallery along the north side, to be completed at Michaelmas, 1732, for the sum of £3,824, exclusive of the cost for pews. He was to cover the tower with lead; but, if the trustees should build a spire (which they did), then the contractor was to abate £50 of the sum stated, in consideration of being excused from covering the tower with lead.

<i>Dimensions of the Church.*</i>		Feet
Length	. . . . .	80
Breadth	. . . . .	50
Chancel beyond the Church	. . . . .	10
Height of the tower	. . . . .	80
Height of the steeple to the ball	. . . . .	52½
Square of the tower	. . . . .	22

The first stone was laid on the 3rd of June, 1731, by Sir Roger Meredith, Bart., M.P. It is built with brick, with stone quoins and stringings. On a fascia of Portland stone, is the following inscription, written by the Rev. Thomas Harris, M.A., Rector,†
 HANC ÆDEM INCENDIO LUGUBRI DELETAM GEORGIUS II. REX MUNIFICENTISSIMUS SENATUS CONSULTO INSTAURANDAM DECREVIT.

While the Church was building, divine service was performed in the Town Hall.‡ Being finished and consecrated, it was opened on the 11th of February, 1733; when an appropriate sermon§ was preached by the rector, which was afterwards published. It was dedicated to the Duke of Dorset, with expressions of gratitude for his generous and powerful aid, rendered to the inhabitants in their affliction; it contains, also, a just acknowledgment of the valuable services of Sir Roger Meredith, in conducting the Bill for building the Church, through the House of Commons.

* Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 74.

† Pocock, p. 74.

‡ Pocock, p. 71.

§ A Sermon preached at Gravesend Church, 11th of February, 1733, by Thomas Harris, M.A., Rector. 8vo. London, 1733, pp. 16. Another sermon relating to this church had been preached at Milton Church, by the Rector, James Howe, M. A. 8vo. London, 1731, pp. 22.



When the Church was built, the Corporation took the lead in subscriptions to provide bells, and became responsible for the claims of the contractors, Messrs. Phelps and Applebee, of London.*

The following account of these, and other bells subsequently provided, as they appeared in the year 1790, is taken from the same pages,† from which several interesting particulars relating to the Church have been obtained, that they might be presented to the reader with other details since collected. They were thus inscribed :—

1. “ James Wade, Esq., mayor ; Gm. Rackstraw, George Thompson, Ch. wardens, 1771.”

2. “ R. Phelps, fecit omn.—Several gentlemen strangers gave this bell, 1736.”‡

* Corporation Records, November 5th, and December 16th, 1735 ; December 21st, 1736, and April 26th, 1737.

† Pocock, p. 78.

‡ In 1793, the second bell was recast, with the following inscription :—

“ Several gentlemen strangers gave this bell, 1736 ; recast at the charge of the parish, 1793. John Tucker, M.A., rector ; George Thompson, and James Kirk, church-wardens. Thomas Mears, of London, fecit.”

3. "J. Wade, Esq., mayor ; Gm. Rackstraw, G. Thompson, Ch. wardens, 1771."*

4. "The inhabitants of Gravesend gave this bell. Thomas Harris, rector ; Wm. Harrison, and Henry Wootton, Ch. wardens, 1736."

5. "Jno. Joynes, Walter Nynn, Wm. Lance, Anth. Ireland, Wm. Myers, Jno. Fox, Jno. Bolger, Jno. Hughes, Ja. Roe, Geo. Clarke, Trustees for the subscription money, gave this bell, 1736. Jno. Applebee, and Richard Phelps made these eight bells."

6. "James Wade, Esq., mayor ; Gaynham Rackstraw, G. Thompson, Ch. wardens, 1771."

7. "The Jurats gave this bell. William Haffenden, Esq., deputy-mayor ; Jno. Joynes, Esq., justice, 1736."

8. "This corporation gave £50. towards these bells ; William Man, Esq., maior ; J. Applebee, R. Phelps, made these eight bells."†

The Church has now a gallery on the south side, which was erected in 1819. At the west end, an organ and loft were erected in 1764 ; since which, galleries on both sides of the organ have been erected for the children of the National and Sunday schools. The Church contains about 650 pew seats, 150 open sittings ; and about 250 children of the schools find accommodation.

In the centre of the nave of the Church hangs a brass sconce of eighteen branches, on which is this inscription :—"This sconce was bought by the parish of Gravesend, who caused this to be engraved in memory of Mr. David Varchell, who gave a sconce to this church in the year 1703, which was burnt, together with the said Church, and the greatest part of Gravesend, August 24, 1727. William Harrison, Henry Wootton, churchwardens. 1735."‡

RECTORS OF GRAVESEND.§

1216.—ADAM, Rector in the reign of King John.

1335.—WILLIAM DE BELGRAVE, died 14th October, 1331.

1331.—ADAM DE SCAKELTHORP, October 30.

1335.—JAMES DE DERNEFORD, October 26.

1341.—JOHN WARYN, September 16.

* The third bell has been since recast, in 1813.

† The eighth bell is now inscribed thus :—

"The corporation gave £50. towards these bells. William Man, maior, 1736. This bell was recast at the charge of the parish, 1793. John Tucker, M.A., rector ; George Thompson, and James Kirk, churchwardens. Thomas Mears, of London, fecit."

‡ Pocock, p. 79.

§ Abridged from Pocock's History of Gravesend, pp. 85-8, and continued to the present time.

- 1343.—WILLIAM DE LONDON, September 16.
 1344.—ADAM DE HAUBOYS, September 14.
 1345.—RICHARD DE OLNEY, June 15.
 1350.—THOMAS DE CLAPTHORNE, April 17.
 1357.—ROBERT DE MILDENHALE, August 2.
 1359.—JOHN DE BENNEBURY, July 18.
 1364.—ROBERT CHANE DE WYKE, February 7.
 1399.—SIMON HOKE, August 20.
 1391.—THOMAS BARBOUR, February 11.
 1399.—ANDREW ATTE SONDE, or SONDEERS, September 17.
 1427.—JOHN WORGHOPE, or WYBOROUGH, January 20.
 — — JOHN ELLYS.
 1449.—JOHN THORPE, August 1.
 — — ROBERT HOLT.
 1497.—HENRY REDINGE, also RYDINGE, September 2.
 1530.—ROGER WYLDE, M.A., December 22.
 — — JOHN WYATT.
 1541.—JOHN COLLYNG, July 2.
 1546.—WILLIAM COLLINS, April 20.
 — — PETER LYMITER, deprived, April 26, 1554.
 1554.—NICHOLAS GREENWAY, June 4.
 1559.—PETER LYMITER, restored, October.
 1581.—WILLIAM BROWNE, B.A., August 29.
 1581.—ROBERT HOLLAND, November 30.
 1609.—JOHN BURLES, October 23.
 1616.—NICHOLAS FRANKWELL, M.A.
 1632.—KENELM MANWARING, M.A., March 1.
 1650.—SIMON DYER.
 — — . . . SHARPE, ejected.
 1661.—WILLIAM LISTER, M.A., January 1.
 1687.—JOHN HUGHES, December 9.
 1699.—THOMAS SHEWELL, M.A., December 4.
 1704.—WILLIAM SAVAGE, B.D., January 30.
 1721.—SAMUEL DUNSTER, D.D., December 3.
 1722.—WILLIAM AYERST, B.D., January 30.
 1726.—THOMAS HARRIS, M.A., October 14.
 1763.—WILLIAM CRAWLEY, M.A., March 30.
 1782.—JOHN TUCKER, B.A., April 5.
 1811.—SAMUEL WATSON, D.D.
 1837.—RICHARD SYMONDS JOYNES, D.D., April 27 ; present Rector.

THE NORE LIGHT.

This famous guide for mariners navigating the Port of London, does not owe its origin to high and generous patronage, but was

produced by an enterprising individual. Mr. Robert Hamblin, having obtained a patent for an improved distinguishable light, provided a vessel which he fitted up with his patent light, calling her the *Experiment*; and on Monday, the 9th of August, 1731, he moored his vessel at the Nore sand, as a floating light.

On the 13th of September, the patentee addressed the public through the newspaper press,* stating that, as this vessel appeared insufficient for the purpose, and was not likely to bear the wear and tear to which it would be exposed during the term of his patent, which was for fourteen years, he would provide another, that would be ready at the end of the month. Mr. Hamblin called upon ship-owners and commanders to contribute to the expense, by a contribution after the following rate. For vessels under 100 tons, sixpence each per voyage,—from 100 to 200 tons, one shilling each; and all above 200 tons, one shilling and sixpence; and he requested that these payments should be made at the several coffee-houses in the City, frequented by the parties.

The energetic patentee went to work with his associates, calling them the undertakers; and on the 10th of October, a vessel named the *Good Intention*, of the burthen of 100 tons, properly equipped and furnished, was moored at the Nore Sand, in the place of the vessel previously placed there.

Whether the “voluntary principle,” upon which Mr. Hamblin and his associates seem to have relied, failed or not, does not appear; but it is very probable that it did, for a few years afterwards the Nore Light was under the management of the Trinity Corporation. In the year 1737, the Corporation filed a bill in Chancery against several masters and owners of ships who had refused payment of duties to the Nore Light, to which the parties pleaded; but exceptions to the answer of the defendants were filed in December in that year; after which no further proceedings in the cause appear, and it is presumed, therefore, that the parties submitted to the demand;† and thenceforth the Nore Light continued under the management of the Trinity House.

* The Daily Courant, July, &c. 1731.

† Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on Lighthouses, printed the 8th of August, 1743. Appendix No. 30.

TILBURY WATER.

The medicinal properties of the water, that has gone by this name, were discovered in the following manner. A Mr. Kellaway had an estate at West Tilbury, in the year 1724, where he ordered a well to be sunk for the use of the farm. About three years afterwards, Mr. Kellaway, being then at Tilbury, and suffering under an attack of the gout and a cold, he had some of the water boiled, to be mixed with wine, for his beverage. Observing that it became white by boiling, and again clear, upon being mixed with wine, he hesitated to drink it; but, being told that the family had always used it, he drank the water while he remained at the farm, and found his health improved. He was fond of milk, which, however, generally affected his bowels; but, one morning when he had taken a glass of water before he drank the milk, the latter did not affect him as it had done before, and he continued to use the water. No farther notice was taken of it till the year 1731, when Mr. Kellaway, being seized with diarrhœa, had recourse to the Tilbury water again, from which he obtained great relief. This made such an impression on his mind, that he desired that in all similar cases, which might occur at the farm, the water should be used medicinally; and the favourable results being talked of, it soon became known in an extended circle, and by slow and obscure progress, it was introduced to the public as a remedy for certain disorders of the bowels. After it had been analyzed, and had effected many cures, it was brought into public notice about the year 1736, and was used as an alterative very extensively for many years. In 1779, Mr. John Ellison, of London, purchased a lease of the well, and much of the water was used, and exported to the East and West Indies. It continued to hold its reputation for many years, but has not been heard of as a medicine for a long period.

1732. Many notices have been given of the presence of distinguished personages at Gravesend, and of the ceremonies observed in honour of the events: but there is one whose visit claims a special record under this year; Hogarth having then visited the town, on a tour with his brother-in-law, Mr. John Thornhill, and his friends Messieurs Scott, Tothall, and Forrest.

A journal of their peregrination is preserved in a posthumous publication,* which contains some characteristic and amusing sketches. The task of collecting the particulars of their proceedings was committed to Mr. Forrest, who says:—"Saturday, May the 27th, we set out with the morning, and took our departure from the Bedford Arms Tavern, Covent Garden, to the tune of 'why should we quarrel for riches?' The first land we made was Billingsgate, where we dropped anchor at the Darkhouse. * * * Here we continued till the clock struck one. Then set sail in a Gravesend boat, we had hired for ourselves. Straw was our bed and a tilt our covering. The wind blew hard at s. e. and by e. We had much rain and no sleep, for about three hours. * * * We soon arrived at Gravesend, and found some difficulty in getting ashore, occasioned by an unlucky boy's having placed his boat between us and the landing place, and refusing us passage over his vessel; but as virtue surmounts all obstacles, we happily accomplished this adventure, and arrived at Mr. Bramble's at six. There we washed our faces and hands, and had our wigs powdered, then drank coffee, eat toast and butter, paid our reckoning, and set out at eight. We took a view of the building of the new church, the unknown person's tomb and epitaph, and the market place; and then proceeded on foot to Rochester."

The merry tourists continued their route to the Isle of Sheppey and returned to Gravesend on the 29th, in the evening. On the following morning they took their departure for London: of which movement Mr. Forrest says, "Wednesday, at eight, we arose, breakfasted and walked about the town. At ten went into a boat we had hired, with a truss of clean straw, a bottle of good wine, pipes, tobacco, and a match. We came merrily up the river, and quitting our boat at Billingsgate, got into a wherry that carried us through bridge, and landed at Somerset water-gate, whence we walked all together, and arrived about two, at the Bedford Arms, Covent Garden, in the same good humour we left it, to set out upon this very pleasant expedition."

Now for a few words upon certain circumstances here related.

* An account of the five days peregrination of Hogarth and others, begun May 27, 1732. London, 1772.

Upon the very delicate point of personal adornment then in fashion, there may be much difference of opinion, but really it seems pitiable that a party, upon a rough excursion like this, should have been encumbered with wigs, that were to be powdered at the first stage, and might have been blown away in a squall ; remembering too, that Hogarth was then about thirty-five years of age. The straw and the tilt, and being pinned down to a bench all the passage, from London to Gravesend, will not endure a comparison with the luxuries of Brussels carpets under the feet, and a light awning with plentiful head-room to admit of locomotion. The inhospitable reception at Gravesend, given by the youngster in the boat, has found the only remedy of which the disorder was capable, by means for preventing the approach of such as might be prone to offend in like manner.

1734. A visit of the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, was preceded and attended with unusual circumstances at Gravesend.

On the 14th of March,* the Corporation, with many of the inhabitants, dined together, to celebrate the marriage of the Prince, with Anne, Princess Royal, daughter of King George the Second.

On Monday, the 22nd of April, the Prince and his royal bride, attended by many persons of distinction, left London in carriages for Gravesend, to embark for Holland ; and upon reaching the town, they went on board the *Fubbs* yacht, lying ready to receive them. The wind being unfavourable, they came on shore in the evening and remained at the house of Doctor Holker.†

Tuesday, the 23rd, the Prince and Princess dined on board the yacht, in view of great numbers who went off in boats to witness the spectacle.‡ On the same day the Corporation held a court, at which it was resolved,—That his most Serene Highness, William Charles Henry Friese, Prince of Orange, K. G., should be enrolled a Freeman of the Corporation ; whereupon the Mayor, Joseph Joynes, Esq., and the Corporation, attended the Prince with an address.

* The day on which the marriage was solemnized.

† Now the New Inn.

‡ Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 14.

Wednesday, the 24th, the Prince and Princess, having again lodged at the house of Dr. Holker, embarked early in the morning ; and, the wind being fair, the illustrious couple took their departure for Holland.

TILT-BOATS.

1737. This was a remarkable era in the history of the Long Ferry. The tilt-boat had obtained a preference over the ancient heavy barge, and now the successful rival was doomed to experience a reverse in turn. In an Act* for regulating the watermen on the Thames between Gravesend and Windsor, provisions were introduced relative to the Gravesend boats used in the Long Ferry. It appears that, for some years, boats and wherries had been built in imitation of tilt-boats, with close decks, whereby the lives of the passengers had often been in imminent danger and many lives had been lost.† For the prevention of this, it was enacted that, after the 24th of June, 1737, it should not be lawful for any person to use any boat or wherry with a close deck, commonly called a Gravesend wherry, or with bails which were nailed to the boat and not moveable. The dangerous properties of such small boats are obvious ; for, when the bails, or semicircular hoops upon which a tilt was supported, were immoveable, the passengers were so confined as to render it difficult if not impracticable to escape, in circumstances of danger. It was further provided, by the same act, that no tilt-boat should be of less burthen than fifteen tons, and the number of passengers to be conveyed in each was limited to forty, including three to be taken up by the way. No boat of less than three tons burthen was allowed to be used in the Long Ferry, and these were to carry no more than ten passengers each, including two to be taken up by the way.

* Stat. 10 Geo. II. c. 31.

† If the regulations prescribed by the Rulers of the Watermen's Company were good authority, it would seem, that at that period, the boats in the Long Ferry were not very skilfully managed ; for in their bye-laws in 1708, which were reprinted in 1730, it was provided, that if the master of any tilt-boat carrying passengers between Gravesend and London should at any time turn to windward, *except one trip in each particular reach where necessity required*, he should forfeit ten shillings ; and the master of any wherry in like case was liable to the forfeiture of two shillings and sixpence. Oars were therefore the propelling power relied upon to that late period.

At the same time it was enacted, that, for regulating the more punctual departure of the boats employed in the Long Ferry, there should be a bell put up at Billingsgate, and another at Gravesend; the former to give notice of the time of high water, when the boat was to depart; and the latter, of the time of low water, when the boat was to leave Gravesend, and proceed to London.

On the 15th of September, 1738, the five tilt-boat masters, licensed by the Corporation, were, George Sarmon, George Eglintine, John Oaram, Leonard May, and Richard Turner; and it appears that in the following year, upon a vacancy occurring, John Humpage was licensed as master of the *Joseph and Mary* tilt-boat: it was therefore subsequently to this time, that every one of the five tilt-boats was named the *King George*. The regulations, introduced by the Act referred to, proved efficacious, for the smaller boats were soon afterwards disused: the tilt was in a few years discontinued, and larger boats with decks were employed; they, however, retained the general denomination of tilt-boats, and were severally named the *King George*, until sailing boats were no longer used in the Long Ferry.



A Gravesend Tilt-boat, from an engraving, by P. C. Canot, 1753.

1739-40. On Christmas day, 1739, a frost commenced, that continued till the 17th of February following; which, for its intensity and duration, has been called the Great Frost. The communication between London and Gravesend by water, was of course

stopped, and all trading with shipping was suspended. The Thames above bridge and below, where ships and vessels usually gladdened the scene, was shut, the movements of the vessels were arrested, and there was no access to them but over the ice. Where boats had skimmed their way, booths were erected; and multitudes resorted to the icy covering over the current of the Thames.

1740. On the 13th of May, King George the Second embarked at Gravesend, on board the *Caroline* yacht, for Holland, and continued frequently to pass,* on his visits to his German dominions.

The hostilities, in which Great Britain was then involved, rendered Gravesend a place of military rendezvous. Troops were embarked for Germany and Flanders; and when they returned, they usually landed at Gravesend. On the 19th of October, war was declared against Spain, and the great activity which prevailed among the mercantile shipping† of the port of London, (the usual concomitant of a modern maritime war,) produced a busy trade at Gravesend. When France engaged in the war, affairs wore a serious aspect. Charles, son of the Pretender, left Rome for Paris, to be ready to take advantage of any circumstances that might arise in his favour; and the alarm of invasion was raised in England. In the early part of the year 1743, the French sent a squadron of ships from Brest, which proceeded up the channel; and Sir John Norris thereupon sailed from Portsmouth with a fleet, which was joined in the Downs by some ships from Chatham; several regiments marched to the coast; the forts on the Medway, and at Gravesend, and Tilbury, were put into effective condition; and the Kentish militia was called out.

The storm, which had thus threatened the locality, did not

* As it appears by such entries as the following, in the Corporation accounts:—

1740, May 13. Paid to Mr. Coulter, (Inn-keeper), at meeting His Majesty.

Sep. 22. Paid constable, the day the King went to Hanover.

1743, Nov. 15. Paid to Mr. Coulter, the day the King landed.

1745, May 4. Paid when awaiting His Majesty's arrival.

Sep. 3. Paid at Thomas King's, waiting for His Majesty, &c.

† By means of hired transports and store-ships, the increase of colonial trade by transmarine conquest, and the exclusion of the merchant ships of other nations, by the superiority of Great Britain at sea.

burst upon it ; but, as the war raged upon the continent, troops were frequently passing and repassing at Gravesend,* until it terminated in 1748, particularly in 1745, when it was necessary, in consequence of the rebellion, to recall some of the forces. When a fresh war broke out in 1756, the same military movements were productive of the same effects upon the town, as appears by the testimony of an inhabitant,† who wrote in the latter part of the last century. He says that, “in the years 1756 and 1759, Gravesend was the principal appointed place of rendezvous for the troops to embark at, for Germany ; trade then flourished apace, many of the tradesmen found then, and still do, the advantages gained in these lucrative years.”

PURFLEET.

1759. The gunpowder magazines at Purfleet have already found a place in history. Dr. Smollett ‡ says, that several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of Greenwich and places adjacent, represented to Parliament, that there was, within a quarter of a mile of the town, a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of six thousand barrels ; that, besides the great danger which must attend all places of that kind, the magazine stood in an open field, unclosed by any fortification or defence, consequently exposed to treachery and every other accident ; alleging that, if this magazine should take fire, not only the lives and property of the petitioners, but also the shipping in the river would be destroyed. It was stated also, that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, being supported

* 1744. February 20th, Col. Paterson marched with his regiment from Chatham, Rochester, and Strood, to reinforce the garrison of Tilbury Fort.

May 12th, His Majesty's yachts, *Fubbs*, *William and Mary*, and the *Mary*, received on board at Gravesend, Generals Churchill and Pulteney, the Earl of Loudon, and other general officers, who were proceeding to Holland to join the army in Flanders.

June 18th, two Dutch regiments, being in England, were sent to Gravesend to embark on their return ; and horses for the Prince of Lorraine were shipped at Gravesend.

1745, May 15th. Men draughted from the three regiments of guards, under Lieut.-Col. Pitt, embarked at Gravesend for Ostend, &c.

† Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 241.

‡ Hume's Hist. of England, continued by Dr. Smollett, edit. 1796, vol. xiii., p. 18.

on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation ; where-upon they prayed, that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where an accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences.

As this was a petition embracing an application for public funds, for effecting the purpose which it suggested, it could not be received by the House without the consent of the Crown, according to parliamentary forms, which, it seems had been complied with ; for, the Chancellor of the Exchequer signified that His Majesty had commanded, that it should be recommended to the House to grant the request. This removed every objection, and an Act* was passed for purchasing ground at Purfleet, and for erecting there a magazine for gunpowder, for the land and sea-service, with barracks, guard-house, and other houses and buildings, necessary for the care and management of such magazines ; and fifteen thousand pounds were granted for the purpose. It appears by the Act, that a local improvement was made at the same time. Water-mills had been erected in the fleet or cut, called Mar Ditch, at the side of which the magazines now stand ; and the fresh water had been kept back by them, the salt water from the Thames being admitted, which had been found detrimental to the adjacent lands, as well as to the health of the country generally, and might also prove pernicious to the garrison intended for the guard of the said magazine ; wherefore it was provided, that the gates should be taken down, and no others erected there in future.

By a previous Act,† it had been provided that private store-houses for gunpowder might be erected, in the marshes at the sides of the Thames, at such places as the Justices of the Peace of the Counties, in which it was proposed to erect them, should approve ; and the buildings were to be erected in such manner as the Board of Ordnance should direct.

1759. On Thursday, the 23rd of August, a deplorable accident happened at Gravesend. The ship, *Friendship*, Captain Thompson, arrived that day from Jamaica. The Captain had just quitted the ship, in a waterman's boat, to proceed to London, and

* Stat. 31 Geo. II., c. 11.

† Stat. 5 Geo. I., c. 26.

the wife of the mate had gone on board to meet her husband, when the ship was blown up. There were on board, at the time, twelve young gentlemen and six young ladies, who came from Jamaica for education, who all perished, with the mate, his wife, and others that were on board; the whole number of lives lost being forty-two. The only persons who escaped were four foreign seamen, who belonged to the crew, being two Dutchmen and two Danes; they leaped overboard and were taken up. The accident was supposed to have been occasioned by a spark, dropped in the gun-room, where the powder was kept, by officers searching for seamen, to impress them; there being on board, at the time of the calamity, some officers and sailors belonging to men-of-war, who had brought the ship round to the river, and others who belonged to a press-gang. It was a practice, when any of the crew of a ship were impressed in the channel, for sailors to be put on board to do the duty for them, in navigating the ship to London. The cargo of the *Friendship* consisted of 500 hogsheads of sugar, and other colonial produce.

1762-3. On Christmas day, 1762, a frost commenced, which set in with a north-east wind, and continued with little intermission, to the 29th of January following. Such was the severity of the weather, that sea-gulls were seen as far up the river as London bridge; and birds, driven from their usual haunts, were seen in great numbers in the streets of London. The ice, driven up and down by the tide, cut the cables of ships, and set whole tiers adrift; one of them being driven with so much force against the bridge, that her bow-sprit beat down twenty feet in length of the stone balustrade. At Gravesend, all work upon the river was stopped; the intercourse with London suspended; and the tide-coaches between Rochester and Gravesend, (their ordinary occupation being interrupted,) were employed to pass between Gravesend and London.

A corroboration of the account given above of the prosperous state of trade in Gravesend, and of the consequent improvement in the circumstances of the inhabitants in the period from 1740

to 1760, appears, in the proceedings of the Corporation to overtake private advancement, by the improvement of the public landing-place and Town Hall.

THE TOWN QUAY.

There had been shops, sheds, and standings, upon the town-quay or wharf, long before it was purchased from Mr. Etkins, in the year 1694; and the first material step taken with this estate, after it had been purchased, is described in the following minute of the proceedings of the Corporation.

“1765, *July 6th.*”

“Whereas the Town Key, and shops lately standing, and the stairs, and common landing bridge, commonly called Gravesend Bridge, situate in the parish of Milton* next Gravesend, were very much out of repair, decayed, rotten, and ready to fall, the Mayor [&c.] have ordered, that there shall be erected a new Wharf, the same to be enlarged to the westward of the old Wharf or Key, and so much of the Town Dock† to be taken in, to enlarge the same, as should be found convenient; and there shall be built seven new shops, on the westernmost side of some part of the said Key, next the Christopher Wharf or Key, to be covered with lead; and also a new pair of stairs; and a new landing bridge, to contain 146 feet in length, in manner following, that is to say, the Corporation part 40 feet,‡ the second 20 feet, and the lowermost part 86 feet in length, from the bottom of the new stairs to the northward, into the river of Thames; all which buildings and erections so to be set up, at the proper costs and charges of the said Corporation; the wharf and shops being erected, enlarged, built and set up, and all the materials for erecting the said bridge being prepared, the whole charge thereof being computed at £350, or thereabouts.”

When the seven shops were erected, it was resolved that “they should be let only to gardeners and fruit-sellers, to sell there all sorts of apples, pears, nuts, plums, cherries, oranges, lemons, and gingerbread; and no other tradesman was to occupy the same, except William Wood, a cobbler, being a former tenant, who should be allowed to mend shoes in one of the new shops.” This restriction, to the sale of gardenware only, was in order that such commodities might be at hand for the ready supply of ships and

* This proof that the bridge, called Gravesend Bridge, was in the *Parish of Milton*, most strikingly accords with the notice of the site recorded in the Norman survey, as stated at page 12, *ante*.

† Open water-course.

‡ This description of the bridge, in the portions by which it was anciently maintained, was only for practical convenience, for the whole was to be renewed, “at the proper cost and charges of the corporation.”

vessels, without waiting for vegetables to be fetched from the gardens; and that the freemen occupying shops in the streets, should not be “forestalled.”*

1737. Another feature was added to the Town Quay, by the erection of a Bell-house, according to the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed in that year, already noticed. It was put up by the Rulers of the Watermen’s Company, under the authority which they presumed that the Act gave them to do so; but this was deemed a trespass; and the Corporation remonstrated against it, but obtained no consideration for this occupation of their estate. The old causeway was nothing more than a wooden stage, which was continually injured by gales of wind, by worms, and by vessels that ran foul of it. In the year 1738, it was twice repaired; two years afterwards, an assessment was made upon the inhabitants, to defray the charges for other reparations, and setting up a crane; and in 1741, John Fox, *Carpenter*, was paid £84. 10s. 8*d.* for building seventy-two feet of the lower end, and repairing the upper part of the bridge; great part of which was blown away in 1744.†

This patching system continued, until the Corporation resolved on the 11th day of March, 1765, to erect a new bridge of stone. This was to be near the old one; and, in the contract, the site was pointed out in these words; “A bridge at the front of the Town Quay, on the west side, as near as conveniently can be to the old bridge.” Here is another proof that the ancient landing-place was entirely within the parish of Milton; for the new one, on the west side of it, is on the line which divides the two parishes.

The work went on tardily, and it was not until several years afterwards, that the whole was executed.

It was ordered, on the 30th of June, 1769, that the Town Dock should be filled up, and the water-course carried in front of the shops on the west side of the wharf; and on the 23rd of August, it was determined that a flight of moor-stone steps should be carried

* See this explained in an order of the court, dated 23rd December, 1712.

† Last Monday, great part of the wooden bridge, for the convenience of landing passengers, &c. at Gravesend, was broken down, and carried away by the hard blowing weather.—*Public Journals*, 10th September, 1744. See page 12, *supra*.

down, from the top of the wharf, to the stone bridge. The cost of the whole is stated below.

Expenditure for the new Bridge and Steps of stone.

1767.—Amount of bills approved by Auditors	£394	6	9
1768.—The like.....	596	12	10
1769.—The like.....	344	11	7
1770.—The like.....	511	12	6
	<hr/>		
	1847	3	8
1767-8. Received by the sale of two } barges, which had been bought for } £122. 17s., for the use of the work- } men, when building the stone bridge }	67	18	0
Received for two small anchors	1	10	0
Received for one larger anchor	1	1	0
	<hr/>		
		70	9 0
	<hr/>		
	1776	14	8
For filling up the old Town Dock, improving the } Wharf and steps, and for a Crane }	251	10	8
	<hr/>		
Total expenditure.....	£2028	5	4

THE TOWN HALL

A new Hall was erected, within the same period, in which the Town Quay and Bridge were improved.

The first Hall, which was built in 1573,* must have been an unsubstantial fabric; for, on the 7th of July, 1640, (being less than seventy years later,) the Corporation debated whether it should be taken down, or repaired, and determined to adopt the latter course. It being found that the building was “in great decay, insomuch that the publique renew of the towne was not able to repayre the same,” it was then determined that an assessment upon the freemen and inhabitants, should be levied, to supply the deficiency. That plan however was not pursued; for, in 1748, it was ordered, that the Town House should be pulled down, and that the sum of one hundred pounds should be obtained by an assessment, for “re-edifying the same.” This provision, to meet the charges, gives no very exalted idea of the capaciousness or elegance of the proposed building; it does not appear, however, that a Hall was erected at that time. In the year 1659, money

* See page 198, *supra*.

was expended by John Smith, Mayor, and Thomas Hall, Chamberlain, for "amendinge, repayreing, adorning, and beautifying the Town House," according to an order made on the 25th of April that year, for reimbursing them. Thus the original Hall stood its ground for another century : but, when all was improving around, the Corporation resolved to go earnestly to work, and they erected a new Hall.

1764. The new edifice was of brick, supported upon six columns in front, and upon three arches at the back. The interior arrangements consisted of a capacious Hall, and a room adjoining for the use of the magistrates, to which the ascent was by a good staircase, with a lobby at the head of the stairs. At the back, on the north end, were two prisons and a gaoler's house ; on the opposite side, shambles* for the butchers who attended the markets, had been previously built.

In front of the building, in the High Street, on a stone fascia, was the following inscription ; " THIS BUILDING WAS ERECTED IN THE YEAR 1764, JOHN DELAP, ESQ., MAYOR ; C. SLOANE, ARCHITECT." In the rear of the building a space was left, extending to Queen Street. Under, and in front of the Hall, poultry, vegetables, and other commodities, were exposed for sale on market-days.

The expenditure, for building the Town Hall and the adjoining prisons, amounted to £1426., making a total of £3454. 5s. 4d. expended, between the years 1764 and 1770, on these improvements.

1770. September the 24th, the ship *Duke of Richmond*, bound to the East Indies, was lying at Gravesend, and at the same time the *Lynx* sloop-of-war was there. An officer from the latter, went on board the Indiaman with a boat's crew, to impress the seamen ; but the commander of the ship signified, that his men were determined to resist any attempt to take them, and that, having seized the arm-chest, they were prepared to defend themselves. Seeing that it would be injudicious to persist in the attempt, the officer retired, and at high water brought the *Lynx* alongside the ship, when a conflict ensued between the crews, and one man was

* These had been paved at the expense of Sir Joseph Williamson.—*Pocock's History of Gravesend*, p. 242.

killed, and several wounded ; on which the *Lynx* sheered off, and the rest of the crew of the Indiaman escaped to the shore.

THE STREETS OF GRAVESEND,

BEFORE THE YEAR 1773.

It is proposed to describe the streets before the time when the first Act of Parliament* was passed, for paving, cleansing, and lighting the town.

The earliest notice of the streets, by name, occurs in a deed of conveyance of certain property in the parish of Gravesend, dated in the year 1418, by which it appears that it was situated in

WEST STREET.

By this deed, Thomas Bolyne, Robert Lanche, and Walter Stace, demised to John Pette, and Emmota his wife, a messuage with a wharf, situate in “Grauysende, *in quodam Vico vocato le West Strete.*”†

HIGH STREET.

The street bearing this name runs north and south, from the Dover road to the river, and divides the two parishes of which the town consists. This denomination appears for the first time, in any writing that has been traced, in the local Bye Laws for the regulation of the Long Ferry, made in the year 1573;‡ but it is very probable that it was used at a much earlier period.

A deed dated in 1456,§ conveying property in Milton parish, contains valuable information upon the ancient topography of this part of the town. It is a grant by Thomas Malter, citizen and clothier of London, to five feoffees,|| of an estate described as follows :—

“Two tenements, lying together, called *le Boll* and *le Greyhound*, with a garden and dovecot, a wharf and three tenements built thereon, the grantor’s part of one bridge adjoining thereto ; between the tenements late of John Sprever and of John Page on the south, the river on the north, the highway (*via regia*) on the west, and the grantor’s croft containing four acres of arable land on the east ; also the said croft lying

* Stat. 13 Geo. III., c. 15.

† Deed dated the 4th of September, 6 Hen. V., A.D. 1418, *penes me.*

‡ See page 200, *supra.*

§ Among the muniments of the Corporation. It is dated the 21st of August, 34 Henry VI. A.D., 1456.

|| Lawrence Burston, William Wangford, sergeant-at-law, John Thorp, rector of the parish church of Gravesend, Richard Dene, and Walter Chipp.

upon the cliffs, (*les clevys*), and a parcel of land on the north side thereof, under the cliffs, (*les cleves*), unto the Thames, and partly bounded by the land of the lord of Milton on the south, and abutting on the land of the said John Page, on the east, south, and west, and the said two tenements on the west."

Taking into consideration, that the tenement called Sprevers, is the present site of the Town Hall, it is evident that the estate thus described, in the deed of 1456, extended from that site northward to the river, and eastward from the High Street to the boundary of the Blockhouse land; and therefore that there were at that time, on the area thus defined, no more buildings than the two houses with signs in the High Street, and the tenements on the wharf or town quay.

Although this line of public way is called the King's way, (*via regia*), in the deed of 1456, it might have been called the High Street, in earlier deeds. It is by an easy transition that the King's highway comes to be called the High Street, and it certainly bore this name, as it has been stated above, in the year 1573.

EAST STREET.

This street is mentioned in the will of William Burston, dated the 10th of December 1548 as follows; "I bequeath * * * to Richard, my son, all that my whyt rents* lying in Eastret," &c.† The same William Burston had sold an estate to the Crown, on the 3rd of June, 1543, upon which land the Blockhouse was erected by Henry VIII. The pathway, between East Street and the Blockhouse, is now called the *Causeway*; and when the Blockhouse land was again alienated in the year 1835, there remained a ridge of ground within high water mark, in a line with East Street and the Causeway, towards the river bank called the Sea Wall, beyond the New Tavern; but it is evident that the way now called East Street, was in the year 1456, under tillage. On the south side of the Causeway, at the end of East Street, is a row of wooden tenements, upon the front of one of which is affixed an escutcheon, with the initials F. C., dated 1718. The tenements, however, are in a state, indicating that they were built before that period; and it is probable that the escutcheon was put up when the individual whose initials are displayed, came into possession and repaired them. They were standing in 1716,

* That is, quitrents. † Registry of Wills, in the diocese of Rochester.

for Bridget Cashford demised them to her son, Francis Cashford, by will, dated in that year.

King Street, and Queen Street,* are denominations that were first used in the past century.

NEW TAVERN.

This is the name of a portion of the town, that was formerly distinctly separated from the streets that have been mentioned ; and the origin of it may be thus traced.

The Chantry in Milton, with its lands and appurtenances, having passed into lay hands, eventually became the property of James Fortyre, Esq. ; who, in the year 1697, granted a lease of them for 500 years, to William Symonds,† gentleman, at £30. per annum.‡ About that time, a tenement, included in the premises, was converted into a public house or tavern ; for, at an assembly of the Corporation, holden on the 20th of September, 1700, William Beale, the younger, was authorized to set up an Inn or Hostry in the house he inhabited, standing upon the wharf of William Symonds, gentleman, at the north side of the New Tavern ale-house, situated in Milton.

The New Tavern is more completely identified, in the assessments for the relief of the poor of the parish of Milton, according to the subjoined extracts :—

1711, Sep. 3. John Chapman £30

1714, Nov. 14. John Chapman, for the New Tavern £30

Opposite to the Chantry, a row of brick-dwellings, on the west side of the road, was erected in 1717, as appears upon a tablet, formed of moulded bricks, inserted in the front wall.

This imperfect account of the time when the principal thoroughfares in the town first received their names, may properly be followed by some particulars of their former condition.

It was not until the period when the Charter of Incorporation was obtained in 1568, that there were any binding regulations to be observed, for paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of Gravesend ; previously to this, all that was effected, was the

* In 1731, premises in this street are described as being situated in Milton Back Side, but upon a transfer of the property in 1837, they were said to be in Queen Street.

† See p. 62, *supra*.

‡ Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 132.

result of conventional custom. It was ordained by the local regulations, formed under the authority of that charter, that "Innkeepers and victuallers should nightlie, and at all other tymes when the tyde falleth in the night, between the feast of All Saints, and the feast of the Purification of our Lady, hang up lights at their doors, upon pain to forfeit *iiij^d*;" and every inhabitant was required to pave against his premises, as should be thought convenient by the Portreve, under a penalty of *3s. 4d.* Under such a system, uniformity, upon which the convenience and durability of pavements so much depend, was not to be expected. The system of cleansing the streets was also defective; it was required that every inhabitant should weekly, or upon commandment from the Portreve, cleanse his door, for avoiding evil odours; which, though the operation was performed only once a week, was some provision for cleanliness. These regulations must have been inefficient; but the inhabitants of Gravesend were not behind their contemporaries in other towns and in cities, even in London itself. At Canterbury, the Aldermen, Common-councilmen, and Innholders, were required to hang out lights at their doors every dark night during winter, upon pain of forfeiting sixpence.* In London also this was the practice; though, upon particular occasions, extra lights were produced. Cassimer, Count Palatine, landed at the Tower, from Gravesend, at seven o'clock in the evening of the 7th of January, 1580, and was escorted thence to the house of Sir Thomas Gresham, in Bishopsgate Street, by torch light and cresset light.† In 1584, David Smith, a citizen, by his will, founded Almshouses for widows in Castle-Baynard Ward; and he directed that the two widows, residing in the two houses next the street, on either side of the gate, should hang out one lanthorn between them, and a whole cotton candle, of the weight of not above ten in the pound.‡ It was not until the year 1615, that the citizens "began their new pavement of broad free stone close to their shops, and the taking down of all high causies about London, namely in the Strand, in Holbourne,"§ &c. It is solemnly recorded in an Act, passed in the year 1662, that certain streets and passages in the city, which were great thoroughfares,

* Hasted's Hist. of Kent, vol. xii, p. 636.

† Holinshed, vol. ii., p. 1376.

‡ Stow's Survey of London.

§ Continuator of Stow, p. 1024.

were then so narrow, that they were incommodious to coaches, carts, and passengers, and prejudicial to commerce and trading.* The description of the state of the streets in London at that time, given by John Evelyn, is much more minute and graphic; "the streets," he says, "are narrow and incommodious, being composed of a congestion of misshapen and extravagant houses;" and he exclaims against the "ill and uneasy form of the paving under foot," and "the troublesome and malicious disposure of the spouts and gutters, over head."†

These descriptions place London and Gravesend on the same level; and if so much was objectionable in the state of the streets in the capital, the condition of Gravesend may be contemplated with diminished surprise and reproach.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, as it has been mentioned above, the circumstances of Gravesend were flourishing, and many substantial houses were then erected. There were, however, then, some more humble structures remaining; for, in the bye-laws revised and re-enacted in the year 1692, it was provided that if any chimney, through default of cleansing, should take fire, and the flames should appear above the bricks, tiles, or *thatch*,‡ of the house or chamber, the occupier should be fined; and from this, it may be supposed that there were thatched dwellings in Gravesend.

The art of lighting streets was then improving, in certain parishes and places in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and in Westminster; for there, every householder whose house was adjoining unto or near the street, was required to set out candles or lights in lanthorns on the outside of their houses, except such persons as should agree to make use of lamps of any sort, to be placed at such distances in the streets, as should be approved by two Justices of the Peace.§

In 1694, glass lights, called convex lights, were used in the city of London,|| and a few years afterwards globular glass lamps, with oil burners, were introduced. The patent for this invention was obtained in 1703, by one Michael Cole.

* Stat. 13, 14 Cha. II., c. 2. † Evelyn's *Fumifugium*. London, 1661.

‡ 1677, Dec. 29. George French, *thatcher*, was sworn a Freeman. Freeman's Inrollment Books of the Corporation.

§ Stat. 2 William and Mary, c. 8.

|| Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. ii., p. 81.

Here the notices of street-lighting must terminate, for it would be irksome to the reader to be reminded of the numerous and imperfect means used for this purpose, till gas was brought into use.

Reverting to the condition of the streets, it may be noted that, in the year 1696, it was ordered by the Corporation, that all occupiers of bulks, windows, porches, or other encroachments, should remove them. Bulks were stalls in front of shops, and the windows proscribed, were such as projected into the streets. It is doubtful whether these were removed in strict conformity with the order given, though many were destroyed in the great fire which occurred in 1727; for the first Act of Parliament for paving and cleansing the town, which passed in the year 1773, contains an ample catalogue of such deformities then existing, and furnishes a *pendant* to the picture of the streets of London when Evelyn wrote. This Act gave authority to impose parochial rates for paving, cleansing, and lighting certain streets in the town, under the administration of Commissioners, who therefore superseded the Corporation in all such matters. High Street, East Street, and West Street, were to be paved, lighted, and cleansed; the other public streets were only to be lighted. The preamble of the Act contains an allegation, that the three streets named were very ill paved, lighted and cleansed, which no doubt, was easily proved. Of the rest, the enacting clauses give a picturesque description. The encroachments to be removed, were signs, sign-posts, and sign-irons, spouts, steps, shop windows, and cellar windows, penthouses,* and other encroachments; which probably included bulks, for these cannot be thought to have been removed in obedience to the order that has been noticed; as bow windows and penthouses had been permitted to remain. An eye-witness of the existing encroachments, and of the work of improvement, has given the following commentary on the subject. "Before the passing of the Act, the town was most irregularly paved; the kennel then went down (uncovered) near the middle of the High Street; almost

* "That the pentises (penthouses) and jetties be at the least the height of nine foot, and that the stalls bee not but of two foote and a halfe in breadth, and to be flexible or moveable, that is to say, to hang by jemewes or garnets, so that they make bee taken up and let downe."—Articles of the charge of the Wardmote Inquest; *Stow's Surrey of London*.

every tradesman had a sign, and in the night when the wind blew strong, a concert of squeaking music filled your ears with sounds not the most pleasant.”* The same authority may be quoted for the dimensions of the principal street, through which this open gutter, carried stray waters into the river.

“The churchwardens of Gravesend, Messrs. George Thompson and Joseph Bray, on the 31st of May, 1773, prior to the town being new paved, took the dimensions from different places in the High Street, of the water-course, which was the boundary line of the parishes of Gravesend and Milton.”†

The dimensions, stated by Pocock, show only the spaces between the water-course and the west side of the High Street; but, in the following table, the spaces on the east side of the water-course are given, to render the dimensions of the High Street complete.

Space on the east side of the water course.	Premises showing at what points the admeasurements were made.	Present numbers on the premises	Space on the west side of the water course.	Entire breadth of High St.
ft. in.			ft. in.	ft. in.
17 10	Messrs. Millen and Brett	84‡	11 11	29 9
15 10	Mr. Thomas Johnson.....	79	9 6	25 4
14 11	Mr. Gazeham.....	75	8 0	22 11
13 11	Mr. John Keddell.....	68	8 3	22 2
13 11	Mrs. Medhurst	64	6 10	20 9
13 0	Mr. Watts	61	7 4	20 4
10 4	Catharine Wheel, Mr. Lane ...	55	8 10	19 2
10 1	Mrs. Matthews	47	9 1	19 2
11 6	Mr. Pipler.....	43	8 5	19 11
8 5	Mr. Martin§		11 11	20 4

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 243.

† Ibid. p. 18.

‡ As the occupants have changed since the dimensions were taken by the churchwardens, the numbers now marked on the premises are given, to show the points of admeasurement, as they would be described now. By comparing the spaces on the two sides, it will be seen that the water-course ran much nearer to the west than to the east side, and therefore that the ancient bridge, always on the east side of the course, was within the parish of Milton. By adding the two spaces together, the entire width of High Street, in several parts of it, may be ascertained.

§ Mr. Martin's house was taken down in the year 1801, and the Dover road runs over the site: the width therefore of the south end of High Street, is taken from the Prince of Orange Inn, (No. 39,) at the south-west angle of the street, to the opposite house of Mr. Elwin.

By this time the reader will be ready to admit, that the description given by Evelyn of the streets of London, in the year 1661, is applicable to those of Gravesend a century later; and that beside "the ill and uneasie form of the pavement under foot, and the troublesome and malicious disposure of spouts and gutters overhead;" sundry other things, equally objectionable, were to be found here in the year 1773.

It was through this ravine, less than seven yards wide in some parts, and at the bottom or north end, only sixteen feet; with the obstructions of bulks, porches, projecting steps, yawning cellar-windows below, and obtrusive bow-windows above, the drippings from penthouses, and the mischievous disposure of water spouts over head, and broken pavements with a water-course meandering among broken stones, very partially disposed here and there; that kings and cardinals, and lords and ladies, wended their ways in days of old.

This was the route of the shrewd and ambitious Wolsey, when he performed his rapid journey, as the messenger of Henry VII., to the Emperor, by which he ingratiated himself in the favour of his royal master. Here King Henry VIII. upon landing from his barge, took horse toward Dover; and midway in this line, Charles I. and his royal bride halted, to receive the homage of the worshipful magistrates and their colleagues, as the King escorted the daughter of France, his consort, to the royal barge which bore them to Whitehall.

In the Paving Act of the year 1773, the High Street, West Street, and East Street only, are named. The other streets and ways at that time were,—one parallel to, and running at the back of High Street, in Gravesend parish, now called Princes Street; another running in like manner at the back of High Street, in Milton Parish, now called Queen Street; another, also in Milton, running east and west, intersecting the south ends of High Street and Queen Street, which is now called King Street; and one other on the north side of the church of Gravesend parish, called Church Street, having a communication at the west end with West Street, by a short street or passage called Pipe Street.

REMOVAL OF SHOALS IN THE THAMES.

This very important operation is carried on by manual labour, assisted by mechanical power. For a time, the work was performed by men doomed to involuntary servitude, in expiation of their offences against the laws. In the year 1670, it was provided by statute,* that the judges might, at their discretion, pass sentence of transportation to any of the British plantations in the West Indies, upon persons convicted of felony, and by another statute,† in 1717, they might be transported to the British colonies and plantations in America. This was the origin of the transportation of felons to that country; and the newspapers from time to time, contained notices of the embarkation of the expatriated, at Gravesend.‡ When the political relations between Great Britain and the colonies in America were interrupted, and eventually their separation consummated, another mode of disposing of offenders became requisite; and provision for this object was made by another statute,§ which consigned convicts to hard labour upon the Thames, in any service for the benefit of the navigation of the river; but at such places only, and subject to such directions, limitations and restrictions, as the Trinity House might prescribe, that corporation being charged with ballastage, and the removal of shoals in the river.

1776. In the month of July in this year, at the session at the Old Bailey, nineteen prisoners convicted of felonies, were sentenced to three years' hard labour in some service useful to the navigation of the Thames; and, a vessel having been provided for the purpose, on the 5th of August, the convicts chained in couples, began to work in it, about two miles below, or eastward of Barking creek. But in the year 1787, a system of transportation to Botany Bay commenced, which disposed of the greater number of convicts, others being consigned to servitude in the public establishments at Deptford and Woolwich: they therefore ceased to

* Stat. 22 Car. II. c. 5.

† Stat. 4 Geo. I. c. 11.

‡ "Last Sunday se'nnight, the keeper of Maidstone Gaol conveyed nine convicts to Gravesend, to put them on board a vessel for transportation to Maryland or Virginia."—*Newspapers*, 17th May, 1737.

§ Stat. 16 Geo. III. c. 43.

labour in the removal of shoals in the river, and powerful machinery has been since employed for that purpose, the origin and progressive improvement of which, it may be here proper to trace.

It is probable that the earliest mechanical means employed, consisted of spoons at the end of long poles, lifted at first by tackles, and afterwards by capstans or crabs, according to the practice in private ballast barges, at present.

It was said* that a dredging machine was in use, so early as the middle of the sixteenth century; and that it consisted of a series of flat boards attached perpendicularly to an endless chain, (which was turned round at top and bottom on rollers), fixed to a ladder which was lowered to the requisite depth—the top roller being set in motion by wheels and axles—and the whole was driven by a horse. The soil was raised up an inclined shoot, and when it reached the top, it was tumbled down another shoot, into vessels lying alongside to receive it. The description of this machine, by substituting buckets for boards, and steam power for horse labour, would be applicable to the machines now in use.

1667–8. Lewys Baylie, gentleman, obtained a patent for “a certaine machine or engine, for the more expeditious cutting, digging, or making navigable, rivers, draynes, lynes, or trenches, or for cleansing of any rivers racked up or obstructed in their currents.”† As it was not then the practice to inrol any specification of an invention, the records afford no information respecting the construction or manner of using this machine or engine; but some account of its operation is given in a book‡ published in 1691, from which the following particulars are extracted. The engine was invented by Mr. Baylie, and improved and perfected at the expense of Mr. Joseph Collinge: it was approved by Sir Martin Beckman, and Sir Christopher Wren; and King Charles II. having seen it at work, when it raised about a ton and a half of ballast, in little more than a minute, expressed his approbation of it. Subsequently, it was employed at Barking shelf, and raised, in 19 feet water, about two tons in a minute and a half. No

* Cornelius Meyer, *sur la navigazioni del sui Tevere*. Folio, Roma, 1685.

† Pat. 19 Car. 2, pars 6.

‡ An account of new inventions, and of the conservancy of the Thames, &c, in a letter to the Earl of Marlborough, by T. H. (Thomas Hall.) 12mo. London, 1691, page 53.

farther light is afforded respecting the engine, than an intimation that it worked horizontally, that it made no holes, but rather filled such as lay in the way of its working, and left the bottom of the river level as it wrought, so that the inconveniences caused by the common ballast lighters were avoided. It is not stated whether the power applied to this machine was that of manual labour or of horses; and there is no evidence that it continued to be employed after these first experiments.

A machine with three buckets was used about the year 1747, for raising sand and gravel from coffer dams at the bridge at Orleans, in France.*

1785. A dredging machine with buckets was introduced by Mr. Grundy, an engineer, at the Hull docks, which was worked by horses.

1797. Messrs. Boulton and Watt erected a steam engine of four horses power, for cleansing the harbour at Sunderland, by means of spoons, which was found to be an effective method.

1802. The late eminent engineer, Mr. Rennie, proposed a steam engine of six horses power for the dredging machine at Hull, that had been worked by horses, and after the machine had been thoroughly refitted under his direction, his suggestion was adopted, and this is perhaps the earliest combination of the bucket machinery and the steam engine.

Hence it appears that Messrs. Boulton and Watt were the first to apply the steam engine to spoon dredging; and that Mr. Rennie, at Hull, combined the buckets and the steam power.

1810. At length the machine was made complete and powerful, under the direction of the Trinity House; and they now employ two dredging vessels for removing shoals from the Thames, below bridge; one is at present (1843) working in Half-way Reach, and the other at Barking Shelf. The following is the description of them:—

The *Hercules*, of the burthen of $279 \frac{87}{94}$ tons, with one steam engine of 20 horses power.

The *Sampson*, of the burthen of $200 \frac{92}{94}$ tons, which also has an engine of 20 horses power.

* Lonces, Recueil des Machines, Paris, 1753.

These vessels are fitted on each side with iron buckets, worked by an endless chain, supported upon beams of timber, placed at a proper angle to dredge the ground. The soil is raised to a sufficient height, to be turned over into a shoot, and by this means delivered to a vessel alongside for removal.* Each vessel can raise, in favourable ground, 60 tons of ballast on each side, in half an hour; making 120 tons per hour, and 1440 tons each vessel, in a tide of six hours.

The private barges, employed for raising sand for builders, must take out a license from the Trinity House. Notwithstanding the power of these dredging vessels, and the constant working of sand-dredgers, the removal of the shoals is not effectually performed. The conservators of the Thames are precluded from interfering in the work; the authority, with respect to ballastage, being vested in the Trinity House, and this corporation is not provided with pecuniary resources equal to the charges of increased operations. They can remove only such soil as is saleable for ballast, whereby they may obtain funds to meet the expense. It is of the utmost importance that adequate funds should be placed at their command; and the present is a time most fitting for extending their operations, as all difficulty about finding places where to deposit the soil removed, is overcome, for it can be employed to fill up the recesses in the shore, to form the lines of embankment proposed by the city authorities,† according to the suggestion of the eminent engineer,‡ who was engaged in the late survey of the river.

THE LOWER OR NEW TAVERN BATTERY.

1779–80. The construction of this additional battery was considered necessary, in consequence of the political circumstances of the time; and upon this, as upon previous occasions, the defence of the Thames was not efficiently provided for, until the danger of an attack was imminent.§

* In lighters belonging to the Trinity Corporation, to ships requiring ballast.

† See page 43, *ante*.

‡ The material which forms the shoals might be taken up and advantageously placed, so as to raise the ground behind the walls. Mr. Walker's printed Report, p. 19.

§ At that time the old brass guns in Tilbury Fort, cast in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., were removed to Woolwich; and iron guns some of them 42 pounders, were mounted in their places.

The ground required for the site of the battery was private property, consisting of the estate of Mr. Houghton,* called the New Tavern, (formerly the Chantry), and other lands and tenements adjoining.

The authority of parliament for purchasing this property being necessary, an Act† was passed for that purpose ; in the recital and enactments of which, the most authentic information of the assigned causes for this measure, and the best description of the property purchased, are to be found. It is therein set forth, that, by reason of the hostile intentions of the courts of France and Spain, and of their great military preparations, it had become necessary, for the present and future protection and security, as well of His Majesty's docks, ships of war, and stores, at Plymouth and Sheerness, as of the passage of the river Thames, at Gravesend and Tilbury Fort, to erect and raise additional fortifications and entrenchments near the same. Under these circumstances, authority was given by the Act to purchase lands and tenements, at prices to be determined by juries. The property at Gravesend, required for the proposed defence, was described as "the several pieces of land, consisting of garden ground and fields, then or late the property of Francis Wadman, Esquire, containing by estimation twenty six acres or thereabout, situate in the parish of Gravesend,‡ in the county of Kent, abutting west on the road leading to the New Tavern, in the town of Gravesend ; south on the road leading from Gravesend to Milton, next Gravesend and Chatham ; and north on certain lands, the property of Sarah Gordon, of Rochester ; and all tenements and hereditaments thereto belonging, then or late in the occupation of ——— ; and also all that piece or parcel of land, then or late the property of the said Sarah Gordon, containing by estimation seven acres or thereabout, situate in the said parish of Milton, abutting on the south and west upon the lands hereinbefore described ; and north on the bank of the river Thames."

A jury having been convened, the following prices were set upon the several parcels of the property.

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 266.

† Stat. 20 Geo. III., c. 38.

‡ An error for the parish of Milton.

“The award of a jury assembled at Rochester, to determine the amount of the purchase money, to be paid for certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments at Gravesend, according to the provisions of the 20th Geo. III., c. 38, for the purchase of the said lands, &c., for His Majesty’s service :—

To James Leigh Joynes, Esquire, for a lease of a piece of ground adjoining the Blockhouse field	£150
To John Stacey, of the house known by the sign of the Fountain,* for crops standing upon the Blockhouse field	29
To Mr. John Keddell, for the lease of the New Tavern, and other houses and tenements in the occupation of Squires, Latter, Earl, and others	3000
To Mr. Moses Adams, for house, boat house, boat builders yard, &c., situate in the east of the above	700
To Mr. Spencer, for a house adjoining	200
To Mrs. Gordon, for land and wharf†	720
To Francis Wadman, Esquire, for the free hold lands, and Cheeseman’s garden	5200
To Excise Watermen, for a boat-house	16
To Thomas Cheeseman, for the lease of his garden	350.”

The dwelling-houses of Adams and Spencer, mentioned above, were wooden tenements; and they were removed on rollers, the distance of 200 yards from the place where they had stood, to another part of the ground purchased for the battery. They were afterwards the residence of the engineer commanding the station, until lately, when the Ordnance reduced the establishment; and now the residence and gardens are in the occupation of W. A. Coombe, Esq., the Town Clerk of Gravesend. The removal of these tenements was a bold and unusual operation, but not unprecedented, according to a tale of tyranny related by Stow. He says,‡ that Cromwell, Lord Essex, built a house in Throgmorton Street, London; and, to enlarge the space at the back of it, he loosed a house standing upon ground adjoining, and without leave or warning, conveyed it upon rollers into the garden of Stow’s father, to get rid of it.

* That public house was subsequently pulled down, and the ground upon which it stood is now the site of the Custom House. The sign and license of the *Fountain* were transferred to the house, now so called, on the south side of the road, opposite to the Custom House.

† Said to have been erected for a coal wharf, where the coals were to be landed free of the duty payable within the port of London, but the project was abandoned.

‡ Stow’s Survey of London.

The state of public affairs, which had occasioned the construction of additional military works at Gravesend, produced also other arrangements, in connexion with a general system of defence.

1779—80. Large bodies of troops had been encamped in the neighbourhood, in the preceding summer; and in the latter of these years, camps were formed, at Coxheath near Maidstone, at Dartford Heath in Kent; and at Warley Common in Essex.

To facilitate the junction of these divisions of the army in cases of emergency, and for effecting the passage of the Thames with celerity in the general movements, the following means were provided at Gravesend. There were three stations in the town, and three opposite to them on the Essex side of the river, at which troops were to embark and land. The stations at Gravesend were, at the New Tavern Causeway, the Town Quay, and at the hard shore on the west of the town, near the boat-builder's yard.

To avoid the inconvenience of a long flight of steps at the Town Quay, a wooden platform was laid over them, as an inclined plane, from the top of the wharf, to the landing causeway, over which horses and carriages were commodiously landed and shipped.

At these several stations, hawsers were secured by posts, and extended across the river, being supported at proper intervals by buoys secured by anchors. Barges were warped over by these hawsers, and returned by a second line of them, at each station. Six barges were employed for the service, constructed for the purpose, with drop stages at the stern, that when necessary, were lowered to the level of the causeways, over which cavalry and infantry embarked and landed.

For the preservation of the establishment, regulations were made under the authority of the Trinity House;* and the efficiency of the plan was ascertained by experiment.

* "Trinity House, London, April 14th, 1779.—Notice is hereby given, that, for the better assisting ships, navigating in the night season, past the buoys placed above and below Gravesend and Tilbury Fort; lights will be placed, one at each, in the following form, viz. one off the upper causeway, one off the lower causeway, one at each of the two upper buoys. To this disposition, a guard boat will be added to each end of the strings, (*springs*) of the buoys with orders to hail all ships approaching, before they drop anchor; and it is again recommended to all masters of ships, entering or departing from the river Thames, to be particularly careful in keeping as near to the middle of the river as possible, and not to come to anchor within half a mile of the west

1780. On the 20th of July, all the regiments encamped at Dartford, consisting of about 5000 men, struck their tents very early in the morning, and marched to Gravesend, where they embarked at the three stations. This was effected soon after six o'clock; and, being warped across the river in the barges, they were all landed on the Essex side at half-past eleven o'clock in the forenoon, with their guns, ammunition-waggons, and baggage. Upon landing, they marched into the marshes in the rear of the Ferry-house, and there piled their arms. At four o'clock in the afternoon, they returned in the same manner, and at half-past seven, commenced their march from Gravesend, to the camp at Dartford.

Again on the 3rd of August, to the gratification of thousands who witnessed the spectacle, the regiments were reviewed by Lieutenant-General Pierson; after which they struck the tents, and marched to Gravesend, crossed the river, and made a sham attack upon Tilbury Fort. The first and fourth divisions landed first, under a heavy cannonade, and the grenadiers stormed the redoubts; the second and third divisions then landed; and after the whole were refreshed at the expense of the general, they returned across the river to Gravesend, and marched back to the camp.

1780. The art of the shipwright had long before been practised at Gravesend, but was confined to the construction of small craft, such as fishing vessels, and tilt boats; at length a ship-builder's yard was established by Mr. William Cleverly, where the following ships of war, and merchant ships, were built:—

Dates.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.
1780.—	The Zebra, ship of war	320	18
1782.—	Cato	1062	50
1783.—	Director	1365	64
1787.—	Colossus	1703	74
1787.—	Nottingham, East India ship	1152	—
1789.—	Queen Esther, West India ship	—	—

end of Gravesend Town, or at the same distance below the New Tavern, as well to avoid damage to their ships, as to prevent the displacing the buoys; and all pilots are required to govern themselves accordingly."

Dates.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Guns.
1794.—Lynx, ship of war	423	“ 14
1794.—Fearless	149	“ 4*
1795.—Doris	915	“ 36
1797.—Hardy	168	“ 4*
1797.—Hydra	200	“ 28
1797.—Haughty	168	“ 4*
1798.—L'Achille	1916	“ 74

It has been said that the same enterprising ship-builder resumed the excavation in the chalk-pit adjoining the ship-yard, the work having been long discontinued.† It is evident from the great extent of the excavations at that spot, and in the adjacent lands in the parish of Northfleet, that they have been the work of a very long period; but there is no information of the commencement of them, more distinct than that given by Hollinshed, who seems to allude to them in the following words:—“By the diligence of Ralph Josselin, Maior of London, the wall about London was new made betwixt Aldgate and Cripplegate; he caused the Moorefield to be searched for claie, and bricke to be made and burnt there; he also caused chalk to be brought *out of Kent*, and in the same Moorefield to be burnt into lime, for the furtherance of that work.”‡ Sir Ralph Joceline was Lord Mayor of London, in the year 1464; and at that time, it may be presumed, the excavations at Gravesend, Northfleet, and Greenhithe commenced; for, when once a market was found for the commodity produced at either of these places, no long time would elapse before they all took to the supply. It is probable, that the excavation of the chalk was going on in the year 1667; for the Dutch writers on the expedition of their fleet to the Thames and Medway, in that year, mention the chalk-ovens (“*kalkovens*,”) or limekilns§ at Gravesend.

The following is a computation of the value of chalk-land, at the end of the seventeenth century, which seems to have been made in a course of proceedings at law,|| respecting this property, in which an inhabitant of Gravesend was a party.

* The vessels thus marked carried also 10 swivels each.

† Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 22.

‡ Hollinshed's Chronicles.

§ See page 357, *supra*.

|| Journals of House of Commons, 8th March, 1698.

" April the 30th, 1696.

"One kiln will burn 80 hundreds per week, which is 2000 bushels, or 62 loads ; and, the coals at 30s. per chalder, and burning at 3s. per load ;—

	£	s.	d.
A chalder, making 8 loads, the charge is	2	14	0
Which 8 loads, sold at the kiln at 10s. per load, is	4	0	0
Rests, all charges deducted, out of 8 loads there will remain 3s. 3d. clear money for every load, which comes to	1	6	0

Two kilns will burn 125 loads of lime per week, so that one week's profit will be	20	6	3
And one year's profit clear	1056	5	0

The number of solid yards of chalk digged, to raise this money, will be 6500.

In one acre of ground, 11 yards deep, are 53,240 solid yards, which according to 6500 yards solid burnt in one year, an acre of ground will be 8 years in digging, and will come to £8,651. 10s. clear money every acre.

And there are 10 acres of this ground already laid out for digging away, between the King's highway and the Thames, which according to the foregoing computations will amount to £86,575 clear.

N.B.—That when Mr. Etkins had these cliffs, Mr. Stanbrook had three kilns going, and Mr. Marshall two. So that if occasion be, there may be five kilns still set to work at one time.*

The chalk is converted into lime, in kilns built upon the spot, and sent to London and other places for building purposes ; for many years past it has been sold also for manure. The refuse chalk is disposed of as ballast, for coalships returning without cargoes to the ports in the north. Flints, found in strata running horizontally in the chalk in parallel lines at intervals, are used for the manufacture of porcelain ; for which purpose they were formerly conveyed, in large quantities, to the manufactories in Yorkshire, and to China. Flints, for guns and pistols, were extracted or reduced from the rough flints, by knapping or chipping them ; but now they are little in demand, in consequence of the invention of percussion caps for fire-arms. The excavation of chalk proceeds here ; but ship-building ceased, at the death of the founder of the yard. The house built on the premises was taken down, and a villa has been erected on the site, by William Gladdish, Esq., who married the grand-daughter of Mr. Cleverly.

*Sloane MS. No 3323, art. 37, Brit. Mus.

1782. Sunday, September the 1st. A sermon was preached in Gravesend church, by John Lloyd, under remarkable circumstances. He came a stranger to the town, but so successfully ingratiated himself among the inhabitants, that he promptly became a patron and a welcome guest. He gave liberal orders for goods to be sent to his nephew, an officer on board a ship of war lying at the Nore. He was hospitably entertained; and, the minister of the parish having conceded to him the use of the pulpit, he preached from these words of Saint Paul, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content."* His career at Gravesend was active, but brief; for the day after he had preached, he was walking in Fetter Lane, London, where he was met by a peace officer who had been looking for him, and took him into custody upon a charge of felony. His lodgings in Petticoat Lane being searched, among other things were found, two silver watches, a brace of pistols, a forged note for £20, and some bill stamps. On Tuesday, the 3rd, he was examined at Bow Street upon a charge of highway robbery; and on the Friday following was committed for trial at the Old Bailey. The charge was, that he had robbed a Mrs. Davis of a cotton gown, a muslin apron, and four guineas and three shillings in money, on the Uxbridge road, on the 29th of August preceding.

The trial took place before Mr. Baron Hotham, when the following relation was made upon oath by Mr. Reynolds, the keeper of Newgate. "A letter came to me from one of the Justices of the Peace for Middlesex, informing me that the prosecutrix had been enticed into Newgate by the prisoner, and that the moment she came to him, a woman sitting upon the same bench with him, immediately accused her with robbing her of a cloak,"† &c.; and he (Mr. Reynolds) being fearful of some trick, took some pains to inquire into it. The prosecutrix acknowledged that the charge against her was true, and offered to restore the goods, whereupon an officer was sent to her lodging, where the stolen articles were found. Upon this, the jury acquitted the prisoner Lloyd.

1782. A capacious building was erected for a Custom House,

* Philippians iv. 11.

† Sessions Papers.

which has since been vacated by that public department, and converted into private dwellings, now forming Whitehall-place, in the parish of Milton.

WATCHING AND WATCHMEN AT GRAVESEND.

1784. Only one fact needs be stated to enlighten the reader upon the subject of provision for the safety of the inhabitants and the habitations, during the night, up to a period too recent to be conceived, if the fact was not open to easy proof. At the close of the year 1784, there was only one Watchman for both parishes, and he was remunerated by voluntary contributions, which he collected from house to house. This redoubtable guardian was Clifford Reed, who, beside his onerous nocturnal duties, was charged also with the functions of Common Crier; and thus if any dexterous plunderer could, or did abstract at night, any of the goods and chattels of the slumbering dwellers, Clifford could redeem the failure of detection by giving notice, by sound of bell the next day, of the untoward event.

On the 8th of December, 1784, a joint vestry for both parishes was holden at the Town Hall, when it was resolved, that, for the better security and greater safety of the inhabitants, there should be a watchman for each parish; and a ready made watch-house was to be obtained, by appropriating "the dark cage" to that purpose. Application was, with due ceremony, made to the Mayor and Corporation to induce them to concur in this arrangement, seeing that the "dark cage" was an appurtenance of their estate; and it was winningly proposed, at the same time, that the appointment to the public offices about to be constituted, should be left to the magistrates. After much respectful and gracious intercourse between the parties, it was agreed that the dark cage aforesaid could not well be spared, but that the parishioners might erect, at their own proper cost and charge, a watch-house, upon a space in front of the Town Hall, they paying a nominal rent for the use of the site.

During these proceedings, it was ascertained that Clifford Reed had collected, one year with another, in Milton parish £23. 3s., and in Gravesend parish £36. 18s., making together an annual

collection of sixty pounds, exclusive of Christmas boxes ; for his remuneration, as watchman. As to his avocation as a market gardener ; it was for his industry to find its own reward.

The watch-house erected at that time, (for the site or cost of which the parishioners do not appear by the Corporation books to have paid anything,) “ the dark cage,” the light cage, and another cage, fitted up with the extra accommodation of “ stocks,” all standing in a line projecting from the north end of the front of the Town Hall, frowning upon evil doers, were all removed, (together with the venerable watchmen) for the purpose of improving the edifice, in the year 1836 ; and from that time the system of police has been organized and maintained, under the authority of several statutes.

1786. The first printing press in Gravesend, was set up, in this year, by Mr. Robert Pocock, which he afterwards employed in printing his History of Gravesend.

1788. From the 10th of December, in this year, to the 13th of January following, a severe frost prevailed, which completely closed the river. At London, the ice reached from shore to shore, and many persons walked across, below bridge. At Gravesend also, the ice covered the river, driven in large blocks, by the tide. There were several ships lying in Gravesend Reach, from one of which two men walked on shore to Northfleet, over the ice ; and some shipwrights from Mr. Pitcher’s building-yard, ventured to amuse themselves with cricket-bats and balls on a drifting field of the ice. Provisions were sent on board the ships from Gravesend, in boats secured by ropes between the ships and the shore.

1789. Ground, situated at the south extremity of the houses in Gravesend parish at that time, having been purchased by the parishioners for a burial ground, was consecrated on the 21st of July, by the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

1791. In June, a coal-wharf was erected at Denton, where a cargo of coals was landed, upon which the payment of the duty upon coals brought within the port of London, was refused ; and they were conveyed by land from the wharf to Gravesend, at a price reduced, by the amount of the duty previously paid for coals.

THE TERRACE.

1791. New Tavern, as it has been described, long remained detached from the town; and it was not until the year 1791, that they were united, by the erection of the houses on the line called the Terrace.

The short history of this important public improvement has been thus related:—"To this public spirited gentleman" (James Leigh Joynes, Esquire,) "Gravesend is much indebted. In 1791, he built all that row of houses, since called the Terrace, whereby the village of New Tavern, and the town of Gravesend join, by pleasantly situated buildings."* The Terrace consisted of thirty-two houses.†

This is a just but a very inadequate expression of the respect due to the memory of Mr. Joynes, for his conception and execution of so extensive an improvement for an individual to undertake; which had no precedent in Gravesend, and which has stood unrivalled for nearly half a century, till Harmer Street was built in connexion with it in 1839.

GRAVESEND VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.

1794. The inhabitants of Gravesend nobly answered the call of honour, when their country was menaced by foreign enemies and domestic agitators. A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 6th of May, when it was resolved unanimously, that the inhabitants should form an association for raising a company of artillery, for the defence of the town and Tilbury

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 134, note. Leaving a space upon which three houses were afterwards erected.

† "At a vestry held in Milton, on the 10th of November, 1791, Mr. James Leigh Joynes having proposed to pave, at his own expense, the footway from the Roebuck corner in Queen Street, all along by the houses built by him on the piece of ground called the Camps, down to the tap-room belonging to the New Tavern house," (the wing of the Custom House built in the year 1782,) "on his being allowed such a yearly sum out of the highway rates, for reimbursing him, as the parishioners may think fit; it was agreed, that the pavement should be provided as proposed, and that Mr. Joynes should be repaid, by the Surveyors of the highways, the sums of money to be expended, including the posts, and railings, and all things appertaining thereto; so that the whole sum should not exceed one hundred and twenty pounds; by six annual instalments at Midsummer in each year."—*Parish Book of Minutes of Vestries.*

Fort ; to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, six non-commissioned officers, and fifty privates or more. It was proposed, that the company should serve during the war ; the officers to receive temporary commissions, and to be chosen by the corps ; they were not to be removed from the town, or from Tilbury or Gravesend Forts, except in case of invasion ; and they were to be exercised every Tuesday in the Blockhouse Fort, or in the lines at Gravesend, in the use of great guns and small arms.

To carry these and other minor resolutions into effect, a committee was appointed, consisting of Nathaniel Gyles, Esq., Mayor, and Charles Kite, Charles Becket, and John Mills Evans, Esqrs.

The Committee submitted to Government an offer to raise a company of volunteers upon this basis, which was accepted, by a letter, dated the 17th of May, from Mr. Secretary Dundas. As many of the inhabitants who could not serve personally, had expressed a willingness to co-operate by means of their subscriptions, the Committee received contributions from them, to the amount of £126. 4s. The government supplied arms and accoutrements. The clothing of the company was similar to that of the Royal Artillery, with the single exception of a garrison-gun on the button instead of the field-piece on that of the Royal Artillery. An excellent band was attached to the corps. The commissioned officers of the company were, Captain Charles Kite, and Lieutenants James Akerman and Nathaniel Gyles. At the same period, many other inhabitants of Gravesend joined the Cobham Yeomanry Cavalry, raised by the right honourable the Earl of Darnley, of Cobham Hall.

In 1797, a second company of Volunteer Artillery was raised, upon which occasion, Captain Kite was promoted to the rank of Major, and the following officers held commissions in the companies ;—Major Kite ; Captains N. Gyles, and J. Akerman ; Lieutenants J. M. Evans, W. Cruden, junior, C. Becket, (Adjutant), T. Killick, and subsequently W. H. Styles.

The corps obtained a high character for steady conduct, exact discipline, and effective services during the war. Upon the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, they were disembodied ; and on the 6th of October 1802, they deposited their colours in

the Town Hall. At the renewal of hostilities in 1803, they were resumed on the 3rd of October, and they served with undiminished reputation, as one of the most efficient among the volunteer corps of the kingdom, till the conclusion of the war. On the 24th of June, 1814, they were finally released from their military engagements.

GRAVESEND RIFLE CORPS.

1803. The war being renewed in this year, the inhabitants met at the Town Hall, on the 22nd of July, and resolved to form a company of riflemen, under the auspices of John Keddell, Esq., Mayor, and Thomas Nairn Nash, Esq., Deputy Mayor. The company was accordingly formed, and the following inhabitants held commissions in it.—James Robert St. John Walsh, Captain; Christopher Beddingfield, William Beaumont, and William Gordon, Lieutenants.

BATHS AT GRAVESEND.

1796. Bathing-machines were used in France, a century before they were employed at Margate; and it was from the latter that they were first introduced at Gravesend. Mr. Evelyn, in his Diary, says, “On the 2nd of August, 1651, I went with my wife to Conflans, where were abundance of ladys and others, bathing in the river; *the ladys had their tents spread on the water for privacy.*” Bathing-machines were introduced at Margate, by Benjamin Beale, a Quaker, in the year 1753, and these were obviously borrowed from the French “Tents.” On the 18th of May, 1796, forty-nine inhabitants of Gravesend joined in a subscription of five guineas each, for the purpose of founding a Bathing Establishment; and they purchased a machine at Margate, to begin with, which was used for the first time on the 27th of the following month. There are now nine machines employed, at the same spot where they were first used, on the west side of the town; and the establishment is now called the Clifton Baths.

MUTINY AT THE NORE.

1797. This mutiny spread its influence to Gravesend. The proceedings of the seamen of the fleet at Portsmouth, and the removal of the causes of their complaints, by judicious concessions,

had not had the effect of appeasing discontent among the crews of the ships at Sheerness and the Nore. The seamen of the latter fleet held consultations in secret, and at length made a demonstration on board the *Inflexible*, lying at Sheerness; but this was adjusted, by the prompt and conciliatory measures of the officers of that ship. The first outbreak was on Friday, the 12th of May, on board the *Sandwich*, the flag-ship of Admiral Buckner, the commander-in-chief of the ships and vessels in the river Medway and at the Nore. At eight o'clock in the morning of that day, Lieutenant Justice gave orders to pipe to breakfast, and at half-past nine, to clear the hawse; upon which the crew gave three cheers, and these were immediately answered on board the *Director*, another ship of the fleet at anchor at the Nore. Then the crew of the *Sandwich* rove the yard ropes, and brought the fore-castle guns aft to the quarter-deck; Lieutenant Justice asked the men, what it was they wanted? and they said, that "they wanted their grievances redressed."* This was followed up, by the appointment of Delegates on board the several ships, and sending away such officers as were disliked. The Delegates appointed, from among themselves, a committee; and Richard Parker was raised to the bad pre-eminence of President of the mutineers.

On the 20th of May, the committee signed a paper, containing a statement of their grievances, concluding it with a declaration, that they would not give up their charge, till their grievances were redressed. This paper was forwarded to Admiral Buckner, at Sheerness, who on the 22nd, sent an answer, by command of the Lords of the Admiralty, signifying that the representations made by the fleet at Portsmouth having been considered, and regulations introduced in compliance with them, which had been extended to the whole navy, the demands of the Delegates would not be complied with, but that they would be pardoned for what had passed, if they returned to their duty. This produced no good effect; and on the 24th of May, the Admiral again addressed the seamen and marines of the fleet, by letter, advising them to accept the pardon that had been offered to them, and return to their duty, giving at the same time an intimation, that the Lords

* Lieutenant Justice's evidence, given upon the trial of Parker.

of the Admiralty did not consider it expedient to hold a Board at Sheerness as they had desired, or to encourage demands by concessions. This communication was received with great dissatisfaction, and produced a letter, on the following day, from Parker, to the Lords of the Admiralty, declaring the unanimous resolution of the Delegates of the fleet, that they would not come to any accommodation, until the Lords Commissioners should appear at the Nore, and redress their grievances. Affairs now wore a very serious aspect; the Delegates moored the fleet in two lines of battle, to be prepared for any attempt to coerce them, and to demonstrate their determination to employ all the means in their power to obtain their demands. By this distribution of the fleet, the Thames was blockaded, and no ship or vessel could pass without examination, and the permission of the Delegates.*

On the evening of the 24th of May, a vessel was dispatched, with seventeen Delegates, to the fleet of Admiral Duncan, in Yarmouth Roads, to induce it to join them at the Nore. They took possession of the *Cygnets* sloop of war, to convey them through the fleet, and went on board the *Venerable*, the flag-ship, the crew of which manifested a disposition to revolt, by mounting the rigging and cheering, as the mutineers had done on board the *Sandwich*; but Admiral Duncan addressed his crew, and restored order among them. Subsequently, however, most of the ships of his fleet joined in the mutiny at the Nore. These proceedings created great alarm, and engaged the attention of Parliament.

A military force had been collected at Sheerness, and at Gravesend, for the defence of the Thames. The 49th regiment was stationed at Tilbury Fort;† a company of Marines, and a detachment of the 14th Light Dragoons, were quartered at Gravesend. The Gravesend Volunteer Artillery, under Major Kite, did duty in the Lower Battery; and the Northfleet Volun-

* Upwards of 200 sail of ships detained, were lying at the Nore at one time. The ships of the Hudson's Bay Company, that usually sailed from Gravesend in the month of May, remained at Gravesend this year, during the mutiny. On the 6th of June, the *Serapis*, an old 44, and the *Dromedary*, Admiralty store-ships, ran through the mutinous fleet, and pursued their voyages.

† Afterwards sent to the Hundred of Hoo, and the Isle of Grain, between the Thames and Medway, being relieved by the Warwickshire Militia.—*Pocock*, p. 168.

teers, under Major Wadman, occupied the Blockhouse Battery. There were furnaces in these batteries for heating shot. The Cobham Yeomanry Cavalry, consisting of two troops, under the command of the Earl of Darnley, were called out ; and Captain Dyke, with a troop of West Kent Yeomanry Cavalry, was on duty at Dartford. Captain Holloway, of the corps of Royal Engineers, commanded the forts and artillery at Gravesend ; Lieutenant Eveleigh, of the Royal Artillery, had charge at Shorne Mead Battery ; and Lieutenant Durnford, of the Engineers, had charge at the Lower Hope Battery. A reinforcement of artillerymen, under Captain Borthwick and Lieutenant Fead, arrived from Woolwich ; and on the 2nd of June, a troop of the 7th Light Dragoons occupied Northfleet. Colonel Nesbit of the 52nd regiment was sent to Gravesend, to take upon himself the command of the forces assembled, and to act in all cases at his discretion.

The civil authorities and the inhabitants of the town, displayed the utmost energy upon the occasion. George Arnold, Esq., Mayor, relying upon the aid of the inhabitants generally in cases of emergency, provided for the preservation of the peace, by the organization of a body of special constables ; and the utmost harmony was maintained between the civil and military authorities, during the whole of the eventful period.

On Saturday, the 27th of May, fourteen Delegates were sent in a cutter, manned by 150 seamen, to communicate with the ships in the Thames, riding in Long Reach, consisting of the *Lancaster** of 64 guns, the *Agincourt* of 64, and the *Naiad* frigate of 38 guns ; and to bring them to the Nore.

When this vessel came in sight of Gravesend, Colonel Nesbit sent Mr. William Crafter, senior, an officer † in the Ordnance department, on board with an express, requiring them to bring up,

* This ship was anchored abreast of Purfleet, and the crew were turbulent and troublesome. Upon one occasion, a report reached the town from Dartford, that they had landed and were upon their march to Gravesend, and the troops were turned out at midnight to receive them ; but this was a false alarm. Captain Wells, who had commanded the ship, was confined by the crew ; but he availed himself of a favourable opportunity, when their affairs were becoming hopeless, to induce them to return to their obedience.

† Then superintendent of the military communication between Tilbury Fort and Gravesend.

which they did. Mr. Crafter then prevailed upon the Delegates, to send six of their number on shore, to state their object to the Colonel. When the boat was approaching the shore, near the battery,* at Shorne Mead, a shot was fired from a 32-pounder, which happily did not strike the boat, though very near it; and upon making a signal by hand, the party were allowed to land without farther interruption. Shorne Mead battery is distant from the town about three miles, and Mr. Crafter conducted the Delegates by the river bank, to the presence of Colonel Nesbit.

While on their way, the party was met by two inhabitants of Gravesend, who entered into conversation with them; and upon an intimation that the seamen were pursuing a dangerous course, by violating the laws of their country, one of the Delegates immediately said, "Oh! the laws of the land are given at the Nore now;"—and when they arrived among the persons collected to see their approach to head-quarters, one of the crowd, more injudicious than the rest, called the Delegates a set of rebellious scoundrels; upon which another of them said,—"*Rebellion!* why, that word is taken out of the Dictionary now, and *revolution* is put in its place." These expressions would not have a place here, unless the fact that they were actually used were satisfactorily proved; nor would they have been noticed, but for the bearing that they have upon the question, whether the mutineers were not excited by agitators on shore, through the agency of political incendiaries among themselves.

Upon being taken before Colonel Nesbit, he entered into discussion with them, upon their proceedings, temperately exhorting with them, and kindly admonishing them; pointing, at the same time, to the military means of obstructing them, in any attempt to communicate with the ships in Long Reach, as they had intended. The Delegates, after a long interview, were allowed to return in safety to the cutter; and the happy influence of Colonel Nesbit's management upon this critical occasion, was apparent, for they immediately returned in that vessel to the Nore.†

* The battery was erected here, and another at the Lower Hope point, in the years 1795-6; and a third was erected at the Coal House point in 1798. They were all dismantled in 1820.

† Mr. Crafter was dispatched, upon several following days, to reconnoitre the mutinous fleet at the Nore. For his conduct in this dangerous and impor-

Notwithstanding the former answers of the Lords of the Admiralty, in which they declined to visit Sheerness; on Saturday, the 27th of May, Earl Spencer, Admiral Young, Lord Arden, and Mr. Marsden, arrived there, and a negociation with the Delegates was opened. The Delegates were admitted to several interviews with them; but, as they persisted in their demands, the Lords Commissioners informed them at length, that the King's pardon would be granted, provided they returned to their obedience, immediately, but that no other concession would be made; the negociation was concluded on Monday, the 29th of June, without producing the desired result.

On Tuesday, the 30th, early in the morning, the *Clyde* frigate left the mutinous fleet, and went to Sheerness. At noon, the *San Fiorenzo* frigate cut her cables, and escaped through the fire of the fleet, to Harwich. On the same day, the ships of Admiral Duncan's fleet, with the exception of his flag-ship the *Venerable*, and the *Adamant* of 50 guns, joined the mutiny at the Nore. This was a moment of increased excitement and anxiety. The mutineers perceived, in the issue of their negociation with the Lords of the Admiralty, and in the defection of the two frigates, strong grounds for serious apprehensions; yet they maintained their position, encouraged by the accession of the ships from Yarmouth.

On the 31st of May, the Delegates sent a flag of truce, to Commissioner Hartwell, at Sheerness, to propose that they should receive two months' pay in advance, a supply of clothing, and a pardon for what had passed. This was conveyed to London by the Commissioner; but the result of a Cabinet Council, holden upon the subject; was a determination to refuse any concession, and to insist upon unconditional obedience.* Dejected by these

tant service, he received the commendations of his superiors; and the merchants of London, associated for the support of the laws and the protection of property at that alarming juncture, bestowed upon Mr. Crafter, a silver cup, in testimony of the favourable sense they entertained of his judgment and zeal upon this occasion.

* On the 6th of June, the royal assent was given to an Act of Parliament, for restraining intercourse with the crews of the ships in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the suppression of such rebellion. On the same day, a Royal Proclamation was issued, declaring the following ships to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion:—"The *Sandwich*, *Montagu*, *Inflexible*, *Director*, *Monmouth*, *Belliqueux*, *Standard*, *Lion*, *Nassau*, *Grampus*, *Proserpine*, *Brilliant*, *Repulse*, *Iris*, *Champion*, *Comet*, *Tysiphone*, *Pylades*, *Swan*, and *Inspector*."

proceedings, the mutineers deliberated upon means of escape from the dangers by which they were surrounded. Many projects were suggested, and among these was a plan to disperse the fleet, and to sail separately to foreign ports, or distant British possessions. This had been anticipated, and on the 7th of June, the Trinity House removed the buoys from the Channels, diverging from the Nore; and the beacons on the shore were cut down:* so that it was rendered impracticable for the seamen of the fleet, having no assistance of pilots, to accomplish that object, if it had been determined to make the attempt.

On the 9th of June, Lieutenant Robb, who had been permitted to remain on board the *Leopard* of 50 guns, perceiving a change in the sentiments of some of the crew, conceived the plan of withdrawing that ship from the fleet. Having consulted the other officers remaining on board, and secured the aid of some of the seamen, he proceeded to carry his plan into effect. This was resisted by the mutineers, and a struggle ensued, in which Lieutenant Buchanan was severely wounded by John Stanton, who had armed himself with a pike. The gallant leader of the little band, determined to rescue the ship, got her under weigh, and reached Gravesend the same evening. Lieutenant Buchanan was brought on shore, and was carefully attended to; but his wound ended in mortification, and he died. On the 17th of June, he was buried with military honours, on the north side, in Milton church-yard; the band of the Gravesend Volunteer Artillery performing at his obsequies.

Many of the mutineers were landed at Gravesend, from the *Leopard*. The secession of this ship led the way to many defections, and several others of the fleet came to Gravesend, where they also landed many mutineers. A detachment of eighty men, of the Warwickshire Militia, from Tilbury Fort, went on board the *Standard*, and secured thirty-six marines and twenty-three seamen, and landed them at Gravesend. They also landed the remains of William Wallace, one of the Delegates, who in desperation had committed suicide.†

* Public notice of this was given in the London Gazette.

† Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 169.

The concluding scene of the mutiny has been pithily described by an eye-witness thus :—" The mutiny began on the 12th of May, and on the 13th of June, the red flag was struck, and the mutiny was all over. This day, (the 13th of June), I sailed past the ships that were deserting ; some went into Sheerness, others sailed to Gravesend. The ships that came to Gravesend, from the fleet at the Nore, were, the *Agamemnon*, of 64 guns,—*Nassau*, 64,—*Standard*, 64,—*Lion*, 64,—*Leopard*, 50,—*Iris*, 32,—*Vestal*, 28,—*Inspector*, 16."*

Wednesday, 14th of June. Richard Parker, President of the Delegates, was landed at Sheerness, as a prisoner. He was afterward conveyed to the *Neptune*, of 98 guns, lying in Long Reach, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart., on board which the court-martial was to sit, for the trial of Parker and the other mutineers, who were in custody.

The trial of Parker, on a charge of mutiny, commenced on Thursday the 22nd of June, and the proceedings occupied four days ; when the prisoner was found guilty, and adjudged to suffer death, at such time and place as the Lords of the Admiralty should appoint. He was executed on board the *Sandwich*, at Blackstakes, near Sheerness, on Friday the 30th of June, 1797. Other mutineers were brought to trial, many of whom were convicted ; and it was not until the 25th of August, that the court-martial was terminated.

This account of the proceedings at Gravesend, during the mutiny, (which cannot be contemplated without pain,) may be concluded with the insertion of the redeeming fact, that the seamen resumed their duty with a sincere disposition to serve their country ; and, under the command of Admiral Duncan, nobly sustained their former reputation, by the glorious victory they achieved over the fleet of the enemy, on the 11th of October in the same year.

THE TUNNEL UNDER THE THAMES AT GRAVESEND.

1798. As a matter of record, it might be sufficient to give an epitaph on the projector and his project ; but in these days of

* MS. Note by Mr. Crafter.

tunnels, railroads, and other great public undertakings, it may be useful to preserve some account* of the origin, progress, and failure, of this attempt to obtain a passage under the Thames.

In the spring of the year 1798, there were rumours of a plan in contemplation, for a subterranean and subaqueous passage from Gravesend to Tilbury. The probable advantages of such a communication occurred to Mr. Ralph Dodd, a civil engineer, who had been engaged in some works among the collieries in the neighbourhood of Newcastle and Sunderland; and he visited Gravesend for the purpose of making a survey, and obtaining a knowledge of such local facts and circumstances, as might enable him to bring the subject before the public.†

When he had communicated with government, and some influential individuals, upon the information he had collected, and the plan he devised, Mr. Dodd published an address in the public journals, giving his views of the advantages and expediency of the projected tunnel; announcing, at the same time, that a public meeting would be holden at Gravesend, to consider and discuss the merits of his proposal. In that address, Mr. Dodd gave the following estimate for the execution of the Tunnel:—

To 900 yards running measure of tunnelling, including the excavation and vaulting, with key-stones, &c., at £12. per yard	£. 10,800
To relaying the bottom with new-made ground, 900 running yards at £1. per yard	900
To fixing lamps, and lamp-irons through the Tunnel, toll-collector's rooms, gates, &c., at each end.....	400
To making good entrance-roads at each end of Tunnel.....	160
To a steam-engine, pipes, &c., if found necessary to draw off the drainage water	1,780
To necessary machinery during the execution	500
To 10 per cent. upon the whole, for contingencies.....	1,455
	<hr/> £15,995

The first public meeting was holden, according to the announcement referred to, in the Town Hall, Gravesend, on Wednesday, the 18th of July, 1798; at which the Right Honourable Earl Darnley presided.

* From the books and papers of the Tunnel Company.

† Reports, &c., on the proposed Dry Tunnel at Gravesend. By R. Dodd, Engineer. 4to. London, 1798, pp. 28.

Mr. Dodd attended, and submitted his plan and estimates for the construction of the Tunnel, with verbal explanations necessary to elucidate a report then presented, in which he reduced the estimate given in his preceding address, by the sum of £3,141. 12s. ; which amount, he suggested, would be obtained for the chalk and flints to be excavated and sold, leaving the sum to be raised, £12,853. 8s. He also represented that it might be farther reduced to the sum of £10,000, if the Tunnel should be of less dimensions, so as to admit carriages to pass only one way at a time.

The projector submitted, in his report to this meeting, the great public advantages of the proposed Tunnel as a military communication ; the great benefits it would produce, by increased facilities for intercourse between Essex and Kent ; and the profit that would accrue, from these sources, to those who might invest money in the undertaking.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Board of Ordnance, signifying that the Board was disposed to encourage the undertaking.

It was then resolved :—that the proposed Tunnel would be highly desirable, and of most important national advantages ; and that, seeing no reason to doubt the practicability of the measure, the co-operation of government, the assent of the land owners on both sides of the river, and (from the offers that had been made) the willingness of the public to subscribe towards its accomplishment,—in the opinion of the meeting, the most desirable mode of effecting it, was, by raising the necessary funds in transferable shares of one hundred pounds each.

It was also determined that these proceedings should be communicated to the grand juries of Essex and Kent, when assembled at the assizes then approaching, requesting their support, and proposing that a public meeting of the land-owners and holders, and others of both counties, should be holden in London, to consider the subject.

These propositions were favourably entertained by the grand juries ; and, at the meeting, which was accordingly holden at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, on the 3rd of November, 1798, the undertaking was sanctioned, and a committee was

appointed to conduct future proceedings, and books were opened for subscriptions to the amount of £30,000, in shares of one hundred pounds each. It was also determined to apply to Parliament for an Act to constitute a Company, with powers to carry the measure into effect.

The following is the list of the Committee selected from the first patrons* of the undertaking :—

The Earl Darnley.	Claud Scott, Esq.
Lord Petre.	Lieutenant-Colonel Twiss, R.E.
Hon. J. T. Townshend, M.P.	Captain Schank, R.N.
Hon. Robert Petre.	Thomas Woodruffe Smith, Esq.
Sir Wm. Geary, Bart., M.P.	John Mavor, Esq.
Alderman Lushington, M. P.	George Hawkes, Esq.
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.	Benjamin Harrison, Esq.
Mr. John Mills Evans, of Gravesend, was appointed Solicitor and Secretary.	

The boldness of the project, and the discussions upon it, attracted general attention, and produced some strictures from the press.

Mr. Dodd proposed that the form of the Tunnel should be cylindrical, and insisted that the superior strength of this form was demonstrable, inasmuch as the cylinder would consist wholly of key-stones, and therefore the greater the pressure, the stronger the work would be found.

The accuracy of this proposition was disputed by Mr. Clarke, an inhabitant of Gravesend, in a pamphlet that he published upon the subject.† He contended that this form was incapable of sustaining the unequal pressure, and that the curvature of the proposed line of Tunnel would endanger the work. In support of his objection, the writer goes elaborately into the consideration of the mechanism of arches, and the composition and revolution of forces, deducing, from the works of esteemed authors upon the profound question involved in the argument, very powerful conclusions, confirmatory of his own opinion.

* The Corporation of Gravesend subscribed for £500, and paid £275, being the full amount of the instalments called for, amounting to 55 per cent. upon the proposed capital.

† Observations on the intended Tunnel beneath the river at Gravesend. By Charles Clarke, F. S. A. 4to. London, 1799. With an introduction, dated Ordnance Office, Gravesend, 20th December, 1798.

1799, February 1. At a general meeting of the subscribers, it was stated, that the whole of the proposed capital of £30,000 had been subscribed; whereupon it was determined to proceed with the work. At this meeting, a Sub-committee that had been appointed, reported that, considering the importance of the undertaking, they had not confined themselves to the opinion of an individual; and it appears that they had employed Mr. Samuel Wyatt, to superintend borings to ascertain the strata at several places on both sides of the river, eastward and westward of Gravesend; a proceeding which produced a jealousy between the projector and this rival, which was one of the causes of the troubled progress of the work.

An Act of Parliament* was obtained, for incorporating the Company, with powers to execute the work. The precise situation of the Tunnel was not fixed by the Act, but it was to be made at any point between one hundred yards west of the house of Mr. J. Howard, at Northfleet, on the west, and a quarter of a mile eastward of New Tavern Bridge, in Milton, and between the opposite points on the shore of the county of Essex.

It was provided by the Act, that the Company might raise the proposed capital of £30,000, in shares of £100 each, and (if necessary) a farther sum of £20,000 by the issue of additional shares, or by mortgage. It provided also, that tolls might be levied for passing through the Tunnel; but tolls were not to be demanded for troops or military stores, or for persons, horses, or carriages under the direction of the Post-Master General. In consideration of these exemptions, the Government was to pay £1000 *per annum* to the Company. The latter was to pay to the Crown, eighty pounds *per annum*, in satisfaction for the profits of the boat-ferry across from Tilbury to Gravesend; and thirty pounds *per annum* to the Corporation, for the boat-ferry from Gravesend to Tilbury.

The situations most eligible, for the line of the Tunnel, were considered to be:—1, at Northfleet; 2, near the battery, eastward of Gravesend; 3, at the west end of the town, near the house of Mr. Hazard, at the back of the chalk-pit, called the Old Main.

* Stat. 39 Geo. III., c. 73.

The last spot was selected, and a shaft was to be sunk there, under the direction of Colonel Twiss, Mr. Wyatt, and Mr. Ludlam,* the latter of whom had been employed in making borings, to ascertain the strata through which the work was to be executed.

It is observable that, in this arrangement, Mr. Dodd is not mentioned; and it was another inauspicious circumstance, that many of the shareholders had been backward in their payments; the demands upon the committee, exceeding the funds in their hands. At a general meeting of the proprietors, holden on the 7th of May, 1800, a letter was read from Colonel Twiss, indicating an impression that the scheme was practicable, but that he had no great confidence in the proceedings to effect it. At the same time, Mr. Wyatt, and Mr. Ludlam, submitted a report, that, after a great many borings had been made, it was agreed to sink a well, 10 feet diameter, and that a horse-gin should be used for raising the water from the well; but, having sunk the shaft to the depth of 41 feet 9 inches, there was so much water, that it would be necessary to provide a steam-engine for clearing it.

Mr. Dodd was always found stepping close upon the heels of his rivals: he attended a committee, and represented that the horse-gin, then in use, was sufficient to produce much greater effect than had been produced; and he proposed to undertake an experiment for clearing the shaft of the water, which was acceded to. This, like the rest, was an unsuccessful attempt; and a steam engine was to be provided.

1802. On the 5th of May, the General Committee presented the following report at a general annual meeting of the proprietors:

“It must be evident that, until the steam engine† was finished, no material progress could be made in the work; this was delayed beyond the time which they had been led to expect, through circumstances, which it was beyond their power to control. They have, however, much satisfaction in stating, that it is at length completed, and as far as the opportunities have hitherto been afforded of forming a judgment as to its effect, has been found fully to answer the ends proposed.”

* A miner, of Northamptonshire.

† The books of the Company do not contain precise information respecting the power or cost of this engine, which was supplied by Messrs. Boulton and Watt.

The reader, now that it appears, that the “means and appliances” had been granted, will consider that some palpable and satisfactory progress would have been made; but it appears that the course of the undertaking was destined, like “the course of true love, never to run smooth.”

Without any explicit description preserved in the books of the Company, upon the actual state of the work, it is to be inferred that all was not quite satisfactory; for, on the 21st of June, 1802, the General Committee resolved, that Mr. Rennie and Mr. Jessop should be requested to proceed to Gravesend to survey the works, and to make a report thereon; and to afford such other information as they might think proper.

These eminent men, who afterwards acquired for themselves great professional distinction, accordingly proceeded to Gravesend; and, on the 7th of July, presented the following statement of their views upon the subject:—

“On our viewing the work at Gravesend, we found the pit sunk to the depth of 75 feet below high-water of the river, or nine feet below the deepest part of its bed. As the engine had been purposely stopped, we found in the pit 60 feet in depth, of water, which the engine pumped out in two hours; and on letting the engine again stand, it filled to the same height as we had found it, in one hour. When the pit was empty, we examined the appearance of the chalk at the bottom of it, knowing, though all chalk above the level of the sea is full of fissures, which has been the natural consequence of its drying after its having been originally in a pulpy or semi-fluid state, we did expect that under the level of the sea, and aided by the super-incumbent pressure, it might have been compact without fissures, but we did not find this to be the case; on the contrary, not only the strata near the bottom, discharged streams of water, but a hole having been bored to a much greater depth, though plugged up when we saw it, we were informed had spouted up water, in a full bore, to the height of two feet above the present bottom of the pit.

“We yet do not think it fair to infer from this, that the water will be found at the depth at which it is intended to make the Tunnel, for though the chalk at the depth which we saw, is now under the level of the sea, it may formerly have been above it, and by drying have been fractured like other dry chalk. We venture this opinion from knowing that, in many parts of the eastern coast of England, there are evident remains of wood-land under water-mark in the sea. It is therefore very probable that, on sinking the well lower, they may get under the stratum

that supplies the bore hole with water ; we therefore recommend that the well should be sunk to the depth of 145 feet, below high-water mark of the Thames, which will be 70 feet lower than its present depth, if no accidents prevent it, this will be done in four or five weeks, at the expense of about £300.

“Until this is done, we must beg leave to decline the hazarding any opinion, either on the practicability or probable cost of executing the Tunnel.

“The power of the engine is amply sufficient to raise the water, unless a much greater quantity should be found than there is at present, which is not very likely to happen.

(Signed),

“ W. JESSOP.

“ JOHN RENNIE.”

Upon reading this Report, orders were given that the shaft should be sunk to the depth recommended by Messrs. Jessop and Rennie, if practicable, and £1000 were appropriated to this purpose.

On the 10th of October, 1802, at night, a fire broke out, which destroyed the interior of the engine-house, and stopped the work ; and it was not until the 13th of December following, that Mr. Dodd reported that the work had been resumed, and that the shaft had been sunk ten feet more, making the whole depth 85 feet.

Any farther account of the proceedings, would consist of a statement of calls, made upon the subscribers for payments, unattended to ; orders, given for active operations, neglected ; and a marked dilatoriness pervading the whole concern.*

The last report that was made to the proprietors, was presented at a meeting on the 3rd of March, 1803, at which the following view of the financial concerns was given.

The several calls, making in the whole 45 per cent., should	}	£13,500
have produced		
But the payments had only amounted to		9,916

Leaving an arrear of	3,584
----------------------------	-------

On the other side of the account it appeared, that	}	£9,844	4	1
the expenditure had been.....				
And that there were unsatisfied claims, amounting to		5,398	6	3 $\frac{1}{4}$

Making the total cost.....	£15,242	10	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
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* The last annual election of the General Committee, in conformity with the Act, took place in 1806 ; in subsequent years there were no elections, there not being a sufficient number of proprietors present to form a quorum. The last entry is *in pencil* thus : “ May 1810, adjourned as before.”

The claims, it is presumed, were discharged, by funds arising from the sale of the stores of the Company, and by the recovery of the instalments due by many of the subscribers; but this does not appear in the accounts. An excellent commentary on this result appears on a loose paper of the Company, probably sketched by a member of the committee, at a meeting to close the accounts, as follows:—

“TOTAL COST OF THE WELL!!! £15,242. 10s. 4½*d.*”*

Among the probable causes of the failure of this undertaking, may be enumerated, the faulty organization of the directing body. The general committee was composed of noblemen and gentlemen, whose positions and pursuits rendered it highly improbable that they could bestow the necessary attention to the proceedings; and the sub-committee was so frequently changed, that what was commenced by some members was left to be completed by others, so that there was no continuous and uniform system pursued.

It must be admitted, that the project was a grand conception: but the capacity of the projector, to meet the contingent difficulties, was very questionable; and his estimate is sufficient to demonstrate his want of professional acquirements. The introduction of co-assistants was not so likely to supply the want of qualification in him, as it was to produce jealousy, tending to obstruct the proceedings, as indeed the event proved.

If the management had not been feeble, a duly qualified engineer would have been employed, with ample authority to direct the operations.

The incomplete and disordered state of the accounts, from the beginning to the conclusion of the undertaking, is a proof of the great negligence or incapacity of those who were entrusted with the management of that department.

The doubts that have been entertained of the practicability of

* Near the spot where the shaft was made, there was formerly a pond that was affected by the tide of the river in a remarkable manner; filling when the tide subsided, and itself subsiding when the tide flowed; which was occasioned by a natural syphon in the ground. When the shaft or well was excavated, the chalk taken out, was deposited in and near the pond, by which it was filled up, and the water has not since appeared. The pond is described by Pocock in his *History of Gravesend*, p. 24.

such a work, have not been confirmed or disproved by this result : but they have been in some measure removed, by the completion of a Tunnel under the Thames, at Rotherhithe, where most formidable difficulties have been overcome, by the distinguished engineer, Sir I. M. Brunel, who happily had the direction of that undertaking confided to him.

THE THAMES AND MEDWAY CANAL.

Mr. Dodd, at the time when he projected the Tunnel, proposed also a Canal from Gravesend to Strood, to connect the Thames and Medway, and by this line of about six miles in length, to save the distance of the usual passage by the rivers, round the point of the Isle of Grain, of about 47 miles in length.

This proposal was received with as much favour as was bestowed upon his plan of the Tunnel, and was prosecuted, under an Act of Parliament,* obtained in the year 1800, with more success.

As it was necessary to carry the line through high land, at the south-east end, the choice of expedients was between locks and a Tunnel. The latter was adopted, and under the advice and direction of William Tierney Clark, Esq., F.R.S., Civil Engineer, a Tunnel of upwards of two miles in length was constructed.

The line was opened at the Gravesend end, on the 14th of October, 1824.

This has proved an unprofitable concern ; and it has been in contemplation to supersede the Canal, by a railway from Gravesend to the Medway at Strood, to be continued on the level of the river, to Maidstone.

In the year 1778, when an alarm of invasion prevailed, it was proposed,† to make a direct road between Maidstone and Gravesend, or to provide for a communication by Canal ; there being at that time camps, in Essex at Warley Common, and in Kent at Coxheath near Maidstone ; between which there was a communication by means of barges, over the Thames at Gravesend, which has been described.‡ That was intended for military purposes,

* Stat. 40 Geo. III. c. 23.

† See the Public Journals for August, 1778.

‡ Page 440 *supra*.

but a railroad lately proposed, was designed for goods and passengers, continuing their route from Kent, by steam-packets between Gravesend and London. Considering the great population of Rochester, Chatham, and Strood, and the resort of passengers from the east parts of Kent, the consideration of the railroad may ere long be resumed.

1799. The method of conveying troops across the river at Gravesend, in barges warped over by hawsers in a line of buoys, introduced in the year 1779,* was resumed in the war with France, that commenced in 1793; but at the suggestion of Mr. William Crafter, superintendent of the military communication, the hawsers and buoys were withdrawn, and the barges in which the troops were conveyed, were towed across by sailing vessels, or, in calms, by row-boats.

DOCKS, &c., AT NORTHFLEET.

Before the narrative of local events in the eighteenth century is closed, some particulars should be introduced relative to an important establishment, founded within that period.

Adjoining to the parish of Gravesend on the west, is a portion of the parish of Northfleet, very dissimilar to the rest of that considerable parochial division, in which the establishment referred to is situated. This portion extends a mile and a half east and west, and a quarter of a mile in breadth from the Thames, presenting a precipitous face of chalk to the river, of the depth of ninety feet. It appears by the form of the ground at both ends of this tract, that it once sloped from the upper line of chalk to the edge of the river, but this has been changed by the excavation of the chalk, (of which the whole line consisted), from the bank of the river to the escarpment. This excavation has produced very striking scenery. Some mounds have been left in different parts of the level, because they did not consist of marketable chalk,† like the rest; and being covered with vegetable mould, they are clothed with verdure and brushwood, exhibiting an agreeable and picturesque contrast to the mass of chalk, and the

* See page 440 *supra*.

† See page 443 *supra*.

variegated sand and gravel deposited in fissures. The most interesting features of the land, within the limits described, are, however, the geological phenomena which they display. Though this tract contains what geologists are wont to explore, it has been passed by, with little notice, probably, because in other parts of the country, chalk formations of more importance for their magnitude, and the remains with which they are enriched, have been described; and all that could be offered respecting this locality, has been included in these general descriptions.

The appearance of chalk is so familiar, that it is seen unheeded; but the investigations of geologists have rendered it an object of importance.

To the question, what is chalk? the answer of the uninitiated might be, that it is an earth more compact than vegetable mould, and less so than stone or marble; but a more satisfactory definition of it has been obtained, by the labours of men of learning and scientific acquirements. After a long period of indifference or ignorance, and an interval of misconception; the problem was solved by the illustrious Linnæus, who discovered the vital origin of chalk; and succeeding geologists have confirmed his theory. "Chalk," it is said, "presents a mass of animal remains in various stages of comminution and disintegration."* These remains, held in solution in the waters of the ocean, have been conveyed and deposited upon solid foundations. In this age of intellectual pursuits, the reader may have witnessed, by the aid of lens of extraordinary power, the number and complete structure of animalculæ in one drop of water, and he may have considered the accounts that have been placed within his reach, of the wondrous formation of islands in the ocean, by the labour of the coral animals; and contemplating these, however his prejudices may revolt at the conclusions drawn from facts, he will in the end become reconciled to the hypothesis, that chalk is of animal

* Richardson on Geology. The wonders of geology have been revealed by many distinguished living writers on the subject, and information more accessible than their elaborate works, may be found in numerous epitomes; among which, the publication of Mr. Richardson, called "Geology for beginners," a second edition of which has just issued from the press, may be recommended for its conciseness and perspicuity.

organization. In the organic bodies of which it is formed, there is an admixture of siliceous with calcareous matter; and by the same natural process that produces the deposit of chalk, the siliceous portion is formed into flints, which are found in layers in the chalk.* These too carry with them proofs of vital origin, the remains which they contain, bearing a distinctive character. In that part of the lands that form the subject of these slight observations, which has been opened for a passage opposite to the *Red Lion* public house, on the bank of the river, are some beautiful indications of the powerful action of waves, that have ploughed deep cavities or basins in the chalk, and deposited in them sand and gravel, in picturesque undulating strata. Shells, both entire and in fragments, and other fossils, are found in the chalk by the excavators, and sold by them.† In November, 1828, the fossil remains of a deer, consisting of antlers, jaws, and vertebræ, were found about sixteen feet below the surface, in a superincumbent basin of clay, near the villa of William Gladdish, Esq., on the premises that have been described above, (p. 443,) in the parish of Gravesend.

A portion of the tract of land that has been described, having been excavated to the greatest practicable depth,‡ was lying unproductive, and for sale, in the year 1788; when it was purchased by Mr. Thomas Pitcher, ship-builder. This property has a capacious river frontage, and a considerable space in the rear; a foundation capable of sustaining the pressure of the largest ship that can be constructed upon it, and a depth of water in front, sufficient for launching ships of the largest class. To these natural advantages, was added the fortuitous inducement of a very low price demanded for the property.

* "This arrangement has probably arisen from the chalk and flint having been held in suspension or solution in the same fluid, and precipitated into the basin of the ocean; when consolidation took place, the siliceous molecules separated from the cretaceous, on the well known principles of chemical affinity; the sponges and other zoophytes acting as nuclei or centres, around which the siliceous matter coagulated." Mantell's *Wonders of Geology*, vol. i, p. 294. Prof. Buckland, *Geo. Trans.*, vol. iv, p. 422.

† Mrs. Smith of Tunbridge Wells, has formed a splendid collection from the Kentish chalk, including the paddle of a large saurian.

‡ The water, from springs below this level, is the impediment to farther excavation.

Mr. Pitcher commenced his operations with an established reputation for integrity and professional skill, and with capital at command; and the energy with which he pursued his honourable career, is amply attested by the following lists of ships which he constructed at Northfleet, for the merchant service, and for the royal navy.

LIST OF MERCHANT SHIPS, BUILT BY MR. PITCHER,
AT NORTHFLEET.

Time of Launching.	Ships' Names.	Tons.	Service.
1789, Nov. 2.	Royal Charlotte . . .	1238	East India Trade.
1790, Nov. 6	Alfred	1198	The same.
1793, Aug. 27	Britannia	382	West India Trade.
1794, Sept. 23.	Alligator	343	The same.
1796, June 7.	Royal Charlotte . . .	1453	East India Trade.
1796, Dec. 15.	Earl of Abergavenny .	1460	The same.
1797, March 13.	Hope	1471	The same.
1799, June 15.	Diana	605	West India Trade.
1800, Jan. 13.	Castle Eden	818	East India Trade.
1800, Feb. 10.	Kent	824	The same.
1800, March 29.	Comet	527	The same.
1800, Oct. 18.	Ocean	1273	The same.
1801, Jan. 19.	Inglis	126	East India Comp. Hoy.
1801, Nov. 7.	David Scott	1276	East India Trade.
1801, Dec. 5.	Perseverance	1271	The same.
1802, Oct. 22.	Earl Camden	1271	The same.
1803, Feb. 5.	Ceylon	818	The same.
1805, Dec. 18.	Devonshire	821	The same.
1811, Jan. 26.	Lowther Castle	1427	The same.
1812, Feb. 13.	Broxbournbury	708	The same.
1812, Oct. 6.	Marquis Camden . . .	1261	The same.
1817, Oct. 13.	London	1315	East India Company.
1818, Sept. 15.	Fame	400	East India Trade.
1818, Oct. 31.	Katharine Stuart Forbes	432	The same.
1818, Nov. 30.	Kellie Castle	1315	The same.
1825, Nov. 26.	George the Fourth . .	1315	The same.

It is very probable that when Mr. Pitcher contemplated the establishment he formed at Northfleet, he calculated chiefly upon his connexion with the East India service for employment; but the following list will show, that from the commencement to the conclusion of the war of the French revolution, he was extensively patronized by the government.

LIST OF SHIPS BUILT AT NORTHFLEET, FOR THE ROYAL NAVY.

Date of Building.	Ships' Names.	Description.
1794 . . .	Lark	Sloop of War of 14 guns.
" . . .	Force	Gun Brig.
" . . .	Emerald	Frigate of 36 guns.
1796 . . .	Ardent	64 guns.
1797 . . .	Ospray	Sloop of War of 16 guns.
" . . .	Griper	Gun Brig.
" . . .	Grapler	Ditto.
" . . .	Gallant	Ditto.
1798 . . .	Superb	74 guns.
" . . .	Supply	Navy Transport.
1801 . . .	Mariner	Gun Brig.
" . . .	Menox	Ditto.
" . . .	Medusa	Frigate of 32 guns.
1804 . . .	Eagle	74 guns.
1807 . . .	Bruizer	} Gun Brigs.
" . . .	Blazer	
" . . .	Cracker	
" . . .	Clinker	
" . . .	Cumberland	74 guns.
1808 . . .	Rolla	Gun Brig.
" . . .	Venerable	74 guns.
1810 . . .	Egmont	74 guns.
1812 . . .	Gloucester	74 guns.
" . . .	Medway	74 guns.
1813 . . .	Alert	Gun Brig.
" . . .	Meander (Fir)	Frigate of 38 guns.
" . . .	Araxis (Fir)	Frigate of 38 guns.

MOORINGS AT NORTHFLEET.

The moorings were projected by Mr. Pitcher, for the use of ships in the service of the East India Company.

It was necessary to obtain the consent of Government, before the measure could be pursued; and Mr. Pitcher being associated with W. Fraser, J. P. Larkins, W. Dent, and J. Clements, Esqs., four considerable owners of those ships, in the undertaking to lay down the moorings, they submitted a joint memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, for their assent. This memorial was not dated, but the receipt of it was acknowledged by one of the secretaries of the Treasury, on the 27th of April, 1804.

A plan was submitted at the same time, by which it appeared that the parties proposed to have an exclusive grant to occupy the south side of the river in Northfleet Hope with eighteen moorings,

which plan had been laid before the Lords of the Admiralty, the Navy Board, and the Trinity House, by whom it was approved ; and being referred to John Fordyce, Esq., the Surveyor-general of Land Revenue, was sanctioned by him, and the permission to lay down the moorings as proposed, was signed on the 8th of August, 1805, by Mr. Pitt, then First Lord, and Mr. Long, and the Marquis of Blandford, also Commissioners of the Treasury.

The conditions of the grant were, that the parties should have a lease for a term of thirty-one years from the date, reserving to the Crown a net rent or acknowledgment of 20s. per annum, with the free use of two of the mooring chains, to be made of sufficient strength for mooring first-rate ships of war, when wanted ; and reserving also a moiety of the clear surplus of rates received, for mooring ships and vessels, after deducting the annual expense of repairing and managing the chains and collecting the duties ; and also a yearly allowance of ten per cent. for the profit on the amount of capital, or first expense ; and, likewise deducting such farther yearly allowance per cent. on the capital, as should redeem the same, with interest at five per cent.

The toll or duty was not to exceed three halfpence per ton per week, in respect of each ship or vessel ; but, as this was found to be inadequate, the lease granted in 1805 was surrendered, and another was executed on the 10th of October, 1810, giving authority to demand a toll, not exceeding threepence per ton per week, for the use of the moorings.*

Of the number of moorings proposed, only twelve were laid down. These consisted each of a ground-chain of about thirty fathoms in length, and a bridle-chain, attached to the ground-chain, midway in the length ; these together weighing about eighteen tons. At each end of the chain, was a single fluked anchor with an iron stock, weighing seven tons ; the entire weight of the chains and anchors of each mooring, being about thirty-two tons. A buoy constructed of timber was attached to the bridle chain, and had a ring to which the mooring chain or hawser of the ship was made fast.

These moorings were finally removed in the year 1837.

* See Reports of Commissioners of Land Revenue.

It appears by the list, that has been given, of East India ships built by Mr. Pitcher at Northfleet, that the last of them was launched in the year 1825; from which time, the construction of ships there was discontinued, until the year 1839, when the business was resumed by Mr. William Pitcher, son of the founder, whose operations, as they are stated in the following list of steamships built by him, have been more extensive than those of any other individual, engaged in the same branch of the business, in the kingdom. It may also be stated, that the productions of Mr. William Pitcher have exceeded, in number of vessels and their tonnage, those of his esteemed father, in any equal space of time; and that, by their design and execution, they sustain the high reputation of the old establishment.

STEAM SHIPS BUILT BY MR. WILLIAM PITCHER, AT
NORTHFLEET.*

Date of Launching.	Names.	Tons.	Horse Power	For what service.
1839.				
May 16 . .	Cleopatra . .	814	220	East India Company's Packet.
June 15 . .	Argonaut . .	504	168	Russia.
August 26 .	Orestes . .	504	168	Russia.
Sept. 10 . .	Sesostris . .	927	220	East India Company.
Oct. 10 . .	Pylades . .	504	168	Russia.
1840.				
August 14 .	Prince Albert	230	80	Mauritius.
Oct. 15 . .	Mongibello . .	511	200	Commercial Company, Naples.
1841.				
May 20 . .	Thames . .	1285	400	West India Mail Packet.
July 7 . .	Medway . .	1285	400	The same.
August 7 . .	Ercolana . .	532	200	Naples.
August 21 .	Maria Teresa .	305	120	Naples Post Office Packet.
Oct. 2 . .	Trent . .	1285	400	West India Mail Packet.
Nov. 16 . .	Isis . .	1285	400	The same.
1842.				
Jan. 12 . .	Pelora . .	252	100	Naples Post Office Packet.
Feb. 28 . .	Lilibeo . .	201	100	The same.
August 26 .	Rugiero . .	1026	300	Naples.
Sept. 8 . .	Crimea . .	825	240	Russia.
Sept. 19 . .	Antelope . .	123	40	Naples.
Sept. 20 . .	Rondini . .	133	40	Naples.
Oct. 19 . .	Odessa . .	823	240	Russia.
Dec. 16 . .	Viscardo . .	1026	300	Naples.
1843.				
Feb. 16 . .	Cherson . .	823	240	Russia.
March 30 . .	Bessarabia . .	823	240	Russia.
April 29 . .	Gramonosetz .	823	240	Russia.
June 1 . .	Tancredi . .	1026	300	Naples.
July 1 . .	Roberto . .	1026	300	Naples.

* Mr. Pitcher constructed also, within the above period, six vessels, each of the burthen of 158 tons, for the service of the Trinity Corporation.

PROPOSED ROYAL DOCKS AT NORTHFLEET.

By a Patent, bearing date the 8th of January, 1805, Commissioners were appointed to investigate, and report upon, the whole conduct of the civil administration of the navy, which had not undergone any systematic revision, since the period when James, Duke of York, (afterwards King James II.), was High Admiral.

The Commissioners immediately commenced their labours, and between the date of their appointment, and the 8th of March, 1808, they presented to his Majesty fifteen reports; which, with the exception of the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth, were laid before Parliament, and printed, it having been represented that these could not be made public, without prejudice to the service. The proposed naval establishment, at Northfleet, was the subject of the fifteenth report.

It appears by two pamphlets published by Lord Melville, who was First Lord of the Admiralty at the time, that the Commission of Inquiry was issued at the suggestion of his Lordship; and that the plan of Docks at Northfleet, or at least the selection of that situation was his own.

Upon the first point the noble writer says, in the earlier of these productions, “the institution of the commission of naval revision was the last measure of my political life;”^{*} and in the second publication,[†] his Lordship most strenuously advocates the plan of the Northfleet establishment. In an affair of such magnitude, it was determined to engage the professional aid of an eminent civil engineer, and Mr. John Rennie was called in; who, having surveyed the lands where it had been proposed to form the Docks, made an elaborate and valuable report upon the whole question. It is from this report that Lord Melville appears to have derived his materials, for the descriptive and argumentative portions of his publication, relative to Northfleet docks. Mr. Rennie states, that the disadvantages under which the existing dock-yards laboured, could not be wholly removed; and that this appeared so evident to

^{*} A Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, relative to the management of the civil service of the navy, dated the 29th of January, 1810. 4to., London, page 1.

[†] A Letter to the Right Honourable Spencer Percival, relative to the establishment of a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet, dated the 5th of March, 1810. 4to., London.

Earl Spencer, that in 1801, (when First Lord of the Admiralty), he proposed to have a naval arsenal established in the Isle of Grain, near the junction of the Thames and Medway; and that Lord St. Vincent, (he being then at the head of the Admiralty), entertained the same intention; but the ground having been examined, by borings, and found objectionable, the project was abandoned. The report goes on to state, that in 1805, (Lord Melville being appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, on the 15th of May in that year), Mr. Whidbey, surveyor of the navy, was directed to make a survey of lands near Greenhithe, which had been pointed out as advantageously situated for the formation of a naval arsenal. Then Mr. Rennie was called in by the Board of Admiralty, under the presidency of Lord Howick, (afterwards Earl Grey), at the suggestion of Earl St. Vincent, to co-operate with Mr. Whidbey; and the result was, the comprehensive report of Mr. Rennie, containing a minute description of every royal dock-yard in the kingdom, their advantages and disadvantages, and a comparative view of the advantages of the situation between Northfleet and Greenhithe, for the purpose, with a plan of the proposed formation of the establishment there.

The estate that was purchased for the site of the projected establishment, consists of a triangular tract of marsh land, having its base on the south from Northfleet to Greenhithe, and the two sides bounded on the east by Northfleet Hope, and on the west by St. Clement's Reach, terminating at Broadness, signifying a rounding extremity. The area comprises between seven and eight hundred acres.*

It was proposed that there should be a boundary wall erected on the south. The principal entrance, by a canal and lock, was to be on the east side, near Northfleet Creek; and another entrance was to be on the west side, in the bight of Long Reach, near Greenhithe.

The docks and buildings were to be constructed on a grand scale.

The principal wet dock was to comprise an area of $87\frac{1}{4}$ acres, being in length 4000 feet east and west, and in breadth 950 feet north and south. On the south side or bank of this dock, were

* From the Plan and Report of Mr. Rennie.

to be eight building slips and six dry docks, with sheds and artificers' shops, in the intervening spaces. The ships built on these slips were to be launched into the grand wet dock. Two other basins were designed, one covering an area of twenty-five acres, the other eleven acres. The whole arrangements were upon an extensive scale, and nothing seemed wanting to render the establishment complete. There were to have been storehouses, for cables, hemp, cordage, canvass, anchors, spars, and other materials. Boat-houses, rigging-houses, boat-ponds, mast-ponds, a ballast wharf, a gun wharf, and an anchor wharf, sail-loft, a ropery with machinery for hatchelling and spinning, a canvass manufactory, tarring and strand machinery, timber berths, a timber wharf, sheers, block machinery, saw-mills, saw-pits, anchor-smithery, machinery for weaving sail-cloth, a paint and colour mill, a victualling yard, steam engines, railways, and every other conceivable requisite for an establishment, for constructing and fitting ships of every class. Houses for the officers of the arsenal, were to be erected in the line of the base, within the south wall, and in the same line, near the grand entrance-gate; barracks were to be erected for the troops on duty at the arsenal.

The plan and report, being the work of Mr. Rennie, were presented to the Commissioners of naval inquiry, in 1807; and in the following year, an estate at Northfleet, including a considerable part of the land thought eligible for the formation of the proposed naval arsenal, was purchased by Government.*

The means of raising the funds necessary for a work of such magnitude, became a serious question.

The papers relating to the proceedings coming into the hands of Mr. Spencer Percival, as First Lord of the Treasury, he referred them to Mr. Rose, who published his views upon the measure, and these may be expressed in three propositions.†

1. That the existing royal dock-yards, were sufficient for the purposes of the service, or might be made so.

2. That the estimate for the formation of the proposed esta-

* Lord Melville's Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen. Appendix, No. 2.

† A Letter to Lord Melville, respecting a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet. By the Right Hon. George Rose, 8vo, London, 1810.

blishment at Northfleet, had been stated at six millions; but that the cost would amount to ten millions.

3. That docks in the situation proposed, were convenient, for a north-sea fleet only.

Measures were simultaneously in progress, for ascertaining the practicability of raising the funds required, and the terms upon which they might be raised.

After several conversations upon the subject, between Lord Melville and Edward Wakefield, Esq.,* the latter was authorized by his Lordship, on the 22nd of May, 1810, to state to any gentlemen who might be willing to form an association for raising a fund, for the purpose, that such an object would have his sanction, approbation and support.

On the same day, Mr. Wakefield had a meeting with Mr. Joseph Reid and Mr. A. W. Rutherford; and eventually Mr. Reid convened a meeting of many of the most eminent and influential individuals in the city of London, which was held on the 31st of May, when the following gentlemen attended,—Thompson Bonar, Richard Sharp, M.P., Henry Davidson, A. W. Rutherford, Richard Ryland, George Hibbert, M.P., John J. Holford, Jeremiah Olive, John Staniforth, M.P., George Brown, Henry Burmester, Samuel Scott, Joseph Reid, and Edward Wakefield, Esqs. Others who could not attend the meeting, sent intimations that they were ready to co-operate in the plan.

At that meeting a committee was appointed to confer with his Majesty's Government and Lord Melville, upon the measure; and terms were proposed, which however it is unnecessary to state: for the discussions may be said to have been closed by the following communication from Mr. Percival to Lord Melville:—

“ 13th June, 1810.

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I am much obliged to you for the perusal of the papers containing an account of the proceedings of some gentlemen who have been considering the propriety of offering some terms to Government, for undertaking, by subscription, the erection of the Naval Arsenal at Northfleet. It is obviously impossible to have any communication

* An eminent land-surveyor, who obligingly communicated the facts here stated, with copies of the correspondence upon the occasion.

with these gentlemen, to any useful purpose, before the Government shall have determined not only in favour of the erection of this Arsenal, but also upon the extent and scale upon which such erection should be made, and all the circumstances connected with it, to the most minute degree of accuracy and detail. It will then be a considerable question, whether the execution of such a work should be entrusted to individuals. These are considerations which operate both ways upon the determination of that question, and at the present moment, I am certainly by no means prepared to give an opinion upon it. I am, &c.,

(Signed)

“SP. PERCIVAL.”

“Lord Vis^t Melville.”

The project may be supposed to be finally and irrevocably relinquished : for the estate at Northfleet, which had been purchased for the purpose, and other lands at Greenhithe, that had been obtained, having been put under the administration of the Commissioners of the Land Revenue of the Crown, were sold at public auction on the 6th of July, 1831.

1801. A great improvement was made at this time, in the line of the London road, to and from Gravesend. The old line ran from Northfleet, along the edge of the cliffs, north of the fair-field, to Church Street. This becoming dangerous, by digging away the chalk, almost to the road-side, it was very little used, and the traffic was chiefly by the old Dover Road, from Northfleet, to the intersecting road leading from Gravesend to Perry Street, and there turning to the left, or north, towards the town. Then passing Manor farm-house, another turning on the right led past the workhouse and burying ground, and then by another sharp turning on the left, into the town, at the top or north end of High Street. This zig-zag route was superseded by a high road, in a straight line from the Leather Bottle at Northfleet, to the top of High Street, made under the authority of an Act of Parliament,* passed in 1801. This line retains the name of the New Road, and is continued through King Street, past Denton and Chalk ; to Rochester, Canterbury, and Dover.

1804. This was the year of the memorable preparations at Boulogne for the invasion of England, and of the no less memorable Catamaran expedition against the force of the enemy collected there.

* Stat. 41 Geo. III., c. 60.

Among the means of repelling the threatened attack, if it should be directed to the Thames, a flotilla was formed in the Lower Hope, consisting of ships of the Royal Navy, placed under the command of captains in the Royal service, and the elder brethren of the Trinity House, with others connected with that Corporation.

This flotilla consisted of the following ships, to each of which two captains were appointed :—

The Hon. Captain Grey, R.N., Commander in Chief in the *Royal Charlotte*, yacht.

Captain Foote, R.N., in the *Augusta*, yacht.

Dædalus, Sir R. Preston, Bart., and Abel Chapman. *Unité*, Captains Strachan and Woolmore.

Vestal, Captains Reid and King. *Modeste*, Captains Burton and Fraser. *Retribution*, Captains Pelley and Duffell. *Quebec*, Captains Calvert and Lawrence.

Iris, Captains Easterby and Huddart. *Solebay*, Major Travers and Captain Curtis.

Heroine, Lieut.-Col. Cotton, and Captain Lewin. *Resource*, Captains Brown and Sealy.

1804. A rowing match of a remarkable character occurred in this year. The match was “*got up*,” as the sporting phrase is, by Captain Durand, M.P., who betted a large sum upon the performance of six watermen of London, who were to contend with six watermen of Gravesend, backed by Major Warrington. The distance to be rowed was of very unusual extent; and it was to be performed in two six-oared London built boats, named the *Eclipse* and the *Hector*; the former being assigned to the Gravesend watermen, and the latter to their competitors. The race was to commence at Gravesend, to be continued round the Nore light, back to a boat moored off Rotherhithe; a task which it was supposed the men could scarcely perform, without some interval of rest. Great interest was excited, and large wagers were depending upon the issue. As the start was to be from Gravesend, the watermen of London took up their quarters in the town on the preceding evening, where they fared sumptuously, and rose in the morning like giants refreshed.

On the 31st of January, the preliminaries being settled under the directions of Mr. W. Crafter, in whom both parties confided upon the occasion, the race commenced. The rowers on the London side were Edward Bromwell, John Shepherd, James

Howell, Allan Griffen, Isaac Wood, and Charles Wertwood; with John Masterman as coxswain. The Gravesend rowers were John Harrison, Abraham Thomas, William Osborne, Thomas Dye, William Turner, and James Wilkinson; with Anthony Fothergill, their coxswain.

The high expectations that had been raised, were doomed to disappointment, for the crew of the *Hector*, being overpowered by sickness, gave up the contest before they had reached the Nore, and were taken on board the *Rambler*, a pleasure boat, in which Captain Durand attended the race, and were brought back in that vessel. The crew of the *Eclipse* rowed over the whole ground, the distance being 67 miles, and the prize was adjudged to them. They accomplished it in eight hours seventeen minutes.

That remarkable contest is not the only one, in which the men of Gravesend have been engaged; but it is impossible here to offer even an enumeration of all the matches that have occurred, from time to time. For three years consecutively, beginning in 1698, there were rowing matches at Gravesend, under the patronage of the Mayor and Sir John Marsham.

In more recent times, an annual regatta was instituted, under the patronage of the Earl of Darnley. This, however, had in late years been omitted, but on the 2nd of August, in the present year, (1843), the practice was revived.

1807. An Act of Parliament* was obtained in this year, for the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts within the town of Gravesend, and the hundreds of Toltingtrough, Dartford, Wilmington, and Axtane, in the county of Kent. To carry this into effect, a considerable number of Commissioners was appointed; and it was provided that they should hold two courts, one at Gravesend, and the other at Dartford. Defendants for any debts in the hundreds of Dartford, Wilmington, and Axtance, are not to be summoned to Gravesend; nor are those of the hundred of Toltingtrough to be summoned to Dartford. The sum, to be sued for in these courts, must not exceed five pounds.

1814. The winter of this year was unusually severe. On the eve of the Epiphany a frost commenced, that continued for several

* Stat. 47 Geo. III., c. 40.

weeks ; and during a great part of that time, the Thames was frozen, to the indescribable distress of many industrious classes. On the 20th of January, a great fall of snow rendered the highway between Gravesend and Rochester impassable, until it was removed by the laborious exertions of the military stationed at Chatham. The intercourse by the water highway between Gravesend and London, was obstructed, but from this there could be no release by human aid ; and those, whose means of earning a subsistence were suspended, awaited with anxiety the relief that was to be expected only from natural causes, and they hailed with gladness the day when the thaw commenced, that opened the avenues to the resumption of productive labour.

The following is a facsimile of a memorial of the duration of this calamitous visitation.

Frost Fair.

Amidst the Arts which on the THAMES appear,
To tell the wonders of this *icy* year,
PRINTING claims prior place, which at one view,
Erects a monument of THAT and YOU.

Printed on the River THAMES, February
4, in the 54th year of the reign of King
GEORGE the III. Anno Domini 1814.

The frost soon afterwards terminated, and the Thames was again the scene of trade and industry.

1814. This year introduced a remarkable epoch in the affairs of Gravesend.

The war of the French revolution commenced in 1793, and, with the exception of a short interval from the date of the treaty of Amiens in 1802, continued to the year 1814, when a definitive treaty of peace was concluded.

During that war, business had been brisk and profitable at Gravesend. The naval victories of Great Britain, and the capture of the colonies of the enemy, had given her, the lion's share of the commerce of the world. Hence the prosperous state of the mercantile marine of the kingdom generally, and of the Port of London in particular, of which Gravesend largely partook.

The termination of the war, occasioned a great diminution of these benefits; and they had been interfered with, during the progress of it, by the construction of Wet Docks of considerable magnitude, at London.

Ships and vessels trading to foreign countries and to British colonies, and those engaged in the Greenland and South Sea fisheries, had usually stopped at Gravesend, where they purchased sea stores; and the crews, being paid wages in advance, provided themselves with clothing and other necessaries for the voyage: but when the Docks at London were opened, these ships were gradually laden, equipped, and supplied with all sorts of stores there; and proceeded on their voyages without stopping at Gravesend, except for the purpose of receiving their Custom-house papers, to legalise their departure from the Port of London.

The periods, when the several Docks were opened for the reception of ships, will denote the progress of the diminishing intercourse with shipping at Gravesend.

1802, Aug. 31.—The West India Dock was opened.

1805, Jan. 30.—London Dock.

1806, Aug. 4.—East India Dock, Blackwall.

1807, ———.—Commercial, (late Greenland), Dock.

1828, Oct. 25.—St. Katharine Dock.

In the same year, when the termination of the war produced an unfavourable change in the circumstances of Gravesend, another great measure, affecting the commerce of the Port of London, had a farther detrimental effect upon them.

The term of the Charter of the East India Company, being about to expire, the subject was under the consideration of Parliament; and the large commercial towns of the kingdom petitioned to be admitted to a participation in the direct East India trade, which, (to the great benefit of Gravesend,) had been exclusively enjoyed by the Port of London.

These petitions prevailed ; and in 1814, the Charter was renewed for a term of twenty-one years, with such a modification as affected the resources of Gravesend. It was provided by the Act* for the renewal of the Charter, that a direct trade with the East Indies might be carried on from the out-ports, under certain conditions and regulations ; the trade to China being reserved to the East India Company exclusively.

This measure had not so disastrous an effect upon the interests of Gravesend as had been apprehended : for, at the same time that part of the trade was diverted to the out-ports, a considerable number of additional private ships from the Port of London, also engaged in the trade ; and these afforded some equivalent, for the diminution of those in the immediate service of the East India Company. This, however, was but the fore-runner of a greater evil to come ; for at the expiration of the term of the new Charter, in 1835,† the trading functions of the Company ceased, and the benefits they had conferred upon Gravesend were lost.

These were not the only adverse changes that occurred in the same era. The reader has already been informed, that an officer of the Customs, designated a Searcher, had been stationed at Gravesend in the year 1338, or at latest in 1373,‡ at whose office it became a practice, for the masters of all merchant ships and vessels outward bound, to obtain their final clearance from the Port of London. This necessarily occasioned a great intercourse with shipping at Gravesend ; and the sole public landing-place, and the Searcher's office situated close to it, were the *nuclei* round which the trading part of the town was formed.

In the year 1819, the Searcher's office was removed to a distant part of the town, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants.

The decree came forth in the following official answer to a memorial against the removal.

“ *Custom House, London, 5th March, 1819.*

“SIR,—The Commissioners, having read the Memorial of several of the inhabitants of the town of Gravesend, on the subject of the removal of the Searcher's office at that place ; I have it in command to acquaint you, for the information of the Memorialists, that the Board having made such arrangement in the disposition of the several offices, relating

* Stat. 53 Geo. III. c. 155.

† See page 104 *supra*.

See Stat. 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85.

to this department, as appeared most conducive to the benefit of the revenue, and the trade of the port, cannot entertain the present application."

"I am, &c.,

(Signed)

"E. DELAUAUD, Sec."

"To the Mayor, Gravesend."

This was considered by the inhabitants as a measure of unmitigated official heartlessness; which had not the extenuating plea of public advantage, or of extended facilities of business; it added nothing to the revenue, nor afforded it greater protection. The masters of ships were then required to apply at an office, situated at an inconvenient distance, for their clearances. A saving of £27. per annum, was effected by the cessation of the rent for the old office!

The trading interests of the inhabitants staggered under this blow, but they were laid prostrate by another which followed, from the same quarter. The office of the Searchers, at Gravesend, was finally abolished in the year 1825, and it was announced in the following terms:—

"By the Commissioners for managing and causing to be levied His Majesty's Customs, &c., &c., &c.

"25th August, 1825.

"The Board having taken into consideration a representation of the Chairman of the Society of Ship Owners, stating the inconvenience and delay experienced by the present practice of clearing vessels by the Searchers at Gravesend; and it appearing that the practice complained of, is productive of little, if any, additional security to the revenue, and that vessels might in future be cleared in London, under regulations similar to those observed at other ports of the United Kingdom;

"Resolved—That the clearance of vessels, by the Searchers at Gravesend, be discontinued, from and after the 10th October next."

This completed the series of measures that brought ruin upon the shipping business at Gravesend; but while they were in progress, a new source of employment for industry and capital was most opportunely and unexpectedly opened, by the introduction of steam-navigation on the Thames, from which the inhabitants have fortunately derived a full compensation for the injuries that they experienced.

STEAM BOATS BETWEEN LONDON AND GRAVESEND.

1815. The first Steam-boat, upon the Gravesend station, commenced running upon Monday the 23rd of January, 1815,* according to the following advertisement in a London Newspaper.

“The public are respectfully informed, that the NEW LONDON STEAM ENGINE PACKET MARGERY, CAPTAIN CORTIS,† will start precisely at 10 o'clock, on Monday morning, the 23rd instant, from Wapping Old Stairs, near the London Docks, to Milton, below Gravesend, and will return from thence, at the same hour on the succeeding morning to the same stairs; the said packet having superb accommodations. Passengers and their luggage will be conveyed to and fro, with more certain speed and safety, than by any other conveyance by water or land, and on reasonable terms. Passengers are requested to be punctual to the time specified.” Fares, 4s. in the chief cabin, and 2s. in the fore cabin.

The *Margery*, which was of the burthen of seventy tons, having an engine of fourteen horses' power, continued to ply on the station for a few months; during which, it was occasionally requisite to stop for the reparation of the machinery, and this was sometimes for ten days together. The longest period of her working at any one time, without some such interruption, was about three weeks. The passengers landed and embarked by small boats, at the private landing-place of Mr. Thomas Woodgate, now of Wates' Hotel, next the Custom House. The *Margery* was withdrawn from the station in the following year, and being refitted, was sent to France, to be employed on the river Seine.

The next Steam-boat, employed to and from Gravesend, was the *Thames*, of the burthen of 74 tons, length aloft 72 feet, and breadth 15 feet, with an engine of sixteen horses' power.

This vessel became the property of several individuals, who, in the year 1815, had engaged in an undertaking to establish a Steam-boat Company between London and Margate, and she was employed upon that station: but, in consequence of the introduction there of the *Regent*, a larger vessel, in the year 1816, the *Thames* was withdrawn and placed at Gravesend.

* A steam-boat had been employed in the preceding year, between London and Richmond.

† Mr. John Pashley was stated in the register of the vessel to be the master.

The following is a copy of a placard issued upon the occasion, and it was the first of the kind distributed at Gravesend.

“ GRAVESEND STEAM PACKET.

THE THAMES,
CAPTAIN PAYNE,
will leave

THE TOWER STAIRS FOR GRAVESEND,

Every morning at eight o'clock (Friday excepted,) and return every afternoon at three o'clock the same day,
FOR LONDON.

Fares.—On Sunday, 3s. each ; other days, Best Cabin, 3s., Fore Cabin, 2s. Persons under fourteen years of age, half price, and children under three years, free.

Ladies accompanied by Gentlemen, in large parties of pleasure, passage free, Sundays only excepted.

Refreshments provided, Tea, Bottled Porter, &c. Passengers bringing refreshments will be assisted with boiling water, and milk provided in readiness on board.”

Then followed a florid description of the town and vicinity, which it is not necessary to insert.

In 1817, the *Regent* was destroyed by fire ; and the *Sons of Commerce*, which the London and Margate Company had built to be employed at Gravesend, was sent to supply the vacancy, thus occasioned at Margate.

Subsequently, the *Sons of Commerce* was withdrawn, and placed on the Gravesend station, to run alternately with the *Thames*, according to the following public notification :—

“ GRAVESEND AND LONDON STEAM PACKETS.—The *Sons of Commerce* and the *Thames*. One of these favourite vessels will leave the Tower Stairs for Gravesend, and the other will leave Gravesend for London, every morning at eight o'clock, and every afternoon at four o'clock, Saturdays excepted. For particulars apply to CAPTAIN LARGE of the *Sons of Commerce*, or CAPTAIN PAYNE of the *Thames* ; at the Chequers, Tower Stairs ; or at the White Hart Inn, Falcon Tavern, Nelson's Head, Prince of Orange, Pope's Head, Amsterdam, and Three Crowns, Gravesend.

“ N. B.—Both vessels will leave the Tower Stairs, every Sunday morning, for Gravesend, one at half-past eight o'clock, and the other at nine o'clock, and return from Gravesend in the afternoon.”

The *Sons of Commerce* was of the burthen of 80 tons, and had an engine of twenty horses' power.

This account of the origin of Steam-boats in the Long Ferry.

between Gravesend and London, and of the accommodations they afforded, the hours at which they departed, and the amount of fares ; will be followed by notices of the increase of their number and their progressive improvement, from time to time.

When this provision was made for communications evening and morning, daily, the importance of them, to the welfare of the town, began to be properly appreciated; but various opinions were entertained respecting their permanence, considering the great cost of the vessels and engines, and the heavy expense of working them. Many persons from conviction, and some from apprehension, being deeply interested, were of opinion, that by the introduction of Steam-navigation, the sailing-boats would be superseded ; and, as that problem will be solved, in the progress of this work, it is desirable to preserve an account of the latter description of vessels, from the last account given of them, to the time when Steam-boats were introduced.

It has been stated before,* that, in the year 1737, sailing-boats with decks were introduced, and that they superseded the ancient boats with tilts, though the vessels in the ferry retained the name of tilt-boats. These plied between Gravesend and Billingsgate; but in the year 1788, Mr. John Minshaw set up a boat to ply from the Dundee Arms, Wapping. Mr. Christopher Beechey, in November, 1795, joined Mr. Minshaw in the concern, and a large traffic was established by them. In August, 1797, Mr. Beechey launched a vessel for the trade, called the *Earl Spencer*, which became celebrated for superior sailing, and won several prizes in sailing matches. In 1789, a great improvement was made in the fitments, and in the management of a boat by Mr. John Dominy,†

* Page 416, *supra*.

† Advertisement.—“GRAVESEND PASSAGE YACHT. MR. JOHN DOMINY of Gravesend, begs leave to acquaint such ladies and gentlemen as would wish to take an excursion by water to and from London to Gravesend, that he has built a new and commodious yacht, called the *PRINCESS ROYAL*, fitted up in an elegant manner, for the reception of genteel and creditable people only, which will sail to-morrow morning at six o'clock, and continuesailing during the season, at 1s. each passenger. The master to be spoken with at the Darkhouse and Gun Tavern, Thames Street. It is Mr. Dominy's fixed resolution to carry no hop-pickers, or people going a harvesting, on any account whatever.”

who built a vessel called the *Princess Royal*, which was launched on the 20th of May, in that year, and employed between Gravesend and London.

In the year 1789, another rendezvous was established by Messrs. W. Crafter, W. Marshall, and W. Oxley, at New Crane, Wapping, which however was not prosecuted with much success.

On the 31st of December, 1816, there were twenty-six sailing boats employed, between Gravesend and the several stations at London, varying in size from 22 to 45 tons each. Beside these, there were several decked boats employed in carrying fish to London, which carried passengers occasionally.

LIST OF SAILING BOATS IN THE LONG FERRY. A.D. 1816.

Boats.	Owners or Masters.	Boats.	Owners or Masters.
King George, No. 1,	Edw. Colley.	Blossom, (New),	Josiah Hollingum.
King George, No. 2,	John Creed.	Cobham,	Thomas Bright.
King George, No. 3,	John Chipperfield.	Atalanta,	Edward Lamburn.
King George, No. 4,	Ric. Toulson.	Earl Spencer,	Christ. Beechey.
King George, No. 5,	Joseph Little.	Alert,	Robert Grundy.
Britannia,	Gillinger Matson.	Lapwing,	John Beechey.
Duke of Bedford,	Varchell Stronghill	Jubilee,	John Fullerbanks.
Blossom,	Tho. Woodford.	Princess Royal,	Charles Bootle.
Royal Charlotte,	Joseph Brown.	Antelope,	Thomas Voy.
Duke of York,	Edw. Colyer.	Liberty,	John Randall.
Petrel,	James Martin.	United Friends,	James Holland.
New Petrel,	George Martin.	Swan,	James Sutherland.
Sir F. Burdett,	Job Eley.		

1815-16. In these years, a building of considerable magnitude was erected for the use of the Excise department, on the site of the old *Fountain* public-house, which has been mentioned above. This building was occupied by the Excise until the year 1825; when, upon the consolidation of the Excise and Customs, as far as related to the import and export trade, in excisable commodities, in the Port of London, the building was transferred to the Customs, which had occupied an office near it, but which was given up and sold when the transfer was made.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL.

1816. A meeting of the inhabitants was holden on the 19th day of April; to take into consideration the best mode to be adopted for the establishment of a School or Schools, in union with the National Society, for educating the children of the poor

in the principles of the Church of England ; when the following resolutions were passed :—

“That it is highly expedient that a Society should be constituted in this town, for the purpose of imparting to the poor of the parishes of Gravesend and Milton, a religious and suitable education.

“That a Society for this purpose be now established, and that it be called ‘The Gravesend Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church.’

“That in furtherance of this desirable object, a daily school be established for Boys, and another for Girls.

“That the mode of teaching, be that which is adopted and recommended by the National Society in London.

“That Mr. John Wade, be appointed Treasurer.

Mr. Thomas Killick, Secretary.

Mr. W. H. Rogers, Medical Examiner.

“That a committee be, and is hereby appointed, to consist of the following members, besides the Officers and Ministers of the parishes for the time being ; W. Twiss, Esq., Mayor, and Messrs. J. M. Evans, G. Rich, J. Grover, C. Bedingfield, C. Becket, and J. Brenchley ; with power to add to their number.”

A subscription was commenced at the meeting, when donations to the amount of £29. 8s. and annual subscriptions to the amount of £33. 12s. were received.

The Committee hired temporary rooms, and purchased an old wooden building, to be taken down, and removed to a convenient spot, for the permanent schools.

At the first annual general meeting of the subscribers, holden on the 23rd of May, 1817, a report was presented by the Committee, by which it appeared, that the aggregate amount of donations received, amounted to £76. 10s., and of subscriptions, £80. 6s. 6d. ; and that 105 boys, and 80 girls, had been admitted, whose progress, upon examination, was declared to have been highly satisfactory.

On the 13th of May, 1836, the twentieth and last annual general meeting of the subscribers, was held at the Town Hall, when it was stated, that from the commencement of the Schools, 858 boys, and 630 girls, being a total of 1488 children of the poor, had been admitted and instructed.

This was the last year that the Schools were kept in the

building that had been provided for the purpose, for it had become insufficient for the object, and circumstances arose, which favoured an attempt to extend and improve the institution.

1817. It is scarcely credible that there should not have been a public thoroughfare, from the High Street to the Streets on the east and on the west of it, but this has never yet been provided, though it was contemplated some years ago.

A house* and premises opposite to the Town Hall, on the west side of High Street, in the parish of Gravesend, were offered for sale in the year 1817; and the Corporation proposed to purchase them, in order to remove the buildings, and open a public way to Princes Street: but the price demanded was considered so exorbitant, that the treaty was abandoned.

At the same period, a house and some cottages, situate at the north side of the Town Hall and Market Place, in the parish of Milton, were purchased by the Corporation, that a public way might be opened from High Street to Queen Street: but the opening has not been made as it was intended, and is now impracticable, for the house having previously been taken down,† the site has been occupied by the enlargement of the Town Hall. There is therefore still no public way intersecting High Street.

1817. The earliest symptom of the effects produced at Gravesend, by the introduction of steam-navigation on the Thames, was the improvement of the Market.

On the 5th of November, in this year, the Mayor called the attention of the Corporation to the state of the Market, and a committee was appointed, to investigate the subject, to ascertain the amount of tolls yearly, and to consider the expediency of enlarging the market place. At that time, on market days, vegetables were exposed to sale in the space in front of the Town Hall; under which poultry, butter, cheese, and other commodities, were sold; and in the rear, were the butchers' stalls.

The result of the deliberations of the committee, was a report,

* Now numbered 54 in High-street.

† Taken down in the year 1830.

in which they recommended that the Market should be enlarged; and on the 17th of September, 1818, it was ordered by the Corporation, that the improvements suggested by the committee should be proceeded with, in conformity with a plan that had been prepared by Mr. Charles Fowler,* Architect.

At the same meeting it was determined that a sum, not exceeding £2000, should be raised upon life annuities, for the purpose; and the committee was authorized to proceed with the measure.

The first stone was laid on the 27th of October, 1818; and the building then erected, consisted of a colonade on each side of a space previously unoccupied,† at the east end of the ground adjoining the Town Hall, beginning at a distance forty feet from the rail at the side of Queen Street. The length of the parallel colonades was eighty feet each, and they were terminated at the west end, by a covered building entirely across the ground, leaving an equal space for colonades on the west side of the centre building, which were erected in the year 1822, and thus completed the New Market, the approach to which is by a flight of steps at the west end. A Fish Market was built in 1829, at the back of the Town Hall.

The improvement of the market-place was seasonably effected, for the resident population was gradually increasing, and the numbers resorting to the town, in consequence of the introduction of steam-packets between Gravesend and London, was also increasing, but in a greater ratio. The London and Margate Com-

* An eminent Architect, of London, who designed the new Hungerford Market, in the Strand, and obtained the highest premium for a design for New London Bridge, which, however, was not executed.

† At the north and south sides of this ground, were the stems of many decayed elms, which were removed. The trees were planted early in the preceding century, according to the following entries in the account books of the Corporation:—

1669, Jan. 12.	Fetchings 2 loads of mould for 12 trees planted in	£	s.	d.
	Market Yard		0	4 0
Feb. 3.	Richard Newman, for 12 Dutch Lime Trees, (from			
	Putney)		1	4 0
1706, Feb. 4.	For five trees, and planting them in the market	0	6	0
Nov. 18.	For setting four trees in the market yard	0	5	0
1708, March 2.	Wm. Smith, for planting five trees in the market	0	5	0
	Paid Noble for watering trees in market for a year	0	5	0
1710, Jan. 24.	Paid for 5 elm trees, and setting them in the market	0	5	6

pany kept their packets upon the Gravesend station, and the following account of the numbers annually passing by them, was obtained from their books :—

Years.	Passengers.
1821	27,291.
1822	44,778.
1823	55,101.
1824	57,248.
1825	71,469.

Subsequently, boats of other Companies of Proprietors were employed upon the station, and it became impracticable to obtain from the various sources, an accurate statement of the aggregate numbers ; until, the imposition of a toll in 1829, after which, the account of them was regularly kept.

GRAVESEND LIGHTED WITH GAS.

1824. On New Year's Day in this year, a requisition, signed by several inhabitants was addressed to the Mayor, signifying that they had lately given their attention to the subject of lighting the town with gas, and had ascertained that it would be attended with many advantages to the town, and yield a fair profit on the capital employed in the undertaking ; and thereupon requesting that a public meeting of the inhabitants should be convened, that the means proposed by the requisitionists, for carrying the measure into effect, might be submitted to the consideration of the inhabitants, and their co-operation invited.

The meeting was convened accordingly, and was held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 6th of January, when it was resolved, that a Company should be forthwith established for lighting the town with gas, to be called the Gravesend and Milton Gas Light Company, and that the original capital of the Company should be £4000., (which might if necessary be increased to £5000.,) to be raised by the issue of two hundred shares of £20. each. Of these, sixty-six shares were immediately taken. A committee of management was appointed, and the undertaking was prosecuted with so much vigour and success, that the town was lighted with gas, for the first time, on Thursday the 9th of December, in the same year.

The original Gas House was erected on the west side of the town, in Bath Street ; but as the situation was found unfavourable, and the great increase of the town required an additional supply of gas, the capital of the Company has been extended, and the establishment was removed in the present year to the side of the Canal Basin, in the parish of Milton.

1825. A turnpike road from Gravesend to Wrotham, a distance of eleven miles, in a south direction, was made under the authority of an Act of Parliament, passed in this year.*

1826. A strong indication of an increasing resort to Gravesend was afforded in this year, by the institution of a public reading-room and circulating library, with the usual additional attractions of musical performances, and other amusements ; which was effected by the unaided efforts of Mr. William Penny, an enterprising individual from London, who must have calculated mainly upon the support of visitors ; for he chose, for the site of his establishment, a situation at the eastern extremity of the town, which was too remote for the rendezvous of the permanent residents only. The rooms were afterwards enlarged, but eventually were superseded within a few years, by the great changes in what may be called the general arrangements, at Gravesend. Other improvements were ultimately made in more central parts of the town, and rivals availed themselves of these changes, to the detriment of Mr. Penny, who relinquished his business.

RIVER PILOTS.

1826. An event occurred at this time, that placed the interests of the river pilots residing in Gravesend, in a very unfavourable state.

An Act of Parliament,† passed in that year, had provided that the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, or his Lieutenant for the time being, should appoint and license fit and competent persons, duly skilled as pilots, for the purpose of conducting all ships and vessels, navigating from or by Dungeness, up the river Thames to London Bridge, and up the river Medway to Rochester Bridge. In conformity with this

* 6 Geo. IV. c. 50.

† 6 Geo. IV., c. 125.

statute, the Cinque Port pilots were licensed to conduct ships to London Bridge, and one of them, for want of skill or experience, occasioned some damage to a ship in his charge, while on the passage above Gravesend.

The facts elicited upon the trial of an action at law, respecting the recovery of damages, and the observations made by the judge, before whom the cause was tried, induced the Earl of Liverpool, who was then Lord Warden, to require every pilot of the Cinque Ports, to survey the Thames, that he might be duly qualified to take charge of ships above Gravesend.

This measure alarmed the river pilots, and gave great uneasiness to the Cinque Port pilots themselves, who generally were not desirous of undertaking the charge of conducting ships from the Downs, farther up the river than Gravesend, because many of them were advanced in years, and were more anxious to leave a ship at Gravesend and return to their homes, to obtain charge of another, than they were to navigate in a river with which they were not acquainted. On the other hand, the river pilots feared that they should lose their occupation, if some means were not provided for their protection.

They had made unsuccessful applications for help in several quarters, and then they prevailed upon the local authorities to render them assistance.

The subject was brought before the Corporation of Gravesend, who, at a Court Burghmote, holden on the 8th of December, 1826, readily afforded their sanction to such steps as it might be necessary to take in the affair.

The Cinque Port pilots themselves concurred in petitions to Parliament to alter the law upon the subject. This course was pursued, and a Bill was brought before Parliament by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and was passed into a law,* receiving the royal assent on the 25th of July, 1828.

By this Act, it was provided that no Cinque Port pilot should take charge of a ship in the Thames, above or westward of the public landing place at Gravesend, commonly called the Town Quay, after the 29th of September, in the same year, (1828),

* Stat. 9 Geo. IV., c. 86.

except such Cinque Port pilots, as, having qualified themselves by actual survey of the river Thames, previously to the passing of the Act, should be expressly licensed by the Lord Warden for that purpose, before the said 29th day of September.

Of the whole number of Cinque Port pilots, amounting to about 140, only sixteen* required and obtained licenses.

Thus was an affair, which had excited the most serious apprehensions among those individually and directly concerned, terminated to the great gratification of all parties.

There are at present 58 river pilots resident in Gravesend; whose appointment to ships arriving, is regulated by Captain S. Dixon, an officer of the Trinity House.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE TOWN QUAY.

1827. In the interval since 1825, when the intercourse by steam-packets between London and Gravesend was last mentioned, the number of passengers had very considerably increased.† The good citizens arrived in flights, as numerous as if another “great fire,” or other calamity had devoured their habitations, by whole streets or wards, and driven them for shelter to Gravesend; but it was not really so, they came with light hearts and cheerful faces, for recreation, and to return invigorated to their ordinary avocations. They conferred benefits upon the town, that were properly appreciated; and the inhabitants, like spirited tradesmen, improved their premises when their trade prospered. They set about improving the *front* of the town, rendering the spot assigned for the reception and departure of their patrons, more commodious than the old Town Quay, as it appears in the annexed print.

* OF DOVER, Benjamin Keys, John Benjamin Post, Thomas Mackie, (2), William Brett, Richard Mowll (2), William Strains, William Johnson Mowll, Thomas Kenton Archer. OF DEAL, Thomas Bailey, William Popkiss Myhill, Charles Millen, John Bullock Gravener, George Wilkinson, Richard Rogers. OF MARGATE, Stephen Norwood Larkins. OF RAMSGATE, Richard Sackett.

† “During the present season there has been a prodigious influx of visitors to Gravesend. The Steam Navigation Company report, that they alone have conveyed thither upon an average, 5000 passengers per week.”—*Public Ledger*, Newspaper, Sept. 7th, 1827.



As this public landing-place was vested in the Corporation, they alone had the management of the premises that it was desirable to improve; but having recently incurred a debt for the improvement of the Market place, it was considered that it would be injudicious for them to undertake the farther outlay to be incurred in the proposed alterations at the Town Quay, though they were willing and anxious to give every facility to the measure; and they were disposed to make considerable sacrifices to accomplish the object.

With this desire on the part of the inhabitants, and the disposition of the Corporation, it was not difficult to bring them together.

August 6. The first step taken was, to introduce the subject to the consideration of the Bridge and Wharf Committee of the Corporation, by whom it was immediately and cordially entertained; and it was determined to invite several of the Commissioners of Pavements and other inhabitants, to meet the members of the Corporation, in conference, on the following day.

August 7. At the conference, most of the persons invited, attended, and having discussed the propositions submitted, it was resolved;—That it was proper and expedient that exertions should

be made, in order to provide accommodations corresponding with the public patronage bestowed upon the town ;—that improved accommodation should be provided at the water-side ; and that the removal of the house, (the property of the Corporation,) standing across the bottom of High Street, and the erection of a roof over an enclosed space for the accommodation of visitors attending their friends to or from the landing-place,—would be important and valuable improvements. To these resolutions, others were appended, suggesting the practical means, for carrying the design into effect.

At the request of the parties who met in conference, the Mayor undertook to communicate their proceedings to the Corporation, and the Commissioners of Pavements, between whom an intercourse upon the subject ensued ; but the latter raised some difficulties, and the communication with them was broken off.

On the 5th of September, a public meeting of the inhabitants was holden in the Town Hall, and a report of the preliminary proceedings being laid before them, the following resolutions were passed :—That it is expedient to effect the proposed improvements ; that the Corporation be requested to undertake them ; that they should be supported in an application to Parliament for power to raise the necessary funds ; and that the Corporation should provide a plan of the improvements, and a draft of the Act, to be communicated to a future meeting of the inhabitants. It was also resolved, that a voluntary subscription should be made to meet the expenses of the measures recommended.

At a Court Burghmote, the resolutions of the public meeting were communicated, and the Corporation consented to proceed as the inhabitants had requested ; calling upon all the parochial officers, and twenty other inhabitants to act with them. David Riddell Roper, Esq., of London, prepared a plan of the contemplated improvements, and J. Matthews, Esq., the Town Clerk, framed a bill to be submitted to Parliament.

These being considered, revised, and settled by the Joint Committee, the Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, and when it had been read a first time, it was printed, and copies were extensively circulated among the inhabitants.

On the 21st of April, a public meeting of the inhabitants was convened, and the Plan and Bill were laid before them, and unanimously approved; a committee was appointed to prosecute the measure, and a subscription entered into to meet the expenses. One hundred and seventy-nine inhabitants contributed to this loan, which amounted, with the sum collected for the preliminary proceedings, to £806. 7s. 6*d.* With this general support, the committee proceeded with vigour and alacrity, but not without opposition, (which, however, was overcome;) and on the 23rd of May, 1828, the royal assent was given to an Act,* for improving and maintaining the Town Quay and Landing-place. The sum to be raised, under the authority of the Act, for effecting the improvements was £7000; and the toll to be imposed in respect of each passenger, by the vessels employed in the Long Ferry, landing or embarking at the Town Quay, was limited to one penny. To this toll, all passengers by the Long Ferry were made liable, if they landed or embarked at any other wharf or landing-place within the parishes of Gravesend or Milton. This was a necessary protection to parties advancing money for the execution of the work, in which the public had a direct interest; for, when the sums borrowed shall be paid off, and a fund accumulated for the future maintenance of the public landing-place, it is to be toll-free.

The improvement effected at that time, will be best understood by a reference to the print of the old premises. The building on the front of the wharf, the range of low shops near it, the tottering bell-house, and the building beyond it, with a dormer window in the hipped roof, were all taken down. The steps seen in front of the wharf, and the side rails by which access to them was rendered very inconvenient, were also removed. The line of the wharf which projected on the west side of the steps, was made straight and advanced, and a flight of steps of capacious width and easy ascent, was erected in front of the wharf. The removal of the buildings made a roomy area, upon a part of which the present Pier Hotel was erected, the front of it ranging with the west side of High Street.

Before parting, a few words may be added, concerning the

* Stat. 9 Geo. IV., c. 56.

buildings removed. That which appears with the hipped roof, consisted of two houses, the one on the west being a public house, called the *Christopher*, on the site of the ancient *Christopher Inn*,* built about the year 1476, and where the famous mariners of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were entertained, at their departure in search of a north-west passage to China.† The Street between this building, and the opposite house on the east side of High Street, was no more than sixteen feet wide. The low shops were erected in 1764, and were occupied by green-grocers, of whom vegetables were purchased for ships sailing from the port. The sign board of the *Christopher*, which appears at the end of the shops, was suspended over a passage through the building, in which passage were two rooms occupied by the Searchers, before their establishment was removed in 1819.‡ The Bell-House was erected in 1737.

The work being completed, this landing-place was re-opened on Monday, the 22nd of June, 1829. The whole arrangement was considered convenient, and seasonably made; but it will presently appear, that new circumstances arose, which demanded farther improvements.

At the time when the landing-place at the Town Quay was improved, as it has been related, the intercourse with London by Steam-packets had much increased, and was rapidly increasing. The General Steam Navigation Company had been formed a few years previously; and observing, in the year 1827, that the packets of the Old Company, employed between Gravesend and London, had been very successful, they placed some of their vessels on the station. This competition continued to the 30th of September in that year, and then the General Steam Company retired, leaving the public in the hands of the Old Company. During the competition, the fares had been reduced, but when it ceased, they were raised to the former rates. This the public might have pleased

* In a deed of conveyance, dated in 1470, this Inn is not mentioned: but in a transfer of the same premises, situate in Gravesend, in *le Weststrete*, in the year 1476, it is expressly named. The following description of it is given in the will of John Maynard, dated in 1585, "I will, give, and bequeathe to Agnes my wyffe, all that my capitall messuage wherein I nowe dwell, called the *Chrystopher*, with the garden and orchard thereunto and therewith belonging and occupied," &c.—Will dated the 28th of January, 1585.

† Page 215, *supra*.

‡ Page 482, *supra*.

to endure; but the Company, being left in possession, relaxed in attention to the comforts and expectations of the passengers, which exposed them to farther competition. Many Steam-boats had at that time been built, without any certain prospect of employment; and the owners of one of them perceived the opening that was afforded at Gravesend.

Messrs. Barnes and Miller, steam engine manufacturers, had a vessel called the *Sophia Jane*, then lying unemployed; and they attended a committee of the Corporation of Gravesend, on the 25th of August, 1828, to announce their intention of placing the *Sophia Jane* on the station, if it should be the opinion of the Committee that they would meet with encouragement. This conference led to the immediate introduction of that very fine vessel, which was employed for the first time in the conveyance of passengers, on Sunday the 17th of the same month, and successfully maintained a severe struggle with the Old Company, until the 28th of September, when the season closed.

The inhabitants of Gravesend had attentively observed the progress of this contest, which had demonstrated that the public were ready to patronize any parties that would provide them with satisfactory accommodation; and that the Old Company were not so firmly established in general estimation, as to preclude successful competition with them.

1828. On the 2nd of October, a public meeting of the inhabitants was holden upon the subject, when it was unanimously declared to be expedient to form a Gravesend Steam-Boat Company, for the better accommodation of the numerous visitors resorting to the town. At that meeting a committee was appointed, to prepare a scheme upon which a Company should be formed; and it was settled and published in a few days. A sufficient time having intervened, for the consideration of the plan, another public meeting of the inhabitants was holden on the 10th of November: when it was adopted with a few modifications, and a Company was formed, under the denomination of,

THE GRAVESEND AND MILTON STEAM-BOAT COMPANY.

The undertaking was pursued with so much zeal, that the first packet of the Company, which was built at Gravesend, was

launched on the 20th of April, 1829, and called the *Kent* ; and two others, named the *Pearl* and *Essex*, were built at London, and launched in the same year.

The Old Company prepared for a struggle, and built an additional packet, called the *Eclipse*, which was employed for the first time in the Ferry, on the 26th of June, in the same year ; and the competition was sternly continued.

1830. The season of this year opened with circumstances that gave a new and wonderful impulse to the intercourse, which had been augmented by the introduction of Steam-packets on the Thames.

The same intelligence and indomitable energy, that had surmounted all difficulties, and formed a Dock almost amidst the offices of merchants and the shops of tradesmen, for the reception of ships of upwards of eight hundred tons burthen, within view from London Bridge, suggested and provided also accommodation in front of the Dock premises, where Steam-packets might come alongside, and passengers land and embark, without using the diminutive London wherries, previously employed for these purposes.

On the 9th of April, Sir John Hall, the Secretary of the St. Katharine's Dock Company, had the gratification of seeing his plan consummated, by the embarkation of 400 passengers in the *Harlequin* steam-packet, for an excursion to the Nore.

This occasioned a complete revolution in the affairs of Steam-packet Companies ; the accommodation thus afforded to passengers, was highly and justly commended in the public journals of the day, and the managers of packets ; found themselves unable to resist the demand, for similar accommodation at other stations.

The Old Gravesend Company immediately availed themselves of the arrangement at St. Katharine's. The Gravesend and Milton Company attempted to satisfy their passengers, by providing small boats for embarking first, and then for landing also, *gratis*, at the Tower Stairs, where up to that time the Gravesend steam-packets had resorted ; but this was soon found to be insufficient. The Margate steam-packets had access to Fresh Wharf, very near old London Bridge, where they received passengers for the first time

on the 29th of June, and they were followed there by the Gravesend packets, on the 3rd of July.

This completed a satisfactory provision at London, and produced a very unfavourable comparison with the want of similar accommodation at Gravesend.

On the 30th of September, 1830, a public meeting of the inhabitants was convened, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of providing a Pier at Gravesend, that might be approached by Steam-packets at all times of the tide.

The proposition was resisted, upon the humane consideration that it would immediately deprive the watermen of their beneficial occupation, in conveying passengers between the packets and the landing-place; but the event proved the fallacy of this view of the subject.

In the next following year, a landing-jetty was constructed by William Pitcher, Esq., upon his premises, at Northfleet, distant a mile from the landing-place at Gravesend. Notwithstanding the passengers had this distance to walk, to reach the town, not less than 40,000 persons used that landing-jetty, between the 10th of July, 1831, (the day on which it was opened,) and the end of the season.*

Against the apparent objection of having to walk this distance, were to be weighed, the advantages of landing and embarking conveniently and safely, *gratis*; and thus saving the boat-hire at Gravesend, for passing between the packet and the shore in wherries.

Such a state of affairs raised serious apprehensions, that a considerable portion of the steam-packet traffic would be diverted from Gravesend, unless accommodation were provided for the public, that should at least be equal to that which was to be found at the village of Northfleet.

The inhabitants looked for aid, in the emergency, to the Corporation, who acted as became them. They, as it has been observed upon a former occasion, had the sole control over the public land-

* A premium of forty guineas was offered by advertisement on the 17th of October, 1831, for the most approved design, for a Hotel and ornamental Gardens, in connexion with this Landing-jetty.

ing-place, at the Town Quay, where it was thought a Pier should be provided.

GRAVESEND PIER.

1831. The election of the magistrates and municipal officers for the year next ensuing, took place on Monday, the 3rd of October, and within forty-eight hours, the Mayor convened the Long Ferry Committee, to consult them on the subject of the Pier, which the interests of the town seemed to demand, and the inhabitants to desire.

The Committee held meetings from time to time, to collect evidence upon the subject; and they prepared a report, which was laid before a Court Burghmote, on the 2nd of November. The report being read and discussed, it was unanimously resolved, that the Court should not declare any opinion upon the question of providing a Pier, but that the subject should be laid before the inhabitants at a public meeting, and that it should be left to be determined by them; with a stipulation, however, that it should *be accompanied* with a provision for the watermen, whose occupation would be interfered with; and that the watermen should be called together, to be informed of the proceedings. A Committee of the Corporation was appointed, to carry these resolutions into effect.

On Friday, the 4th of November, the watermen were convened at the Town Hall, and a full statement of all the past proceedings upon the subject was made to them; and all the arguments that had been raised in the previous discussions, were recapitulated, with an intimation, that the Corporation had decided nothing more than that they would not consent to the erection of a Landing-Pier on their estate, unless provision should be made for the interests of the watermen. The meeting was most orderly, the men conducted themselves with decorum, appeared pleased that the communication had been made to them, and departed in good temper; but the following placard disclosed their intentions.

“ At a meeting of the watermen of Gravesend and Milton, to the amount of 300 and upwards, interested in the free and undisturbed right of the ferry as now constituted at Gravesend aforesaid; held by public advertisement at the Boscawen public-house, on Monday evening the

7th instant :—It was unanimously resolved, that the above watermen desirous of protecting their existing privileges from farther innovation, do immediately form themselves into a club, to be stiled or called, THE UNITED GRAVESEND AND MILTON WATERMENS' CLUB; and that such club, when constituted and formed, do from time to time, seek every means in their power to establish the charter of King Charles,* and to enrol themselves accordingly.

"That a book is now open for the purposes aforesaid, at the house of David Felyate, known by the sign aforesaid, together with such rules and regulations as were resolved on at the above meeting.

(Signed)

"EDWARD WOODHEAD, Chairman.

"Nov. 7, 1831."

"J. BOWDITCH,† Honorary Secretary."

Being thus organized, it was obvious that the promoters of the measure must expect the most strenuous opposition to their efforts, that the watermen could find means to present. They were naturally and reasonably apprehensive, that, if the Pier should be erected, they would lose the earnings they had enjoyed for landing and embarking passengers by their small boats; and they could not be prevailed upon to weigh the inevitable consequences to themselves, and to the inhabitants generally, if this great local measure should not be pursued. Neither were they to be convinced, that they could no more resist the will of the public to have the accommodation of a Pier at Gravesend, than they could have succeeded in an attempt to maintain the Sailing-boats against the Steam-packets, with their superior attractions.

The fraternity of the watermen of the Thames had frequently resisted public improvements, that interfered with their own calling: those of London struggled against the introduction of hackney-coaches in 1634, and of stage-coaches in 1673; and they opposed the construction of Westminster Bridge in 1736. The proceedings upon that occasion are adverted to, in a recent publication, in which it is said that the project was opposed by the city of London, the borough of Southwark, and the Company of Watermen; concluding with the observation, that "this" (the watermen's opposition) "was somewhat more rational, and was rationally set aside by compensation."‡

It was the desire of the Corporation of Gravesend, to provide

* The Charter of the Corporation.

† An Attorney.

‡ See page 324, *supra*. Knight's London, vol. iii. p. 85.

for this compensation in the Bill for erecting the Pier; but this did not set aside the opposition of the watermen.

It would be injudicious to encumber the description of any public edifice, with a narrative of disputes with builders, or of squabbles among workmen; and it would be equally injudicious to encumber the notice of the erection of the Pier at Gravesend, and of its consequences, with details of the ill-advised opposition to this measure. The feelings that were excited during the two years that the eventful struggle was maintained, cannot be said to have entirely subsided yet, for they have been revived, from time to time, by intervening events. Those only, who were actually engaged in the transactions, could give a correct account of them; and any account from such a source might be received as *ex parte*; therefore, the better course is to proceed with a brief statement of the results.

The opposition to the measure, before Parliament, in the session of 1832, prevailed, and the Bill was lost, after a protracted and expensive struggle: but the Corporation, not deterred by this disappointment, resolved to renew the application in the following session; and preparations were diligently made, in the mean time, for another contest.

The first number of a local paper, called *The Gravesend Magazine*, was published in August, 1832, for the purpose of showing the advantages of the proposed Pier, and exposing the fallacy of the reasonings and the misrepresentation of facts, that had been resorted to by the opponents of the measure.

By the most laborious and strenuous exertions, the promoters of the Bill had gained ground; and, when Parliament assembled, the proceedings were resumed. The same parties again appeared in opposition; but eventually, after another prolonged and costly course of proceedings, an Act of Parliament was obtained,* for amending the Town Quay Act, and for building a Pier or Jetty adjoining thereto. It received the royal assent on the 28th of June.

With reference to the pledge given by the Corporation, that provision should be made for the watermen; and with reference

* Stat. 4 William IV., c. 101.

also to their opposition to the measure, it is proper to notice that a clause was obtained, with considerable difficulty, (as the watermen had no vested interest giving them a recognised claim), by which the Corporation have authority to give them, under the denomination of wages, for work and labour on the Pier, a considerable compensation. This provision was introduced by the promoters of the Bill in Parliament; and although the watermen, upon two occasions, rejected the offer, it was retained for their benefit.

Having obtained the Act, proceedings were commenced for the erection of the Pier, for which W. T. Clark, Esq., C. E. had prepared the design, and this being farther considered* and settled, the work was undertaken by Mr. William Wood, of Gravesend, for the sum of £8700.

Pending the proceedings upon the Pier Bill in Parliament, a temporary jetty had been erected at the Town Quay,† under the authority of the Act of 9 Geo. IV. c. 56; and, when it became necessary to remove this, for the construction of the permanent Pier, another jetty was provided at the premises of Mr. Starbuck, (now numbered 57,) in West Street, for the accommodation of the public, until the Pier should be built.

1834. The landing and embarkation of passengers by the Steam-packets, was transferred from the Town Quay to the jetty, in West Street, on Monday the 27th of January. The Pier was completed, and opened on the 29th of July, in the same year.

DESCRIPTION.

It extends into the river 127 feet from the stone front of the Town Quay, and is 40 feet wide, being built upon cast-iron arches of 40 feet span, and a rise of 6 feet, the land arch springing from the stone

* It was intended that the Pier should be ten feet wide, but the width was afterwards altered to forty feet. Total length, from the quay, 157 feet.

† This was the structure that was considerably damaged by the watermen in the night of the 22nd of June, 1833, when the Pier Bill had passed the House of Lords. The toll-house on the quay was much damaged, the iron railing by which the quay was enclosed, was destroyed, many of the piles of the jetty were cut through, and part of the platform was torn up. The parties proved to have been present when the offence was committed, were indicted at the assizes for Kent, but were discharged, upon a failure, before the Grand Jury, of the necessary evidence respecting the part that the persons charged, took in the affair.

wall of the Quay, and all the others from columns. The platform of the Pier is laid upon transverse arches, and framing, both of cast iron, supported by 8 columns, on foundations of Bramley-Fall stone, and brickwork. At the extremity of the platform is a transverse head, commonly called a **T** head, 76 feet in length, and 30 feet wide, under which there are flights of steps, that communicate with a floating vessel rising and falling with the tide, and is always on a level with the packets alongside, for convenient access. The **T** head is supported upon strong cast-iron diagonal framing 6 feet deep, on 18 columns, which are defended below, by longitudinal and transverse timbers of 13 inches square, bolted to each other. The foundations of the 18 columns demand special notice. Under each column, three cast-iron piles, 14 feet long and 15 inches diameter, are driven into the bed of the river, the tops being 15 inches under water, at low water ordinary spring tides. Over the three piles is an iron plate, upon which the column stands. This difficult part of the work was executed with so much care, skill, and accuracy, that in every case the plate was placed upon a true level. The 26 cast-iron columns, supporting the whole Pier, are each 18 feet high, and 2 feet 9 inches diameter. The platform of the Pier is enclosed by an open parapet, and is used as a promenade, as well as for landing and embarking. The wings or ends of the **T** head are roofed over, forming two pavilions for shelter in unfavourable weather. The roofs are each supported by six cast-iron ornamental columns, with Greek entablatures, and panelled turrets, in one of which is a clock, and in the other a bell, which is rung to give notice for packets to depart. The pavilions, like the platform of the Pier, are surrounded by an open parapet. At the end of the Pier, there is a column of cast-iron 35 feet high, including the plinth, and a lanthorn of five feet in height, which is lighted every night with gas. The lower diameter of the column is three feet. The entrance to the Pier from the land side, is by an easy flight of stone steps, enclosed by handsome cast-iron gates. A portion of the Quay, at this entrance, containing a space of 38 feet square, is enclosed on two sides by a stone parapet. Under the Pier, the ancient Causeway is renovated with York pavement, supported on cast-iron framing, with foundations of Bramley-Fall stone and brickwork. The descent from the Quay to the Causeway, is by stairs, on each side of the Pier.

Great preparations were made by the Corporation, for the ceremony of opening the Pier. A banquet was given upon the occasion, to which nearly three hundred guests were invited, consisting of the Earl of Darnley, the Clergy, and other gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, the Mayor and other members of the Corporation of the city of Rochester, the Commandant of Tilbury

and Gravesend Forts, and other military Officers. The Mayor and members of the Corporation received the company at the Town Hall, and went thence in procession to the Pier, preceded by a band of music, and attended by the peace officers and others. Upon reaching the Pier, the Chairman of the Committee addressed the Lord High Steward, in terms of congratulation upon the completion of the work, to which he had so much contributed, by his attention to, and support of, the measure in Parliament. His Lordship was then conducted to the *Mercury* Steam-packet, lying alongside, in order to be the first who should embark from the Pier; and having done so, retired, on account of indisposition, to the great regret of the whole party assembled. The Mayor, with his guests, proceeded in the *Mercury*, attended by the *Star* and the *Medway* steam-packets, on a short excursion down the river, returning to the Pier, where the banquet was served up under a covering of canvass tastefully arranged, and lined with flags. The church bells rang merry peals; in the evening there was a grand display of fire-works, and the town presented throughout the festivities, one scene of gaiety; amidst which, all the adverse circumstances which preceded this happy result, appeared to be, for the moment, forgotten.

On the following day, the *Comet* steam-packet received passengers for London, at seven o'clock in the morning; and this was the first time the Pier was resorted to by packets, engaged on the London and Gravesend station.

The attention given by the Earl of Darnley, to the application of the inhabitants, for the Act to erect the Pier, and the assistance that he benevolently afforded, for extending the means of instructing the children of the poor, were the latest local benefits received at his hands; and for them, his memory must be enshrined in the hearts of a grateful population. His Lordship departed this life on the 11th of February, 1835.

The demise of this amiable nobleman was deeply deplored. By his deportment in every relation of life, he had won the respect and regard of all around him. He was esteemed an accomplished scholar, and might have taken an eminent position as a legis-

lator, if he had not preferred a life of retirement, to a close attention to public affairs, for the few years that he enjoyed his hereditary honours and possessions.

During the progress of the Pier Bill, his Lordship discharged, in a most impartial and efficient manner, the arduous duties of Chairman of the Committee of the House of Lords, upon the Bill ; and though he seldom addressed the House, he distinguished himself in a debate upon the report of the Committee, when the Bill had been rejected. His Lordship upon that occasion, delivered a speech condemnatory of the conduct of certain Peers, who (it was alleged,) had voted against the measure in the Committee, without having attended to hear the evidence ; and by the calm dignity of his manner, and the weight of his arguments, his Lordship prevailed upon the House to revive the Bill, by ordering that it should be re-committed.*

It would be a great injustice, to conclude an account of the proceedings before Parliament, during two sessions, upon the Pier Bill, against which a formidable opposition of public bodies and several classes of persons had been raised, by means of artful exaggerations ; without a recognition of the services performed by John Matthews, Esq., Town-clerk, who had the professional charge of the Bill. His unremitting exertions, and the talent that he displayed, were beyond all ordinary recompense ; and the Corporation acknowledged their sense of his conduct, by presenting him with a certificate of the freedom of the town, which he had served so faithfully ; enclosed in a box of silver, of exquisite design and workmanship.

THE STAR STEAM PACKET COMPANY.

1833. The number of passengers conveyed in steam-packets to and from Gravesend, had amounted to 290,000 in a year, and there was ground for supposing, that the number would increase in future years. This induced an attempt to form a Company, to be called the Greenhithe, Northfleet and Gravesend Steam

* See his Lordship's speech in the House of Lords, 5th June, 1822, reported in the *Mirror of Parliament*. This was a very unusual occurrence, for only one similar case was found in the Journals.

Packet Company, with a capital of £100,000., in ten thousand shares of £10. each. The opinion generally entertained, that the number of passengers would progressively increase, and this proposal of unknown individuals to establish another Company, urged several inhabitants of Gravesend to make a similar attempt; and they held a meeting on the 8th of October, 1833, at which it was determined to issue a prospectus of a Company, with a capital of £50,000., in shares of £5. each. Books were immediately opened, and the usual means, by which such objects are effected, were energetically taken. On the 8th of November, a meeting of such as had taken shares was held at the Town Hall, when it appeared, that the whole number had been engaged; and that deposits upon 5060 had been paid, by 676 shareholders. The Company was then formed, with the denomination of the New Steam Packet Company; and upon being completely organized, the Directors proceeded to provide packets to be ready for the next following season.

1834. The four first packets of the Company were launched in the following order:—

April 5th. The *Medway*.

„ 8th. The *Comet*.

„ 10th. The *Mercury*.

May 8th. The *Star*.

The Establishment has since been called the Star Company.

THE TERRACE GARDENS.

1834. After having been in the possession of the Crown for nearly three centuries, the Blockhouse Fort, in the parish of Milton, was, by command of the Board of Ordnance, announced for sale in forty lots, by public auction, on the 12th day of November, in that year.

The Corporation, desiring to avert the injurious local effects of this design, applied to the Board, to be permitted to treat for the purchase of the property, for public purposes. The answer to this application, at once put an end to the interposition of the Corporation; for, although the Board condescended to accede to the proposition to treat, yet the price demanded was considered to be

so far beyond the value, upon any conceivable mode of computation, that the corporate body declined the responsibility of purchasing upon such terms.

On the 29th of October, another memorial, signed by many of the inhabitants residing near the Blockhouse Land, was presented to the Board of Ordnance, praying that the public sale might be postponed, in order to give time for a general meeting of the inhabitants to be convened, to consider the subject.

The sale was accordingly postponed, with an intimation, that the Board were ready to treat with the inhabitants upon the same terms that had been offered to the Corporation; and the meeting of the inhabitants took place on the 6th of November, when the following resolutions were passed.

“That the sale of the Blockhouse Fort, at Gravesend, consisting of about three acres of ground, in forty lots, will be injurious to the inhabitants at large; inasmuch as, by the erection of a great diversity of habitations, workshops, sheds, and outhouses for various avocations, to which it will lead, a spot which has hitherto been an object of attraction, will be *defaced*, and become an *annoyance*.

“That the Blockhouse Fort has been held by the Crown for three centuries, and in that long period, the town has become adapted to that locality, and property in the immediate vicinity of it has been increased, under an impression of the permanence of this public establishment.

“That the advantages of a shipping trade having been wrested from the inhabitants, by an innovation in the department of the Customs, they rely upon the trade created by the resort of visitors from London in the summer, by steam-packets; and this sole remaining source of income will be seriously abridged, by the demolition of this, the chief attraction to the town.

“That, to avert this evil, and to retain the Fort, to convert it into ornamental gardens for health and recreation, and to ensure the site for His Majesty’s service, if it should become expedient to resume it, as a river defence, (now that steam navigation is used by armed vessels); an application be made to the Government, to effect the purchase of the freehold at a valuation, or to hire the same for a long term of years.

“That it is the opinion of the meeting, that if the proposed public sale proceeds, the result will not be so productive to the department, as a sale in the manner suggested by the inhabitants; and that, moreover, by the latter course, they will receive at the hands of His Majesty’s Government a public benefit, instead of a deep injury, which the former course will inevitably inflict.

“That a Committee to effect the objects of this meeting, be now

appointed ; and that they do report their proceedings at a meeting of the inhabitants, (to be convened by them,) at the Town Hall, on Tuesday next, the 11th instant, at twelve o'clock."

A petition, framed upon these resolutions, was signed by about 150 of the principal inhabitants, and referred to the Committee that was appointed, as their credentials.

They proceeded to London to wait upon the Board of Ordnance, and were admitted to an audience on the 8th of November ; which led to an agreement for the purchase of the property for £6800 ; the Board peremptorily requiring, that on the following day, a bond to be prepared by their solicitor, should be signed, to secure the performance of the agreement. Upon these conditions, the sale by auction was, on the 11th of November, postponed *sine die*.

On Wednesday, the 12th of November, (the day to which the general meeting of the inhabitants on the 6th of the same month, had been adjourned), they assembled in the Town Hall, when the Committee reported their proceedings.

Upon that occasion, the thanks of the meeting were accorded to the Committee, and it was resolved that the sum of £10,000. should be raised by the issue of shares, not exceeding £20. each. By this resolution the inhabitants left the Committee, or rather such of them as had entered into the engagement with the Board of Ordnance, to their own resources and expedients, to raise the necessary funds. These individuals had been too much mixed up with the general management of the affairs of the town, to be found unprepared for such a result. On the same day, the Clerk of the Solicitor of the Ordnance Department met the Committee, and produced, for their signature, a bond for execution, which they were ready to sign, and they were prepared to pay the deposit ; when the Clerk required an alteration in the bond, the effect of which was, to insist on the reservation or retention of roads, which the Committee considered to be included in the purchase ; and which arrangement of roads, having been designed with a view to the sale of the ground in forty lots, appeared objectionable, when the whole was purchased in one lot.

Upon this, the proceedings were suspended, that reference

might be made to the Board of Ordnance ; and pending the correspondence that ensued, a change of ministers occurred, which placed Sir Robert Peel at the head of the Government, and Sir George Murray in the post of Master-General of the Ordnance. The former members of the Board had left in the office a minute of a resolution, that in consequence of the disputed question of the roads, the ground should be re-sold by auction, which occasioned farther delay ; but, on the 19th of February, 1835, a communication was received from Colonel Graydon, the commanding Engineer at Gravesend, calling upon the Committee to make another offer, signifying at the same time, that if such offer should not be satisfactory to the Board, a re-sale by auction would certainly take place. The Committee persisted in their claim to the roads, as they were described in their first agreement, and eventually the ground was again advertised for sale by public auction, to take place on the 31st of March.

Urged by these circumstances, the Committee considered it expedient to lay the case before Parliament, and they applied to William Tooke, Esq., M.P., to introduce the subject to the House of Commons, upon the presentation of a petition, in which all the circumstances should be set forth. The application was made to Mr. Tooke, because that gentleman was a member of a Committee of the House, to consider a proposition for promoting public walks in the neighbourhood of large towns.

Mr. Tooke most courteously and kindly undertook to render this important support to the Committee, and immediately put himself in communication with the Board of Ordnance, upon the subject.

The petition of the Committee was presented to the House of Commons on the 25th of March, and was ably supported by Mr. Tooke and other members ; upon which a debate ensued, the result of which was, that the petition was received, and an impression was made, that the House was of opinion that the property should be sold to the petitioners for the purposes set forth.

On the 27th of March, the Committee submitted a memorial to the Board of Ordnance, stating that the measure had been tacitly sanctioned by the House of Commons, and praying that

they might be admitted to a farther negotiation to complete the arrangement. That memorial was not acceded to, because it did not contain a more specific offer, and another communication was thereupon made to the Board, on the 28th of March, on which day, however, the negotiation was terminated by the Board.

The crisis demanded the utmost energy, and the Committee, determined not to relinquish the pursuit, until the object should be absolutely unattainable, resolved upon making another effort, by an appeal to the head of the Government, on the ground of the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the subject.

Monday the 30th of March, was the day on which the final step must be taken, as the re-sale by auction was peremptorily fixed for the next day.

The Committee early on the 30th, addressed the following letter to the minister :—

To the Right Honorable Sir ROBERT PEEL, Bart., M.P., First Lord Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury.

“ Sir,—A great injury is about to be inflicted upon Gravesend, by a department of His Majesty's Government, and no means of escape remain, but by your interposition. Twice, we who have been deputed by the inhabitants, have prepared to appeal to you, under the circumstances, as the supreme head of the Government, but we have refrained because of the pressure of State affairs, until now, when no other relief is available.

“ The Board of Ordnance have determined to sell His Majesty's ancient Fort at Gravesend, which the inhabitants wished to purchase, in order to avert a ruinous nuisance, and to effect a most desirable local improvement, by its appropriation for public gardens for the health and recreation of the inhabitants and visitors resorting there from the metropolis, by steam-navigation.

“ All the details have been submitted to the Board of Ordnance, and the design has been tacitly approved by the House of Commons, on a debate on Wednesday last.

“ We now ask only, that it may be offered in one lot, that it may be bought for the public design, which would be defeated by the division of the ground ; and as His Majesty's Government has, in many cases, encouraged public improvements, and has even granted pecuniary aid to accomplish them ; we hope that you will interpose, to enable us to improve the town of Gravesend, when we propose to effect it, without desiring any aid from the public treasury, seeking only to have an opportunity to purchase the ground that is for sale, for its full value, by public competition.

(Signed)

“ R. P. CRUDEN.

“ R. C. ARNOLD.

“ J. MATTHEWS.”

“ *Brown's Hotel, Bridge Street, Westminster,
March 30, 1835.*”

This letter was forwarded to Sir Robert Peel, at his residence in Whitehall Gardens, adjacent, and it was promptly answered by the hand of Sir George Clerk, Bart., one of the Secretaries of the Treasury.

“ Treasury, March 30th, 1835.

“ GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by Sir Robert Peel, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day, stating [&c.]—and in reply, I have to acquaint you, that notwithstanding the pressure of other most important business, Sir Robert Peel made an immediate communication to the Board of Ordnance on the subject, and he has been informed by them, that they are ready to receive from you an offer for the purchase of the property in one lot, for the purposes stated in your letter. If you do not make them an offer, on such terms, as they would feel justified in accepting, the sale by auction will proceed to-morrow. I should therefore take the liberty of suggesting, that you should immediately transmit to the Master-General and Board of Ordnance, any proposition you may now wish to make for the purchase of this property.

(Signed)

“ GEORGE CLERK.”

Upon receiving this communication, the Committee presented themselves at the Ordnance Office, and there concluded on the same day, the treaty for the purchase of the property, for the sum of £7000., without the stipulation for the resumption, contained in the former agreement; and with an arrangement, concerning the question of the roads, that was mutually satisfactory.

The agreement for the purchase was signed on the morning of Tuesday, the 31st of March.

Having thus secured the ground, the Committee felt it due to Sir Robert Peel, that their first act should be to render to him their acknowledgments, for his valuable support; and they addressed the following letter to him, on the same day:—

To the Right Honorable Sir ROBERT PEEL, Bart, M.P., &c., &c., &c.

“ SIR,—By your generous interposition, the interests of Gravesend have been preserved.

“ An arrangement has been made with the Honorable the Board of Ordnance, for the purchase of His Majesty’s ancient Fort, at Gravesend, by which a local injury will be averted, and a desirable improvement will be effected.

“ We entreat you, Sir, to accept our respectful and most warm acknowledgments, for the great favour and benefit you have thus been pleased to confer upon the inhabitants of the town.

“ Your prompt and effective aid upon the present interesting occasion, has afforded a practical lesson on the advantages that the people of this Empire enjoy, when the First Minister of the Crown, amidst the most

pressing public engagements, condescends to bestow his attention upon a matter affecting His Majesty's most humble subjects.

(Signed)

"R. P. CRUDEN,
"R. C. ARNOLD,
"J. MATTHEWS."

Sir Robert Peel was pleased to receive this respectful and grateful tribute, with as much attention as he had given, in the first instance, when the Committee invoked his support; and the reader will better appreciate the following answer which Sir Robert Peel, vouchsafed, if it be remembered, that it was written on the day when he resigned the post of First Minister, and consequently must have been pressed by important engagements.

"Whitehall Gardens, April 1st, 1835.

"GENTLEMEN,—Your letter has given me sincere satisfaction, and I am more than repaid for any trouble I have taken in the matter to which it refers, by your assurance that I have contributed in some slight degree to the advantage and comfort of the inhabitants of Gravesend.

"I must, however, in justice to my friend, Sir George Murray, add, that in two or three conversations which I had with him on the subject, I found him very desirous to do all that he could consistently with his duty as a public officer, to consult the wishes and feelings you have been deputed to represent.

(Signed)

"ROBERT PEEL.

"R. P. Cruden,

"R. C. Arnold,

"J. Matthews, Esqrs.,

"Gravesend."

The members of the Committee, R. P. Cruden, J. Smith, R. C. Arnold, and J. Matthews, who had entered into this engagement, applied themselves to the consideration of the means for raising funds for the purchase, and for converting the property to the uses pointed out by the deed of conveyance; and to consider also the best means of rendering the property productive.

With respect to the mode of raising the funds, it was determined to adopt the suggestion, made at the general meeting of the inhabitants, on the 12th of November, 1833; and have recourse to a joint-stock fund in shares.

The most eligible plan for rendering the property productive, was pointed out by circumstances.

THE TERRACE PIER.

The sale-description of the property had called public attention

to the advantages of the site for a Landing-place or Pier ; and, as it was intended to erect a Pier at Northfleet, adjacent, it appeared desirable that such accommodation at Gravesend should be improved and extended ; and the immense and increasing resort of the public to the town, encouraged the undertaking.

In proceeding to effect these objects, it was judged proper to publish an address to the inhabitants, announcing the design, and inviting them to co-operate in the undertaking. Having discharged this duty, the Committee authorised one of their associates, to intimate to the Corporation, that they were about to erect a Pier, at the Block-house Fort, and to make an offer of the property to the Corporation, at an annual rent. This offer was entertained, and it was referred to a Committee of their members to enter upon the treaty, and to report thereon ; but on the 12th of June, it was resolved, by a Committee of the whole Court,

“ That in consequence of an application made, this day, by a Deputation from the inhabitants, imploring the Corporation not to entertain any proposition for taking or engaging the Pier or Jetty, recently erected at or near the Block-house Fort, it is the opinion of this Committee, that such application be complied with, and they recommend the same for adoption, to the Court accordingly.”

The purchasers of the Block-house Fort, as it may be seen in the foregoing resolution of the Court, had not relaxed their efforts, to have the temporary Pier ready for the season ; and the work had been prosecuted with so much celerity, that on the 7th of June, the *Star* packet, (the first vessel that resorted to the Pier), landed 524 passengers there, from London.

At the same time, measures for raising the capital, were in progress, and the whole amount was contributed by non-resident patrons, and a few of the inhabitants.

LIST OF SHAREHOLDERS.

	£		£
Mr. J. Harmer	1400	* Rev. J. Hindle	100
— R. Bell	1000	* Mr. A. Thomas	50
— J. Hurles	1000	* — J. J. Hatten	100
— A. Harman	400	* — J. T. Hollingdale	100
* — J. Smith	200	* — H. Eversfield	100
* — J. Edmed	200	— Thos. Tod Marden	200
— J. Keal	200	— W. Johnston	300
* — A. Park	200	— E. Bryant	200
* — R. C. Arnold	100	— H. S. Gibbs	100
* — C. A. Becket	100	— Jos. Miller	150
* — R. P. Cruden	100	— J. Ebenezer Saunders	100
* — C. Pearson	100	— Harry Gibb	200
* Capt. Thompson	100	— J. Fell	50
Mr. W. T. Clark	100	Messrs. Jackson, Blencarn } and Knill }	300
* — E. Lamburn	100	Mr. J. W. May	50
* — W. T. Bennett	100	— J. Frodsham	200
* — T. Pallister	100	Messrs. Poussett and Gibb	100
* — J. Seabrook	100	Mr. E. Tickner	200
* — W. Soames	100	— G. Jarman	100
* — A. Herbert	100	— Edwin Alderman	250
* Capt. Leishman	100	— T. Saunders	100
* Miss A. Arnold	100	— H. G. Robley	100
* Mr. J. Henden	100	— P. Asplin	100
* Mrs. Slaughter	100	— W. A. Peacock	200
* Mr. B. Lord	100		
* — A. Smith	100		
* — W. Culmer	100		
* — G. Stevens	50		
			£10,000

Those marked thus * were inhabitants.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

Arnold, R. C.	Edmed, J.	Park, A.
Becket, C. A.	Harmer, J.	Smith, J.
Bell, R.	Harman, A.	Thompson, Capt. J.
Cruden, R. P.	Hurles, J.	Tickner, E.

TERRACE GARDEN.

At the end of the season of resort, in the year 1835, the Terrace Pier was temporarily closed, and the formation of an ornamental garden on the ground of the Blockhouse-Fort, attached to the site of the Pier, was the next object of attention. The Directors consulted the highest authority upon the subject, J. C. Loudon, Esq., F.L.S., who furnished the design. The work was immediately commenced, under the superintendence of Edward Bell, who had been recommended by Mr. Loudon. The arrangement of the

ground has received universal commendation ; and the luxuriant growth of the trees and shrubs, with the floral embellishments, introduced by Benjamin Gladwell, the keeper of the Garden, has already realised the wishes of the inhabitants expressed at their public meetings, that the Blockhouse-Fort should be retained, and rendered a greater ornament than ever to the town.

APPROACHES TO THE TERRACE GARDEN, AND PIER.

1835. In the month of July, in the same year, the capital of the shareholders of the Terrace Garden, was extended, for the purpose of providing proper approaches to, and effecting improvements in the lands contiguous to the Blockhouse-Fort. In pursuance of this design, three houses on the Terrace were purchased, to be taken down, and land at the back of the Terrace was taken, upon which Harmer-street has been erected.

By these proceedings, farther capabilities of improvement were developed ; and in 1836, a prospectus of a plan of extended operations was published. It was proposed to raise a capital of £60,000., in 2400 shares of £25. each, and these being taken, an association was formed, under the denomination of

THE GRAVESEND FREEHOLD INVESTMENT COMPANY.

Twenty-four acres of land, situated on the south-side of the Dover High-road, in the Parish of Milton were purchased, and received the name of Milton Park Estate.

This property was laid out for building sites and streets, and being opposite to the south-end of Harmer-street, the line was continued through Upper Harmer-street, which together form a noble avenue of two thousand feet in length, and fifty feet in breadth, extending from the Lodges of the New Terrace Garden Pier, to Parrock-street, near the foot of Windmill Hill.

The name of James Harmer, Esq., of Ingress Abbey, Greenhithe, was given to these Streets, to commemorate his munificent contributions to the capital required for effecting all the improvements in Milton that have been described, and which surpass in extent and value, all preceding local undertakings.

From Harmer-street, the view is extensive and delightful, on the south is seen the famous Windmill Hill ; and on the north, the

river with Tilbury Fort on the opposite shore, and Langdon Hill, nine miles beyond it, in Essex, present a magnificent scene. In this street, there are 48 second class houses, and an elegant edifice called the Literary Institution, which contains a Library and Reading Rooms, and attached to them are a Billiard Room, and a capacious Assembly Room, which is used for Literary and Scientific Lectures, and other meetings.

Several large parcels of land, in the parish of Gravesend, have lately been purchased by individuals, for building sites; but as yet, no houses have been erected, nor streets formed, equal to these in Milton.

ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL.

1833. At a meeting of several inhabitants at the Town Hall, on the 9th of August, it was considered and determined, that as the churches of the two parishes afford accommodation for about 1400 persons only, and there being a resident population of 10,000 souls, beside a considerable increase of numbers, by the resort of visitors in the summer season, it was expedient that an Episcopal Chapel of Ease, to contain from 1000 to 1500 sittings, should be erected. It was also determined, that the funds for the purpose, should be raised by 100 shares of £50 each; and shares to the amount of £1050 were immediately taken.

Ground was purchased for the site, situated at the side of the Great Dover Road, opposite to the south-east angle of Queen Street, in the parish of Milton, whereon a Chapel, with a handsome elevation, sufficiently capacious for 1200 sittings, was erected, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist; which being consecrated, was opened for Divine Service, on Sunday the 16th of November, in the following year. The chapel is now the property of the Rev. William John Blew, who officiates as the Minister.

PRINCES STREET CHAPEL.

1838. The congregation of this place of worship, profess the Independent principles, held by Evangelical Protestant Dissenters.

The first Meeting-house of this connexion, in Gravesend, was built in the year 1717, on the same site.

In that year, Mr. Thomas Swift granted to Mr. Daniel Ray, of Gravesend, the lease of a messuage, with a garden and appurtenances, for eighty-one years, at the yearly rent of £3. 10s. On these premises, Mr. Ray erected a Meeting-house, and a house adjoining, for the residence of the minister for the time being; and this was effected by means of a voluntary subscription, raised among the Dissenters, chiefly of London. In 1719, Mr. Ray, in consideration of £100., then paid to him by H. Lovell, Edward Brent, Robert Hinde, Richard Mount, and Nathaniel Newham, conveyed the premises to them, in trust for the residue of the term of the lease, to be used as a public Meeting-house for Protestant Dissenters. The estate remains in the connexion; and in the year 1838, the Chapel with two large School-rooms, and a house for the residence of the minister, were rebuilt. The Chapel is a large, commodious and handsome edifice, containing accommodation for 1200 persons.

LIST OF MINISTERS.

- 1727. Dr. William Langford, removed to London in 1734.
- 1762. Dr. Samuel Wilcocke.
- 1776. Jesse Seymour.
- 1780. Thomas Beck, removed to London in 1788.
- 1792. Mordaunt Cracherode.
- 1799. William Kent.
- 1828. John Tippetts, present minister.

The first Sunday School in Gravesend, was established, in the year 1801, in connexion with this Chapel.

WESLEYAN CHAPEL.

In the year 1812, the Wesleyans erected a Chapel on the north side of the Dover Road, next to Berkeley Crescent, in the Parish of Milton; which edifice was afterwards enlarged, and a handsome front was added, in 1841.

BAPTIST CHAPEL.

1843. The first Baptist congregation in Gravesend assembled on the 31st of August, 1825, in a public room, in Stone-street. Recently, however, a larger place of worship has been built by

public contributions, which is situated in Windmill-street, and opened on the 1st day of August in this year.

GRAVESEND AND MILTON CEMETERY.

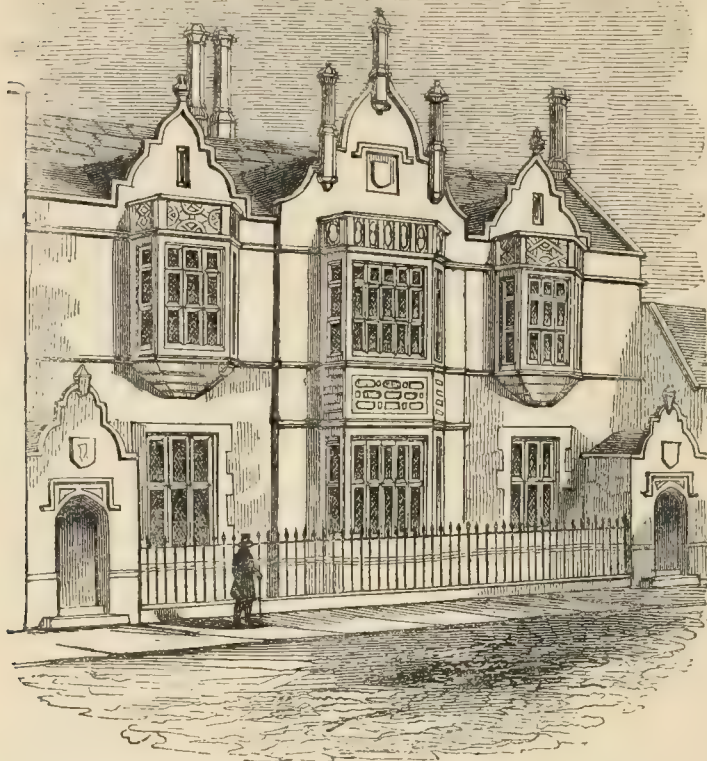
1838. The great increase of the population of Gravesend, and the limited and inadequate space appropriated to the interment of the dead, rendered it very desirable that a suitable burial-ground, detached from the dwellings of the inhabitants, should be provided.

A piece of ground, peculiarly eligible for the purpose, was purchased; and in the year 1838, an Act* of Parliament was obtained for establishing a Cemetery. The ground had been arranged for a public garden with ornamental shrubs and walks, and contains about six acres, which, by the ordinary calculation made for the formation of these receptacles, is considered to be adequate to the population of the town. It is situated at the extremity of the parish of Gravesend, on the south side of the old road from London to Rochester, near the cross road, leading to Perry Street. It is surrounded by a high wall, and contains two chapels, in which the burial rites may be performed; and spacious catacombs are erected.

THE LAST OF THE TILT-BOATS OF GRAVESEND.

1834. The preference given by the public to Steam-packets, for conveyance between London and Gravesend, led to the extinction of the sailing-boats that had been employed in the Long Ferry. They maintained a hopeless struggle for some years, forasmuch as some of them occasionally dropping off, the little employment that could be found was divided among reduced numbers; but the last of them, the *Duke of York*, when the earnings were inadequate to the expense of maintenance, was withdrawn in 1834. Such of them as were suitable for other services, had found purchasers at low prices, and others were disposed of piece-meal, the hulk and materials being separated, and the latter sold by auction in lots. The Tilt-boat called the *King George*, No. 1, like "the high mettled racer, doomed to a cart," now stripped of her wings, lies a hulk at Hole Haven, as a depôt for lobsters, awaiting the demand of the London market.

* Stat. 1 and 2 Vic., c. 35.



THE FREE SCHOOL, FOUNDED A.D. 1580, UNITED WITH THE
NATIONAL SCHOOL, A.D. 1835.

The School Houses having become delapidated, and inadequate to the purposes intended, and the population of the town having very much increased, it was desirable to make better provision for the instruction of the children of the poor ; and a favourable opportunity occurred, for an attempt to accomplish this object.

On the 16th of August, 1833, Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed and obtained a parliamentary grant of twenty thousand pounds, for building schools ; and this was considered to be a proper occasion for exertions, to obtain the means of extending the usefulness of both Schools, by uniting them. The originator of the measure invoked the aid of Thomas Law Hodges, Esq. M. P. for West Kent, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. M.P. for the Eastern Division of the county, and the Earl of Darnley, Hereditary High Steward of Gravesend, as the legitimate protectors and advocates of the town, in any com-

munications with the Government, concerning local affairs; in order to obtain a portion of the public grant for building schools. These applications were courteously entertained, and the most effectual support was afforded.

When the probability of obtaining pecuniary assistance from the Government was ascertained, applications were made to the Mayor and Corporation and to the Committee of Subscribers to the National School, who respectively and readily appointed sub-committees to confer upon the subject.

By the co-operation of these committees, under the sanction of the Mayor and Corporation, and the inhabitants, the object was diligently pursued. A plan was prepared for uniting the two schools, and submitted to the inhabitants.

In the mean time, communications had been interchanged between the Treasury, the Central Committee of the National School Society at London, and the local joint-committee.

In this correspondence, the conditions upon which any portion of the public grant would be made, were declared; and among these, it was required, that there should be such a report, either from the National School Society, or the British and Foreign School Society, as should satisfy the Lords of the Treasury, that the case deserved attention, and that there was a reasonable expectation that the proposed School might be permanently supported.

The required information upon these points having been given by the local committee, the National School Society not only reported favourably upon their application, but benevolently and liberally made a grant from their own funds, towards the erection of a new school-house; and, by their interposition, a liberal grant was made for the same purpose by the Treasury, as it will appear by the following copies of the communications upon the subject.

“Central School, Westminster, 7th December, 1833.

“SIR,—The Committee of the National School Society have considered your last letter, together with the papers previously received, and are willing to grant £100. towards the building intended to accommodate the children of the Corporation and National Schools of Gravesend, &c.

(Signed)

“J. C. WIGRAM, Secretary.”

“Rev. J. Hindle, Gravesend.”

"Treasury, March 12th, 1834.

"SIR,—I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, to acquaint you, that the sum of £490. has been appropriated for the School at Gravesend.

"This decision has been made known to the National School Society, to whom you will address any future communication on this subject.

(Signed) "T. SPRING RICE."

"Mr. R. P. Cruden, Gravesend."

The National School Society, did not limit their aid to the liberal donation of a hundred pounds, but generously permitted the old National School House, (towards the purchase of which they had contributed), to be sold, and the proceeds to be added to the funds, for erecting the new Schools.

The local subscribers, headed by the Lord High Steward, and the Corporation, contributed largely to the undertaking, and the funds being provided, the Committee proceeded to make arrangements for the erection of the Schools, with an additional room, for the use of such boys (being sons of resident watermen) as might desire to be instructed in navigation, to qualify them for sea service.

William Tierney Clark, Esq., having been consulted upon a plan for the School House, and the Earl of Darnley applied to for his opinion, and the expression of his wishes upon this point; it was finally settled that the elevation of the building should be in the Elizabethan style, and it was accordingly designed, from a portion of Cobham Hall.

The following is an account of the receipts and expenditure of the Building Fund :—

1835-6.	RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.
Donations from the inhabitants and others.....		320	17	0
Grant from the Corporation		100	0	0
Commissioners of Pavements for ground given to the street		50	0	0
Grant from the Central National School.....		100	0	0
Grant from the Gravesend District Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge		10	0	0
Proceeds from sale of old National School House		205	0	0
Donation from the Executors of the late Earl of Darnley		50	0	0
Grant from Government		490	0	0
Balance due to Treasurer.....		1	0	3
		1326	17	3

1835-6.	PAYMENTS.	£.	s.	d.
Printer's Bill.....		1	12	6
For altering copper-plate of the School		0	10	6
Insurance		2	0	0
For Iron Columns.....		12	17	2
Paid the Builder per Contract.....	1182	4	11	
For Stoves, &c.	12	14	0	
Paid the Solicitor.....	46	18	2	
Paid for sale of old School	7	7	0	
Expenses in London to settle an account.....	0	4	0	
Paid for delivery of hand-bills, &c.	1	0	0	
Paid W. T. Clark, Esq., the Architect.....	59	9	0	
		1326	17	3

To give permanence to the Institution, a Deed was executed on the 2nd of November, 1835, which provides, that the School House, with the site thereof, shall be vested in Trustees for the use of the united Schools, that is to say, the Free School of the Corporation, and the Gravesend and Milton National Society School—that the Corporation will for ever keep the said School House in repair, and allow the same to be used for the purposes of the united Schools—that the Corporation will for ever continue to pay the sum of five pounds per annum from the funds of the Corporation, and the sum of twenty pounds arising from the bequest of David Varchell, and fourteen pounds ten shillings per annum, arising from the will of James Fry, to the master of the said united Schools, who is to be appointed by the subscribers to the said Schools, with the consent of the Corporation ; it being agreed, that recourse should be had to voluntary contributions, to meet the remaining expenses of the Schools, but with a power reserved to the Corporation, with the consent of the Committee of Management, to resume the said School and ground, in case the subscriptions should at any time prove so deficient as to render it impracticable to continue the said School with advantage. The deed also provides for the practical management of the School, by a Committee, in conformity with an arrangement made by consent ; and that when the Trustees shall be reduced to three in number, they may appoint others.

Thus, by means of the munificence of Government, the bounty of the Earl of Darnley, the benevolent aid of the Central National

School Society, and the generous contributions of the inhabitants ; the exertions made to extend and perpetuate the benefits of " religious, moral and suitable instruction," to the children of the poor of Gravesend, were brought to a happy conclusion.

The numbers of children admitted, since the Schools were united, are 631 boys, and 287 girls ; which, added to the aggregate numbers instructed in the National School of the parishes, make a total of 1516 boys, and 917 girls.

1835. The Royal assent was given on the 9th of September, to an " Act to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales ;" * by which the following changes were made in the constitution of the Corporate body of Gravesend.

According to the Royal Charters of incorporation that have been mentioned before, the Corporation consisted of a Mayor, twelve Jurats, and twenty-four Common-councillmen ; the power of election in cases of vacancies among them, being vested in the Corporate body.

By the Act referred to, the numbers were reduced to six Aldermen, and eighteen Councillors ; and the electoral power was given to a body of Burgesses, consisting of all inhabitant householders, being of full age, occupying any house, warehouse, counting-house or shop, within the borough, and rated to the relief of the poor, for three whole years preceding the time of election. The borough being divided into two wards, the Burgesses elect an equal number of Councillors for each. The Aldermen are elected by the Council, which consists now of a Mayor, six Aldermen and eighteen Councillors.

A great change in the pecuniary affairs of the Corporation was made by the Act. The expenses of the local administration had been defrayed, by the imposition of a fine upon each person coming into the town and setting up trade within it, and from the income arising from the estate of the Corporation. These charges are now defrayed by means of rates imposed upon the inhabitants at large. When these changes were made in municipal law, great excitement prevailed among the aspirants to power ; and an

* Stat. 5 and 6 William IV., c. 76.

association was formed for the avowed purpose of controlling the first elections under the Act. As no resistance was offered to these proceedings, their object was easily attained, and those who had manifested an eager desire to be invested with the authority of municipal functionaries, were introduced to the positions they were so ambitious to occupy.

THE TOWN HALL.

1836. Considerable alterations were made in this edifice by the Town Council.

An additional space of ground having been obtained at the north end of the Hall, and the cages that projected to the street, having been removed, the front now extends seventy-four feet, east and west. The old front was removed, and the present elevation is of the Grecian Doric Order, taken from the Temple of Minerva, at Athens, with a *tetra style* portico, between two projecting wings. The four fluted columns are twenty-five feet high, four feet nine inches diameter below, and three feet nine inches at top. The pediment has in the centre, the arms of the Corporation in *alto relievo*. On the frieze, the arms in *basso relievo*, are sculptured in the metopes or spaces between the triglyphs. Three colossal figures adorn the pediment : one in the centre, represents Minerva, on the right of that figure, is Justice, and on the left, Truth. On the architrave is the following inscription :—"REBUILT A.D. 1836, IN THE MAYORALTIES OF MEDHURST TROUGHTON, AND ROBERT OAKES, ESQS. AMON HENRY WILDS, ARCHITECT." There are two large Venetian windows in each wing, one to each floor. In front of each column is a massive tripes or standard of cast-iron, for lamps of large dimensions, that are lighted with gas. Above the roof is a square turret,* with open sides of lattice-work and pilastres at the angles. The building contains the following apartments :—On the ground floor, the Town Clerk's offices, the office of the Treasurer of the Pier, a Police station, and a store-house for Fire Engines. On the principal floor, are, the great Hall, a room for the Magistrates as a Police Court, a room which (by compact with the Town Council) is used by the Commissioners of

* In this turret a bell is hung, that is rung at the opening and closing of the Market, and is used to give alarm in cases of fire.

Pavements, and a retiring room. It is to be regretted that the front elevation cannot be viewed with full effect, for the space between the foot of two steps in the centre, that lead to the pavement upon which the columns stand, and the houses at the opposite side of the street, does not exceed thirty-three feet. The front is faced with Bath stone.

The cost of the alterations and additions amounted to about £3000.

THE PENNY TOLL.

The Town Council, being organized, commenced proceedings at law against the Directors of the Terrace Pier, for the recovery of a Toll of one penny, in respect of each passenger by Packets in the Long Ferry, landing or embarking there. This Toll was claimed under the authority of the Town Quay Act,* and was imposed upon all passengers landing or embarking, at any other place *within the parishes of Gravesend and Milton*, for the protection of the revenue of the Town Quay or Pier.† Payment was refused, upon the ground that the site of the Terrace Pier is *extra-parochial*, and therefore the parties were not liable; and the Directors, acting merely as Trustees, would not incur the responsibility of this application of the revenue.

As these proceedings occasioned a heavy expenditure of the funds derived by both parties from the public, and excited feelings, subversive of social relations among the inhabitants, to the great detriment and reproach of the town; a few individuals, under the sanction of a much larger number, on the 1st of December, 1838, offered their services as mediators, to effect an amicable adjustment of the question; which, however, after much exertion to effect this desirable object, was found unavailing, the Town Council rejecting all compromise, and the legal proceedings were continued.

The summary jurisdiction of justices in petty session was resorted to: then appeals to General Quarter Sessions were made, and leading members of the Bar were specially retained. At length the question was brought before the Judges of Assize on the Home Circuit, and afterward before the superior courts at Westminster;

* Stat. 9 Geo. IV., c. 56.

† See page 497, *supra*.

neither did the proverbial expense and procrastination of the Court of Chancery deter the litigants from appealing to that tribunal. Parliament also was resorted to by each party, making application for legislative provisions, which were opposed by the other party; and both were discomfited.

In 1839, the question was decided, in favour of the claim.

This did not set the matter at rest. Appeals to the Quarter Sessions, and to Chancery, against alleged illegal expenditure, occasioned farther expenses; and the Town Council resorted to the expedient of reducing the Toll at the Town Pier, that it might bear destructively upon the Terrace Pier, now charged with the Penny Toll. Both parties, in time, found themselves encumbered with heavy debts, and then a dawn of hope brightened the prospective view of peace in the town.

The reader will recollect that an offer was made, in the year 1835, to transfer the Terrace Pier to the Corporation;* and recently an agreement has been entered into between the Directors of the Terrace Pier and the Town Council, to effect that transfer. The former circumstance was known to the mediators; and it puts in a strong light, the imprudence (to say the least) of incurring the immense expenditure that has been noticed, upon a disputed question affecting two establishments; the union of which was anticipated, and is now actually in progress.

BLACKWALL STATION.

Great as the resort to Gravesend, by Steam Packets, had previously been, it was increased by the improvement in the means of transit, effected by a Railway, and the provision of a commodious station for landing and embarking at Blackwall.

An Act for making a Railway from the Minories to Blackwall, was obtained in the year 1836;† and this was amended by two subsequent Acts,‡ the latter of which contains a provision, which enabled the proprietors of the Railway, to complete a contract with the East and West India Dock Company, for the perpetual use of the Brunswick Wharf at Blackwall, or a competent part thereof, for the reception of passengers and goods landed and embarked

* See p 516, *supra*.

† Stat. 6 and 7 Will. IV., c. 123.

‡ Stat. 1 Vict., c. 133. 3 Vict., c. 95.

thereat, and conveyed or to be conveyed by the Railway. The arrangements were finally completed, by extending the Railway from the Minories to Fenchurch Street.

The Brunswick Wharf was opened for the reception of packets, on the 6th of July, 1840; and the passage between Fenchurch Street, London, and Gravesend, is now generally effected in an hour and three-quarters, when the tide is favourable, and in two hours and a quarter, when against the tide. The distance being nineteen miles by water, and three miles and three quarters by the Railway.

The commodious means of landing and embarking at the termini of this famous water-passage, have led to the provision of similar accommodation at intermediate places.

1840. At Rosherville, situated at the east end of the parish of Northfleet, adjoining the parish of Gravesend, Gardens of surpassing beauty have been formed; and a Pier in connexion with them, has been erected.

1842. At Greenhithe, Grays, and Erith also, Piers have been erected; at all which, packets, employed between London and Gravesend, call several times every day.

TERRACE PIER.

It has been intimated above,* that the Directors of the Terrace Garden and Pier were in treaty with the Corporation, for transferring them to the latter. The agreement for this arrangement was made on the 27th of June, 1842, upon the following terms:—The Directors are to remove the present temporary Pier, and to erect one of greater dimensions and more durable materials, in front of the centre of the Garden, and then to transfer the whole establishment, with the Blockhouse or Bulwark adjoining, and its appurtenances,† to the Corporation, for the sum of £40,500. An Act of Parliament has been obtained by the Directors, for erecting the Pier, and for facilitating the completion of the arrangement, with the Corporation, and the Pier is commenced.

* Page 516 *supra*. Recently purchased from the Board of Ordnance.

† Stat. 5 Vict. c. 59.

DESCRIPTION.

The design for the Pier was prepared for the Commissioners of the Terrace Garden, by John Baldry Redman, Esq., C. E. ; and has been approved by the Admiralty and the Navigation Committee of the city of London.

It will be in the line of Harmer Street, and will be constructed principally of cast-iron.

The extreme length will be 240 feet, from the entrance at the Lodges in the Terrace Garden road, to the north end, extending into the river 190 feet from the line laid down in the report on the embankment of the Thames,* including the **T** head, which will be ninety feet long, east and west, and thirty feet wide ; and this will be the width of the structure throughout. The whole will be supported on twenty-two cast-iron columns of the Doric order, placed upon brick piers capped with stone, on a substratum of solid chalk. The first cross row of three columns at the south end, will be in the line of embankment, between which and the **T** head, there will be three spans of fifty feet clear each, between the caps of the columns, each support being formed of three columns in the width of the Pier. Upon the tops of the columns will rest horizontal cast-iron girders, supporting the platform, with an entablature of the same material. The Pier will be covered from the weather, by a wrought-iron roof, supported by pilasters forming panels at the sides above the entablature, between which, shutters (or *jalousies*) will be introduced, to close the sides when desirable. The roof of the **T** head will be surmounted by a Turret, from which will be exhibited by night, a powerful, distinctive light. The approach to the Pier from the river will be by a double flight of commodious stairs. At the south end, it will terminate with two Lodges or Offices, surmounted by a clock and a belfry ; and near the Lodges, on each side of the Pier, will be spacious flights of stairs down to the Garden, the promenade in front of which, will form a continuous line, passing underneath the Pier, and command an extensive view of the river scenery. The under side of the Pier, will be level throughout, at an elevation of eight feet above the level of high water, at spring tides, and twenty-eight feet above the low water level, at spring tides, providing abundant space for boats to pass under at all times of tide. The columns are bold and massive, twenty-eight feet long, four feet diameter at the bottom, and three feet at top, with caps five feet square. The entablature enclosing the sides, and forming the parapet, will be seven feet high, and of the Doric order, corresponding with the columns. The pilasters will rise seven feet above the cornice of the entablature, supporting an ornamental cornice of iron, which will form the gutter of the roof, and will be formed of light ribs of wrought-iron, trussed together. The plinth and lanthorn

* See page 43, *supra*.

of the Light-turret at the **T** head, and those surmounting the Lodges at the south end, will be of a similar character. The caps supporting the girders next the abutment, the copings of the walls, and the walls of the Lodges, will be formed of stone.*

The Contractors for the entire work, are, Messrs. Fox and Henderson, of the London Works, Birmingham, for the sum of £9200. It is expected that the Pier will be completed in time to be opened at the commencement of the ensuing season of resort, for the reception of packets.

* The particulars have been obligingly communicated by the Engineer.

SUPPLEMENT.

An account of the progressive increase of the number of houses, and of the population of Gravesend ; of the local taxation ; of the numbers resorting to the town by Steam-packets ; the sums paid annually to the watermen from the receipts of the two Piers ; the area of each parish ; and other statistical details, will be found in the following tables.

Gravesend has, beside the Clifton Baths, that have been mentioned before, the Albion Baths in the parish of Milton ; it has its Savings Bank ; * its branch Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ; its branch Bible Society ; Missionary Associations ; Schools for the children of the poor, beside the United National and Corporation School. It has its Theatre ; Waterworks for supplying every part of the town by pipes ;—it has also benefit clubs, and other establishments of minor importance.

Population of the Parishes of Gravesend and Milton, from the Parliamentary Census taken every tenth year.

PARISH OF GRAVESEND.

Years.	Houses	Persons.		Total.
		Males.	Females.	
1801	401	1205	1278	2483
1811	525	1505	1614	3119
1821	646	1796	2018	3814
1831	756	2555	2542	5097
1841	939	3058	3356	6414

* At the last audit of the account, on the 29th of November, 1842, there were 1346 individual depositors, 17 charitable societies, (of the town and neighbourhood,) and 11 friendly societies, by whom £29,943. 6s. 8½d. had, up to that time, been deposited.

PARISH OF MILTON.

Years.	Houses.	Persons.		Total.
		Males.	Females.	
1801	316	953	1103	2056
1811	398	1159	1311	2470
1821	462	1310	1459	2769
1831	685	1939	2409	4348
1841	1354	4028	5228	9256

TOTAL POPULATION OF THE TOWN.

1801	.....	4539
1811	.....	5589
1821	.....	6583
1831	.....	9445
1841	.....	15670

Average annual numbers of Burials and Baptisms in the parishes of Gravesend and Milton respectively.

Decennial terms ending in the years below.	Parish of Gravesend.		Parish of Milton.	
	Burials.	Baptisms.	Burials.	Baptisms.
1660	35	26	38	32
*1670	45	41	47	34
†1680	79	57	42	35
1690	69	47	53	38
1700	48	42	33	35
1710	56	43	48	37
1720	48	43	37	35
1730	56	41	54	35
1740	62	43	52	41
1750	65	36	51	40
1760	59	50	35	36
1770	68	57	49	42
1780	72	80	61	39
1790	71	98	60	26
1800	67	105	69	38
1810	87	96	65	61
1820	85	132	74	86
1830	98	145	73	95
1840	118	156	108	133

* This is the average of 8 years, because in the Great Plague of 1665, great numbers died in Gravesend, and in the following year also ; the deaths being in 1665—345 ; and in 1666—369. In the latter year, a Royal Proclamation was issued, forbidding the holding of Gravesend fair, on account of the prevailing sickness.

† This also, is an average of 8 years, for in the years 1678 and 1679, there was a great mortality in the town.

Ten per cent. of the numbers buried in the two parishes, consist of those landed from ships arriving from abroad, and from other casualties.

By a survey lately made by order of the Tithe Commissioners, the area of each parish was ascertained to be as follows :

Gravesend, 568 acres.

Milton, 703 acres.

Summary of Accounts of the Overseers of the Poor of each Parish, from 25th March, 1834, to 25th March, 1835 ; being the year before the new Poor-Law came into operation :—

GRAVESEND.

	£.	s.	d.
Workhouse	545	17	6½
Out Pensioners	933	18	0
Occasional Relief	757	18	0
Accidental Charges*	334	9	2½
Tradesmen's Bills and Incidental Expenses }	1084	19	11

£3657 2 8

MILTON.

	£.	s.	d.
Workhouse	356	17	4
Out Pensioners	753	10	6
Occasional Relief	143	3	6
Accidental Charges*	208	6	0½
Tradesmen's Bills and Incidental Expenses }	947	15	4½

£2409 12 9

Gravesend. Seven Rates at 1s. in the pound, produced £3222. 8s. 4d.

Milton. Four Rates at 1s. in the pound, produced £2253. 0s. 10d.

Accounts of the amount and application of Poor Rates, levied in the parishes of Gravesend and Milton respectively, for the years 1841-2-3, ending in March each year ; under the provisions of the new Poor Law.

PARISH OF GRAVESEND.

Years.	Number of Premises (lands and houses) assessed.	Amount of Rate at 1s. in the pound.	Greatest number of Poor in the Union at any time in the year.	Amount for the maintenance of indoor and out-door Poor.	Aggregate Assessments for the year.
1841	1028	£705 8 2	143	£1866 17 0	£2151 18 0
1842	1035	690 11 0	136	1810 6 0	2500 4 0
1843	1086	724 15 10	154	1958 2 0	2646 1 0

PARISH OF MILTON.

Years.	Number of Premises (lands and houses) assessed.	Amount of Rate at 1s. in the pound.	Greatest number of Poor in the Union at any time in the year.	Amount for the maintenance of indoor and out-door Poor.	Aggregate Assessments for the year.
1841	1415	£1266 8 10	75	£1066 5 0	£1626 7 0
1842	1419	1324 10 4	85	1097 0 0	2166 1 0
1843	1500	1418 3 8	77	1176 11 0	2141 1 0

The amounts levied for Poor Rates, are applied not only to the maintenance of the poor, but also to the payment of Borough Rates, County Rates, Registration, Vaccination, &c. ; which will account for the difference between the amount levied, and that portion of it which is expended for the relief of the Poor.

* Relief to poor not of either parish ; the amount paid by both parishes being equalised between them upon settlement of accounts for the year.

AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE POLICE.

The Police Force of the town now consists of one superintendent, one inspector, one sergeant, and twelve privates.

The differences between the sums levied on the two parishes, and the amount actually expended, in maintaining the Force, is made good by the Town Council, out of the Borough Rates, collected by the parochial officers, and paid into the hands of the Treasurer of the Borough.

Date when the Rates were levied.	Gravesend.			Milton.			Gross amount expended.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1836, Feb. 26.	110	0	0	120	0	0	258	5	0
1837, March 23.	209	14	8	270	0	0	702	3	8
1838, March 19.	224	4	3	300	0	0	685	18	3
1839, Feb. 12.	230	0	0	338	16	0	729	5	7
1840, Feb. 24.	280	0	0	454	7	11	763	3	4
1841, Feb. 9.	285	4	0	510	0	0	814	9	11
1842, March 17.	305	15	10	551	7	3	1088	7	6
1843, Feb. 14.	305	5	3	559	5	6	*1065	0	0

GRAVESEND AND MILTON PAVEMENTS.

ABSTRACT OF PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS.

Monies raised by assessments levied on the Parishes respectively, from June 1842, to 1843.

	GRAVESEND.			MILTON.		
By rate signed June 7th, 1842...	£587	8	8	£1045	4	2
" Oct. 4th, 1842...	576	0	0	1041	3	6
" April 4th, 1843...	163	0	0	366	15	0
Cash borrowed at interest, charged on Parish Rates	1850	0	0	3050	0	0

Debts now due and owing.

Money borrowed at Interest	£22,200	0	0
Balance of account for paving, to June 1842	387	0	5
For paving, to June 24th, 1843			
To Gas Company for half a year's lighting, to June 24th, 1843	316	9	2
Ditto for lamps, fittings, &c.			
	64	13	2
	23,646 12 7		

Annuities payable, £446. 13s. 6d.

* This is the estimated expense for the year 1843.

Number of Passengers annually landing and embarking at the Town Pier and Terrace Pier.

Years.	Town Pier.	Terrace Pier.	Total.
1830-1	291,681	—	291,681
1831-2	187,687	—	187,687
1832-3	290,420	—	290,420
1833-4	292,169	—	292,169
1834-5	570,452	68,882	639,334
1835-6	550,267	153,192	703,459
1836-7	362,285	262,768	625,053
1837-8	342,622	291,120	633,742
1838-9	359,008	328,928	687,936
1839-40	468,186	344,668	812,854
1840-1	589,194	454,505	1,043,699
1841-2	570,059	571,226	1,141,285
1842-3	409,355*	441,506†	850,861

To the number landed and embarked in the present season, must be added 100,000, for passengers that landed and embarked at a private landing-place. These numbers consist of all that arrive and depart, being each about half the gross numbers stated.

Amount paid to Watermen, for work and attendance at the Town Pier and Terrace Pier, annually, including the clothes for the Police (they being Watermen,) and the officers attending at the Piers.

Years.	Town Pier.			Terrace Pier.			Total.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1834-5	2627	4	10	0	0	0	2627	4	10
1835-6	2735	3	0	819	19	5	3555	2	5
1836-7	1771	5	0	943	18	6	2715	3	6
1837-8	1269	18	5	857	3	3	2127	1	8
1838-9	1339	6	10	776	12	6	2115	19	4
1839-40	1290	17	3	724	18	6	2015	15	9
1840-1	1376	9	0	740	10	0	2116	19	0
1841-2	1439	0	6	775	4	0	2214	4	6
1842-3	1623	0	7	785	10	0	2408	10	7

The above sums are paid as wages, calculated to afford the Watermen compensation, for the loss of their former earnings. See page 505, *supra*. The amount the Watermen receive from the Terrace Pier, is affected by the payment of the penny Toll to the Corporation; and has been farther diminished by the reduction of Toll at the Town Pier.

STEAM PACKETS.

The numbers of those belonging to the Companies established on the station respectively, are as follow:—

The Diamond Company	5
The Star	5
The Blackwall	3
The Thames	2
The Eagle	2

* To the 18th of June, 1843.

† To the 30th of September, 1843.

In the summer season, these packets make forty-two passages to and from Gravesend daily, with some alteration on Sundays.

Attendant upon the Packets are forty-four Omnibuses and Vans, for the conveyance of passengers, to and from Rochester, Chatham, Maidstone, and other places. These pay a duty of from £2500 to £2800 annually.

There are also forty-seven licensed carriages at Gravesend, that are chiefly employed in conveying parties on excursions in the vicinage of Gravesend.

BOATS AND BOATMEN.

It appears by a census, taken in the year 1832, during the proceedings in Parliament for obtaining the Act to erect the Town Pier, that the number of Watermen at Gravesend at that time, was about 454 ; but of these, many followed other callings, as victuallers, pilots, shopkeepers, &c. The number registered as working watermen, who are thereby entitled to work upon the Pier, was 391 ; and as the number of apprentices, bound since, is about equal to the number of men that have died in the interval, this is, probably, the number of working watermen at present at Gravesend.

There were from 100 to 120 wherries, and about eighty hatchboats, at that time ; the latter being used for conveying fish to London from the vessels that arrive in the river from the sea fisheries.

The wherries are almost extinct, there being sixteen only of them left ; and small boats of a different form, called skiffs, have taken their places, there being about ninety-one of these. There are fifty-seven hatchboats, of from fifteen to twenty-five tons each.

There are forty-nine boats employed in catching shrimps in the River, near Gravesend, and one for catching eels and sometimes shrimps. Four of these boats are of the burthen of fifteen tons each, and the rest are from eight to ten tons each.

Formerly, Dutch Schuyts stopped at Gravesend in the summer season, with cargoes of turbot ; but they have relinquished that branch of the fishery, and dispose of the turbot they catch, to English fishermen, who bring them in their vessels to the Thames, for the London market.*

There are about fifty vessels at Gravesend, being from fifty to seventy tons burthen each, that are employed in the North-Sea Fisheries for cod and haddock. These vessels, with those of other places, make voyages to Scotland, Norway and Sweden for lobsters, in the summer season ; and import about 1,200,000 annually, for the London market.

In the service of the Customs at Gravesend, there are six open boats and a decked vessel, used as a depôt for officers awaiting to be placed on duty on board ships arriving with cargoes, for the protection of the Revenue.

* The Dutch continue to supply the London market with eels. There are twelve vessels employed, that belong to three companies, acting in conjunction. The vessels anchor at Erith, about ten miles higher up the river than Gravesend, and send the eels forward to London by small boats. They make 5 or 6 voyages each in the year, and pay a duty of £13 per voyage.

COMPUTED NUMBERS OF PROFESSIONS AND TRADES
CARRIED ON IN GRAVESEND. A.D., 1843.

Architects . . .	1	Fishmongers . . .	11	School Mistresses . . .	25
Auctioneers . . .	4	Gardeners . . .	2	Shoemakers . . .	21
Bakers . . .	39	General Dealers . . .	5	Shrimpsellers . . .	23
Basket Makers . . .	3	Green Grocers . . .	22	Slopsellers . . .	4
Beer shops . . .	11	Grocers . . .	35	Solicitors . . .	12
Blacksmiths . . .	3	Hair Dressers . . .	13	Soda-water Makers . . .	2
Blockmakers . . .	2	Hatters . . .	6	Stationers . . .	4
Boat-builders . . .	3	House Agents . . .	5	Stonemasons . . .	2
Braziers . . .	1	Ironmongers . . .	8	Straw-bonnet Ma- kers . . .	3
Bricklayers . . .	6	Libraries . . .	7	Stay Makers . . .	1
Brewers . . .	3	Livery Stables . . .	5	Surgeons . . .	13
Butchers . . .	24	Mattress Makers . . .	2	Tailors . . .	19
Builders - . . .	10	Music Sellers . . .	2	Tallow Chandlers . . .	2
Carpenters . . .	10	Oil and Colourmen . . .	2	Tea Dealers . . .	4
Chemists . . .	10	Opticians . . .	1	Timber Merchants . . .	2
Chinamen . . .	4	Painters . . .	12	Tobacconists . . .	6
Clothiers . . .	3	Paper hangers . . .	2	Toy Shops . . .	3
Coal Merchants . . .	3	Pawnbrokers . . .	3	Undertakers . . .	5
Coopers . . .	2	Physicians . . .	2	Upholsterers . . .	5
Coffee shops . . .	4	Pianoforte-Tuners . . .	2	Licensed Victuallers . . .	74
Corn Chandlers . . .	3	Plasterers . . .	3	Van Proprietors . . .	8
Curriers . . .	2	Poulterers . . .	2	Watchmakers and Jewellers . . .	7
Dairymen . . .	6	Printers . . .	4	Wine Merchants . . .	3
Drapers . . .	18	Rope Makers . . .	1	Wood Turners . . .	2
Dyers . . .	3	Saddlers . . .	3		
Eating houses . . .	7	School Masters . . .	11		

LIST OF PORTREVES.

Elected annually on the Monday next after Michaelmas Day.

1568, Edward Darbyshire	1591, Henry Albery	1613, Henry Pinock
1569, William Morris	1592, Abraham Smith	1614, Benjamin Finche
1570, John Maynard	1593, Thomas Bodylowe*	1615, Peter Miller
1571, William Bourne	1594, John Bere	1616, Thomas Stanley
1572, Robert Leyston	1595, William Leystone	1617, Henry Tucker
1573, Ambrose Potter	1596, William Bryket	1618, Thomas Young
1574, George Tucker	1597, Henry Pinock	1619, Stephen Cooke
1575, John Perse	1598, William Clerk	1620, John Godden
1576, Robert Leyston	1599, Samuel Bere	1621, William Vernon
1577, John Hammond	1600, Richard Bourne	1622, Benjamin Finche
1578, John Organye	1601, Stephen Coulte	1623, John Manly†
1579, John Fryer	1602, Roger Somerland	1624, Richard Blyth‡
1580, Edward Darbyshire	1603, Henry Grandsden,	1625, Christopher Heath
1581, John Perse	1604, Will. Berdesworthe	1626, Thomas Woodcock
1582, Edward Darbyshire	1605, Hary Stacy	1627, William Davis
1583, Thos. Tuttesham	1606, William Clegant	1628, Peter Miller
1584, William Bradbent	1607, Henry Pinock	1629, Henry Tucker
1585, Ambrose Potter	1608, Ralphe Clarke	1630, Thomas Young
1586, John Bere	1609, William Blackmore	1631, John Godden
1587, Henry Albery	1610, John Manly	1632, Richard Blyth
1588, Randolphe Crewe	1611, Thomas Stanley	1633, William Deeston
1589, William Bradbent	1612, William Vernon	1634, Thomas Baldock
1590, Richard Warde		

* "1594, May xxv was Mr. Thomas Bodeloo, Portreue, buried." Gravesend Register. "xxv of May 1594, A. R. xxxvi Mm. Yt Mr. Henry Albery one of the Jurats after the Death of Thomas Bodelowe was presently chosen, viz., the day and yere above said by xvii, being most of the Chief Inhabitants, according to her Maties Lrs patents for exercise of the Office of Portreue for the rest of the yere to come." Corporation Records.

† 1623, (6 Oct. 21 Jac I.) "The daie and yere above said they have elected John Manly, Portreue, for the yere next following, but he was not then sworne, being then absent at London, but afterwards viz. xi October next following was sworne in the open Town Hall." Corporation Records.

‡ "This 21 day of April, 1 Car. Regis (A.D. 1625) William Vernon, Gent., was elected and sworn Portreue, for that Richard Blith, Gent, the late Portreue, with his family, were departed out of the said Towns and Parishes." Corporation Records.

LIST OF MAYORS

Elected annually on the Monday next after Michaelmas Day.

1635, John Stacey	1689, Stephen Allen	1743, John Reading
1636, William Vernon	1690, Thomas Moyse	1744, Henry Thames
1637, Henry Tucker	1691, Vincent Barker	1745, William Harrison
1638, George Clarke	1692, James Fry	1746, Charles Sloane
1639, John Godden	1693, William Yate	1747, Joseph Joynes
1640, Thomas Woodcott	1694, Walter Nynn	1748, John Reading
1641, William Davies	1695, William Symonds	1749, Henry Thames
1642, John Stacey	1696, Mark White	1750, John Oakes
1643, Thomas Collett	1697, John Batt	1751, John Mair
1644, William Davies	1698, James Fry	1752, William Wilson
1645, Thomas Bone	1699, Thomas Moyse	1753, Joseph Joynes
1646, Walter Hills	1700, Vincent Barker	1754, William Harrison
1647, Edw. Browneinge	1701, Robert Stacey	1755, Richard Reed
1648, Edward Bridges	1702, William Yate	1756, Thomas Coombs
1649, John Stacey	1703, William Plaine	1757, John Oakes †
1650, William Martin	1704, Edward Jones	1758, John Mills
1651, John Francis	1705, Walter Nynn	1759, George Gordon
1652, Thomas Woodcott	1706, William Symonds	1760, Anthony Arnold
1653, Edward Pashlowe	1707, James Fry	1761, Thomas Medhurst
1654, John Guillford	1708, Thomas Moyse	1762, Walter Nynn
1655, John Stacey	1709, Stephen Allen	1763, John Delap
1656, Jacob Parson	1710, Nicholas Child	1764, Henry Thames
1657, John Smith	1711, Nicholas Nash	1765, H. Thames Rogers
1658, Arthur White	1712, John Joynes	1766, William Lance
1659, John Reddall	1713, Richard Ireland	1767, Richard Read
1660, John Watson	1714, William Haffenden	1768, John Hutchinson
1661, James Woodcott*	1715, John Neale	1769, William Harrison
1662, John May	1716, John Lock	1770, Thomas Dalton
1663, William Antrobus	1717, William Plaine	1771, James Wade
1664, John Marlowe	1718, Thomas Doorne	1772, Walter Medhurst
1665, John Smith	1719, Walter Nynn	1773, William Fry
1666, Edward Mason	1720, Edward Jones	1774, William Lance
1667, William Yate	1721, Giles Symonds	1775, John Hutchinson
1668, Jacob Parson	1722, Nicholas Child	1776, John Raddish
1669, Richard Elkin	1723, Nicholas Nash	1777, Roger Man
1670, John Watson	1724, Stephen Allen	1778, William Spraggon
1671, John Clarke	1725, John Butler	1779, George Wilson
1672, William Moushurst	1726, William Lance	1780, John Keddell
1673, Edward Mason	1727, William Harrison	1781, H. Thames Rogers
1674, William Dove	1728, William Yate	1782, John Hutchinson
1675, Lawrence Holker	1729, Nicholas Nash	1783, William Lance
1676, William Yate	1730, Anthony Ireland	1784, Nathaniel Gyles
1677, William Crouch	1731, William Man	1785, John Hutchinson
1678, Mark White	1732, James Coulter	1786, George Cooper
1679, Walter Nynn	1733, Joseph Joynes	1787, William Cruden
1680, George Oliver	1734, W. Haffenden, Jun.	1788, William Lance
1681, William Symonds	1735, William Man	1789, Thos. Nairn Naish
1682, Arthur White	1736, John Oakes	1790, William Spraggon
1683, Mark White	1737, Richard Venner	1791, Thos. Nairn Naish
1684, John Preston	1738, John Oakes	1792, John Keddell
1685, William Thurloe	1739, Jacob Roe	1793, Nathaniel Gyles
1686, Richard Bishop	1740, John Bolger	1794, George Cooper
1687, John Batt	1741, James Dunston	1795, William Cruden
1688, Robert Stacey	1742, John Oakes	1796, George Arnold

* 1661. Removed from office on the 4th of August, by the Commissioners appointed under the Act of 3 Car. II. st. 2. c. 1.

† 1757. William Harrison elected Mayor upon the demise of John Oakes.

LIST OF MAYORS—*Continued.*

1797, William Lance	1813, George Arnold	1829, William Eagle
1798, Henry Jones	1814, John Brenchley	1830, Samuel Man
1799, Andrew Becket	1815, William Twiss	1831, R. Peirce Cruden
1800, Lawrence Ruck	1816, Samuel Man	1832, William Eagle
1801, Thos. Nairn Naish	1817, Rob. Peirce Cruden	1833, John Smith
1802, John Keddell	1818, Rob. Peirce Cruden*	1834, Jeremiah Dennett
1803, William Cruden	1819, James Brett	1835, The same held over†
1804, Thos. Nairn Naish	1820, Samuel Man	1836, Jan. 1st, Medhurst
1805, John Keddell	1821, John Millen	Troughton
1806, George Arnold	1822, Medhurst Troughton	— Nov. 9th, R. Oakes
1807, Samuel Man	1823, Jeremiah Dennett	1837, William Ditchburn
1808, John Brenchley	1824, Samuel Man	1838, Henry Ditchburn
1809, Thomas Johnson	1825, William Gladdish	1839, Robert Oakes
1810, George Rich	1826, William Eagle	1840, John Saddington
1811, Jeremiah Dennett	1827, Jeremiah Dennett	1841, Med. Troughton
1812, John Millen	1828, John Smith	1842, James Munns

ALMS-HOUSES, CHARITABLE BEQUESTS AND DONATIONS.

Richard White, by his will, dated the 10th of August, 1622, gave forty shillings per annum, (charged upon Eastwick Marsh, in the parishes of Halston and St. Mary's, in the hundred of Hoo,) payable to the Churchwardens of the parishes of Gravesend and Milton, to be divided in equal portions, among the poor, on St. Andrew's day.

Henry Pinnock, by his will, dated the 13th of August, 1624, gave St. Thomas's houses,‡ in Milton, and two messuages with two acres of marsh land, at Gray's Thurrock, in Essex, for the poor of Gravesend and Milton.

Mary Langworth, by will dated the 26th of June, 1699, gave £20, and Ann Peirce, by her will, dated the 18th of July, 1776, gave £50; which sums have been laid out for the purchase of £111. 15s. 6d., three per cent. consols, the interest of which is distributed among the poor of the parish of Milton.

David Varchell, by will dated the 15th of September, 1703, bequeathed a tenement situated at the bottom of High Street, in the parish of Gravesend, (subject to a yearly payment of £3., for a Sermon to be preached in Gravesend Church, on the Sunday next before Christmas day, in the evening, and for bread to be distributed to poor people at the same time), and four tenements situated in East Street, in the parish of Milton, the yearly profits of which are to be applied to instruct and clothe 10 poor boys of Milton, and 10 of the parish of Gravesend; and the residue of the profits to others of the poor of both parishes.

The same testator gave a brass sconce for Gravesend Church, which was destroyed at the great fire in 1727, and another was afterwards provided.

James Fry, by his will, dated the 29th of April, 1710, gave two annuities of £14. 10s., charged upon Hazel Farm, in the parish of

* 1819. John Brenchley elected Mayor, July 3rd, for the remainder of the official year, upon the former election being declared invalid

† The elections, in the years 1835-6-7, were regulated by the Municipal Regulation Act, 5th and 6th Will. IV. c. 76; and all subsequent municipal elections have been made in conformity with the Act.

‡ The old houses have been removed, and a row of almshouses erected in the years 1837-8 on the site, with fronts corresponding with the elevation of the Free School, on the opposite side of King Street.

Northfleet, and the Bull Inn, Rochester ; to be paid to the master of the Free School, for instructing four poor boys of Gravesend, four of Milton, and two of Chalk.

Thomas Plume, D.D., Archdeacon of Rochester, who died on the 20th of November, 1704, bequeathed to certain trustees, the estate of Stone Castle, situate about mid-way between Gravesend and Dartford, charged with the payments for twenty-six Sermons to be preached in the summer half year, on Wednesdays, at Gravesend and Dartford alternately.

Ann Chapman, by deed of settlement, dated the 11th of August, 1709, gave an estate, called Lower West Down Farm, in the parishes of Meopham and Ridley, to Thomas Rochall and his heirs, &c., charged with an annual payment of fifty shillings to the Churchwardens of Gravesend, of which forty shillings is to be laid out for bread, to be distributed to 40 poor persons of the same parish, on the 27th of December, yearly, being St. John's (Evangelist) day, and 10s. to the minister of the same parish, for preaching a Sermon in the forenoon of the same day, in Gravesend Church.*

THE CASE OF PETER PETT, ESQ., COMMISSIONER AT CHATHAM, AT THE PERIOD OF THE DUTCH INVASION, 1667.

The last conflict with the enemy in the Medway, was on Thursday the 13th of June.

The Duke of Albemarle, having on the morning of that day received his Majesty's command to return to London, thought it most for his service to stay, till the attempt was over, and then left Chatham the same evening.†

The result of the report, which the Lord General must be supposed to have made to the King, was, an inquiry into the circumstances that had led to the disasters in the Medway.

A warrant was signed on the 16th, by Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, against Commissioner Pett, for treasonable and seditious practices and misdemeanors ; and being arrested at Chatham, he was conveyed to London and committed to the Tower, whence he was brought, from time to time, to be examined before the Privy Council.

There are some curious notices relating to these examinations, brought to light in a late publication, which disclose the circumstances, and betray the motives that had their influence upon the occasion, and bear so strongly upon the subject, that they are indispensable to a full and just review of the case. Mr. Pepys, the Secretary to the Commissioners of the Navy, was present at the examinations before the Council ; and he gives the following account of the proceedings, on a day when Commissioner Pett was called before that tribunal :—

* Pocock's History of Gravesend, p. 102.

† Duke of Albemarle's Narrative, Journals of House of Commons, 31st October, 1667.

"Wednesday, June 19. Comes an order from Sir R. Browne, commanding me, this afternoon to attend the Council Board, with all my books and papers touching the Medway. I was ready to fear some mischief to myself, though it appears most reasonable that this is to inform them about Commissioner Pett. I am called into a large Committee of the Council, present the Duke of Albemarle, Anglesey, Arlington, Ashley, Carteret, Duncomb, Coventry, Ingram, Clifford, Lauderdale, Morrice, Manchester, Craven, Carlisle, Bridgewater. And after Sir William Coventry's telling them what orders his Royal Highness had made for the safety of the Medway, I told them to their full content, what we had done, and showed them our letters.

"Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He was in old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up the great ships, and the using of the boates in carrying away his goods; to which he answered very sillily, though his faults, to me, seem only great omissions.

"Lord Arlington and Coventry were very severe against him, the former saying, that *if he was not guilty, the world would think them all guilty.* The latter," (Sir William Coventry), "*urged that there must be some faults, and that the Admiral must be found to have done his part.*"*

With these impressions against Commissioner Pett, and the deep interest which many of those, before whom he was arraigned, had in his conviction, (for in that case they might hope to escape vengeance or censure themselves), his position was one of much difficulty. The Secretary of State appears to have sought to exculpate the Ministry; Sir William Coventry, who was Secretary to the High Admiral, to protect his Royal Patron; and the Commissioner was to be the sacrifice to propitiate a betrayed and incensed people.

The scene of this drama was afterwards shifted. The enemy having retired to their own ports, and a Peace having been concluded at Breda, the nation had leisure to reflect upon the disasters of the late War, and particularly upon the circumstances in the Medway and the Thames; and when Parliament assembled in October, the House of Commons instituted an Inquiry into the "Miscarriages of the late War."

This investigation was referred to a Committee of the House, and Sir Robert Brookes was appointed Chairman. Before this higher tribunal the same practice was pursued, to fasten all the odium upon Commissioner Pett. The functionaries of the Navy Office, according to the testimony of a colleague, attempted to divert a blow from their own heads, to fall upon their victim.

"Up," says Pepys, "to make our answer ready for the Parliament this afternoon, to shew how Commissioner Pett was *singly concerned* in the execution of all orders at Chatham, and that *we* did properly lodge all orders with him."†

Undoubtedly by this simple expedient for throwing all responsibility upon the Commissioner, those, who were seeking to protect themselves, effected part of their design; but there was yet another difficulty to overcome, for they had to show, in order to make their defence clear and complete, that they had issued all necessary instructions, and had provided the means of executing them; which difficulty they failed to overcome. The Committee called witnesses before them, inspected office books and papers, and moved the House to vote addresses to the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle respectively, requesting from them, information concerning the events of the late war.

In compliance with these addresses, the narratives of Prince Rupert

* Pepys's Diary.

† Diary, October 25th.

and the Duke of Albemarle were laid before the House, on the 31st of October; and on the 16th of December following, an answer to the inquiries of the House, respecting the Fort at Sheerness, was delivered from the Duke of York.

Commissioner Pett was called to the bar of the House, on the 31st of October, to hear the narrative of the Duke of Albemarle read; and upon that occasion, he said that many of the matters contained in the narrative were new to him, and he requested to have time allowed him to submit his answer to them.

The Committee pursued the inquiry, reporting to the House from time to time; and, on the 19th of December, it was resolved to proceed against the Commissioner by way of impeachment.

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT.

1. That Peter Pett, Gentleman, being one of the Commissioners of the Navy, especially authorized and entrusted with the charge and care of his Majesty's yard, stores and provisions, and the Navy Royal at Chatham; and having received orders from the Duke of York, High Admiral, about the 26th March, requiring him to bring and moor his Majesty's ship, called the *Royal Charles*, and other ships,* did, contrary to his trust and orders, wilfully neglect and refuse to do so; whereby the said ship, being one of the most important strength of this kingdom, became lost, and made a prey to the enemy.

2. That the Duke of Albemarle, Captain General of the Forces, did repair to Chatham on the 11th of June, and finding the said ship, the *Royal Charles*, not brought up, but lying below, in a place of danger, subject to be surprised by the enemy, who had then invaded the kingdom, and entered into the rivers Thames and Medway; he, the said Duke, gave present orders to the said Mr. Pett, to cause the ship to be immediately brought up as high as he could, into a place of safety, but he, the said Pett, altogether neglected the doing thereof.

3. That Captain Brookes, one of the Master's attendants at Chatham, under the care and direction of the said Peter Pett, knowing that the said Lord General had given express orders on the 11th day of June, to cause the said ship, the *Royal Charles*, to be brought up, did prepare anchors and other tackling, ready for the same, and desired the said Pett to give him orders for his so doing; which he refused to do.

4. That the High Admiral, having given orders to the said Peter Pett to provide, and make ready, 30 boats for the defence of the said river and navy, he the said Peter Pett, contrary to his trust, did not only himself misemploy some of the said boats, for the carrying away his own particular goods, but suffered the rest to be in the like manner misemployed and diverted, and did also seize and take away a boat, particularly belonging to Sir Edward Spragg; so that, for want of the said boats, many of his Majesty's ships were lost, and the defence and security of the rest were hindered.

5. That the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy having, by their Letter of the 4th of June, signified to him, the said Peter Pett, that the Dutch were out; and thereupon, gave him special charge to command all Captains on land to their ships, and to be vigilant and careful in the rest of the charge committed to him; but he the said Pett was so negligent therein, that, of eight hundred persons, or upwards, that were under his care and command, in his Majesty's pay, when the Lord General repaired thither the said 11th of June, there were not above ten persons ready upon the invasion of the enemy.

6. That the said Lord General, having appointed soldiers to raise batteries for the defence of his Majesty's Navy Royal, there being few of these in his

* This seems so vague, that there must be an omission in the printed copy of the charges, but the letter of the Duke of York referred to, explains the order to have been, that all the ships in the Medway should be moored *within the chain put across the river for defence*. See Duke of York's Letter (not to Mr. Pett) to the Commissioners of the Navy.—Memoirs of the Navy, by the Duke of York, 8vo., London, 1729, p. 57.

Majesty's pay in his yard, to be employed ; he, the said Pett, to obstruct the service, refused to give them the number of tools required for the use aforesaid ; notwithstanding that he had a sufficient quantity in his Majesty's stores, as it appeared, when, by command of the said Lord General, the said stores were broken open.

7. That the said Lord General having, about the said 11th day of June, sent orders to the said Peter Pett, to send, out of his Majesty's yards, some oaken planks for the platforms and batteries, to oppose the enemy ; he, the said Peter Pett, sent only deal boards, which were very prejudicial to the service ; for that, upon the discharge of the guns, the carriages broke through the planks, notwithstanding that there were in his Majesty's yard there, several oaken planks fit for their service.

It would be but trifling with a grave subject, to suppose, that if all these charges against Commissioner Pett, had been proved, it would have afforded a sufficient and satisfactory explanation of the causes of the great disaster.

On the same day that the articles of impeachment had been read and agreed to, by the House of Commons, Mr. Pett presented a petition, which was also read ; and thereupon it was ordered, that he might have his liberty, on good bail, if the Council thought fit.

It is to be regretted that this petition is not now accessible,* for it would probably be found to contain Mr. Pett's defence at large, inasmuch as it was submitted seven weeks after the narrative of the Duke of Albemarle (upon which the charges appear to have been framed) had been presented to the House, when Mr. Pett heard it read, and requested time to give his answer to it. There is, however, a paper extant,† which may be referred to, upon the subject of some of the charges.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT.

Articles 1, 2, and 3.—These charge the Commissioner with having neglected to remove the ships higher up the Medway for safety, and with having refused to authorise Captain Brookes to remove the *Royal Charles*, when he proposed to do so.

The paper, already referred to, contains the following answer to the first part of the charge :—

“ As to carrying up the great ships as high as conveniently could be, above Upnor Castle, he issued out effectual (proper ?) orders and warrants for the same, which will be made good both by oaths and the copy of warrants.”‡

This answer relates to orders given at some time before the action ; but the imputation that the Commissioner refused to give orders to Captain Brookes, relates to the period, when the enemy were at Chatham.

The Duke of Albemarle reached Chatham early on the morning of Tuesday the 11th of June ; the attack of the enemy was first made on the 12th, and renewed on the following day.

It will be necessary to give extracts from the evidence of the men having charge of the boats at that time, when the fourth charge comes to be considered ; but such portion of their account, as relates to the *Royal Charles*, may be now adduced.

* It is supposed to have been destroyed or lost, when the Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire, on the 16th of October, 1834.

† The case of Peter Pett, Esq., one of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy. Harl. MS., 7018, art. 21, Brit. Mus.

‡ Ibid.

Richard Penny, shipwright, had charge of a boat with fourteen men. He says, that—

“ On Tuesday in the morning, we were ordered by the Commissioner and shipwright (Master Shipwright ?) to go on board the *Royal Charles*, and tow her up ; and as soon as we were aboard, were ordered to transport the soldiers out of her ashore at Gillingham side ; from thence, Captain Brookes ordered us to go on board the *Victory* for a hawser, and brought it aboard the *Royal Charles* ; from thence ordered by the Commissioner and shipwrights to tow the horse-boat laden with gunners to Hoo side Fort, and helped them to get the guns out and mount them ; we were then ordered by the shipwright to go up to Rochester Bridge with the Lord Middleton, to wait upon him ; and from thence we went on board the *Monmouth*.”*

This seems to point to the time, when, as it is alleged, Captain Brookes desired to remove the ship ; and the following shows the defence of Commissioner Pett, against the allegation :—

The Secretary of the Navy Board, says, that “ he (Commissioner Pett) charged the not carrying up of the *Charles* upon the Tuesday, to the Duke of Albemarle ; but I see the House is mighty favourable to the Duke of Albemarle, and would give little weight to it.”†

Hence the answer to the charge is, that the General had employed the Commissioner on other service on Tuesday, when he was about to remove the ship ; and indeed on that and the following day, the great object seems to have been, to get ships sunk to obstruct the enemy, and to complete the batteries on shore.

Stephen Woodgate, Boatswain of the *Great Victory*, says,—

“ I was ordered by Captain Brookes, with the ship's boats and ordinary to carry down the *Sancta Maria*, where he [had] left her aground short of the chain, on Wednesday, about 10 in the forenoon, then we were ordered by the Lord Brouncker and Commissioner Pett, to go on board the *Royal Charles* ; Sir Edward Spragg meeting me, ordered me on shore to search for seamen.”‡

On that day the ship was lost.

Article 4. This was withdrawn when the charges were considered, *seriatim*, by the House of Commons, but it is retained in the above copy of the charges as they are entered in the Journals of the House, that the ground upon which, probably, the House rejected it, may be offered in connexion with the charge itself.

This Article imputes that the boats were not provided, as it had been commanded, and that the Commissioner had misemployed some of them, for carrying away his own particular goods.

Great stress appears to have been laid upon this charge, in the first instance, for the Duke of Albemarle attributed the failure of the defence, to have arisen mainly from the want of boats ; and the men who had charge of them during the action, consisting of fourteen seamen, and eleven shipwrights were examined as to the service upon which they had been employed ; but nothing appeared, in their evidence, to criminate Commissioner Pett.§

As these men were examined, between the day when the Duke of Albemarle's narrative was read before the House of Commons, and the

* Naval Papers, Tower.

† Pepys's Diary, 22nd October, 1667.

‡ Naval Papers, Tower.

§ The whole of the evidence is preserved among the Naval Records in the Tower.

16th of December, when the articles were presented to the House, it was probably because the accusation had been refuted by these witnesses, that the charge was withdrawn.

In the paper already referred to, it is said that the boats were, by his direction and care, timely built, and fitted; and as to the place of rendezvous, and extraordinary alarms, arming them, &c., all possible endeavours were used by him, although it was not all his duty,* but of those that had the command of the guards; and as to the *Jamie* yacht, and a pinnace that were made use of by him for carrying away the models, plats for building ships, records of the office, and some thousand pounds worth of tickets, belonging to poor seamen; they were sent away at such a time as could be no particular prejudice to the service, there being not any boats at that time called for to be employed in the service, when these boats were sent away, as will appear by the oaths of those that were employed in them.†

Only five days before the enemy took the Fort at Sheerness, the following letter, respecting the equipment of the boats, was written by the Secretary of the High Admiral, to the Commissioners of the Navy.

“GENTLEMEN,—Sir Edward Spragge hath been with the King and his Royal Highness this afternoon, and saith that they have boats at Chatham, but noe oares for them, those that were sent thither from Harwich being crooked and unserviceable. I desire you will take care for the speedy sending downe a supply of oares thither.

“5 June.

(Signed)

“W. COVENTRYE.”‡

Article 5. It is intimated in this charge that the Commissioners of the Navy, had by their letter, dated the 4th of June, addressed to Commissioner Pett, given him special charge to command all Captains on land to [repair to] their ships, and to be vigilant in the rest of the charge committed to him; but that the said Pett was so negligent therein, that of 800 men or upwards, that were under his care and command, in his Majesty's pay, there were not more than ten of them ready when the Lord General repaired to Chatham on the 11th of June, upon the invasion of the Dutch.

The Commissioner, in answer to the first part of this charge, might have referred to his letter to the Navy Board, dated the 6th of June, in which he said,—“According to his Royal Highnesse direction signified by you, touching the alarm you have given of the Dutch and French fleets being abroad, hath been intimated to all persons in this river, who I hope will strictly look to their duties.”§

The second allegation of the Article, that, of 800 men on pay at Chatham, only about ten persons could be found at the crisis, may be treated as a charge which could not lie against the resident Commissioner, but should have been matter of accusation against the heads of the department; for, by their mal-administration, the men were driven to desert their posts.

* “For he concerns himself (Mr. Pett) in giving an account of the disposal of the boats, which he had no reason at all to do, or take any blame upon him for them”—*Pepys's Diary*, 22nd October, 1667.

† Harl. MS., 1708, art. 21, Brit. Mus.

‡ Endorsed 5 June, 67. —*Naval Papers*, Tower.

§ Letter of Commissioner Pett to Navy Board, dated 6th June, 1667. *Naval Papers* in the Record Office, Tower.

It is matter of history that the pay of the men had been fraudulently made by tickets, and they had clamoured so long and so loudly for redress, that the discontent had required the coercive power of an Act of Parliament,* in the year of the invasion, to relieve the Navy Board from importunities.

On the 16th of May, Mr. Pett forwarded a petition from the shipwrights at Chatham, setting forth that they had one whole year's pay due to them, and praying that they might be paid, for they could no longer subsist upon credit. In a letter from Sir I. Mennes, he says, that on the evening that the Duke of Albemarle left Chatham, money to the amount of £5000. was received there, the greater part of which the Duke commanded to be disposed of in payment of the yard; and he adds, that there were five quarters due, and not money to pay one quarter, and "that the clamour for money is so great, that the country cried out upon us, that, if we had paid the seamen, mischiefs had never happened; that we bear the blame of what was in no waies in our power to prevent," &c.†

One more circumstance supports the assertion, that, if the men abandoned their posts, this was not to be attributed to the conduct of Mr. Pett, but to that of his superiors.

The Secretary of the Navy Board says, that he was told by Mr. Wilson who came to him from Chatham, that he had heard many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships, speaking to one another in English, and that they did cry and say, "We did heretofore fight for tickets, now we fight for dollars."‡

This view of the case is corroborated by the following vote of the House of Commons, upon a Report of a Committee appointed to inquire into the subject of tickets:—

"It hath alienated the hearts of the seamen from his Majesty's service, and made many, that had no other ways of living but going to sea, rather go to the enemy than beg; as was evident when the Holland ships made the invasion at Chatham, many of our discontented seamen were seen."§

It seems, then, that the seamen and the shipwrights were alike injuriously treated and disgusted, that their defection was not to be ascribed to Mr. Pett, and that the charge against him of not having retained them in the discharge of their duties, was not tenable.

Articles 6 and 7, may be considered together; and it will appear, from the following applications of Commissioner Pett to the Navy Board, that he was not the party to whom a want of stores, or the want of disposition to appropriate them, should have been imputed:—

"I desire the officers of the Ordnance may be sent to forthwith, to get ye gunns and ye carriages ready, which they (the ships) will be ready to receive. The 28 pinnaces are in hand, for which I desire you'll remember oares. The chaine also is going on, for the well doing of which I have set both the masters attendant and Mr. Shippart often to survey it. 25th March, 1667."—*From Copy in Letter Book of the Navy Office, in the Vaults of Somerset House.*

"Wee have neither reed, broome, nor faggott in store, nor anything to help us cleane soe much as a little pinnace." Letter from the Commissioner, dated 5th April, 1667.—*Naval Records, Tower.*

* 19 Char. II., c. 7. Naval Papers.

† Letter dated 15th June, 1667. Naval Papers, Tower.

‡ Pepys's Diary, June 14, 1667.

§ Journals of Commons, 14th February, 1668.

"Wee want timber and plank much, and must discharge a good company of our men, if it come not suddenly." Letter from the Commissioner, dated the 16th May, 1667.—*Naval Papers, Tower.*

"Our pinnaces are all built, although not to much purpose, unless we had oares to manage them. We have noe planke in stores, nor have not had a great while. I think it will not be ill advice, if we send away Levesly into Suffolk, to try if he can gett some. We want elm as well as many other things. There is also a great want of deals, there being not one in store. I perceive 'tis to little purpose to make demands. I think it is not imaginable that soe many ships that now have so much work to do to them, can be prepared without a supply of provisions." Letter from the Commissioner, dated 18th May, 1667.—*Naval Papers, Tower.*

From the testimony that has been presented, it appears that there was neither organization nor discipline in the service at the period ; that, at the crisis, orders and counter-orders kept equal pace ; that many assumed authority, and thereby impeded the operations ; and that under these circumstances, Commissioner Pett could scarcely be held responsible for the events, especially considering that he was under the command of the Lord General at Chatham, and that he was encumbered by the interference of Lord Brouncker, who was one of the Commissioners of the Navy Board.

The House of Commons having by their vote of the 19th of December, expressed their assent to the liberation of the Commissioner on bail, if the Council should concur in it ; he was released from the Tower on the following day, upon executing a Bond with his sureties, Rowland Crispe of Chatham, and Samuel Hall of London, jointly, in the sum of five thousand pounds.*

The articles of impeachment were carried up to the Lords, but were no farther prosecuted.

The answers that the Commissioner could have given to the accusations, would, it may be presumed, have exonerated him, if the prosecution had not been abandoned ; and the odium would have been retorted upon his accusers.

It has been imputed to the Government, that, having first obtained from Parliament, a grant of money for the maintenance of the war, it was immediately determined that the Fleet should not be fitted for sea, but that the safety of the kingdom should be provided for, by negotiations for a Peace.†

The grant was voted by Parliament on the 8th of February, and immediately a feeble plan of defence, and not of vigorous aggression, was commenced, or at least contemplated : for on the 27th of the same month, the King and Duke of York went to Sheerness, to lay out the ground for the Fort there, which so miserably failed when attacked by the enemy.

It was said by one who knew the Court well, "'tis known who of the Commissioners of the Treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleete this year might be spared, Sr. W. C. (William Coventry) by name."‡

Considering the relation in which Sir William stood with the Duke of York, being his own Secretary, this raises a suspicion that the naval power was paralysed by a system suggested by the highest authority.

* The original Bond, in the office of Major Elrington of the Tower.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 456. Life of King James II. vol. i. p. 425 ; note by the Editor.

‡ Evelyn's Diary, July 29th, 1667.

The inefficiency of the measures taken by Government at the period, is stigmatized by the following vote of the House of Commons, in confirmation of the Report of a Committee of inquiry into the causes of the miscarriages of the war.

“Resolved that the House doth agree with the Committee that it was a miscarriage, that, notwithstanding his Majesty had 18,000 men in pay, in dispersed ships, in the year 1667, there was not a sufficient number of ships left to secure the rivers of Medway and Thames.”*

The facts disclosed in the foregoing relation of the proceedings, when an enemy ventured to attack the King's ships in his own harbours, will afford this consolation at least, that the humiliating circumstances are not attributable to this gallant nation, but to those who administered the public affairs, with feeble hands and faithless hearts.

The royal brothers, engulfed in dissoluteness, surrounded by parasites, insensible of patriotism; abandoned their sacred duties, and left the interests of the people, committed to their care, to the calamities of warfare on their own territory.

But they were doomed to be the objects of unfavourable reminiscences. Charles procured for himself no higher fame, than to have it recorded of him, that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one; and James, after wielding in succession, the trident, and the sceptre of these realms, was driven from his throne.

LETTERS REFERRED TO, AND OTHERS.

From Sir William Coventry to the Navy Board. Naval Papers, Tower.

(Referred to page 346, supra.)

June 9th, (67), seven at night.

“GENTLEMEN,—His Ma. & his R. H. considering the Dutch riding at present in the King's Channell, conceaue that either in their continuance there or coming higher up, the most probable way to annoy them will be by fire-ships, & have commanded me to send to you to desire you to enquire forthwth (wthout delay) what vessells may be had in the River, either of the King's own, or to be bought, wch may be fitt for that purpose. If you learn of any this night, or in the morning early, you will have opportunity to give his R. H. an account of it to-morrow morning when you will attend him (by course). The *Cignett* is in the Hope, if you judge her fitt; & I hope the *Blackamoor* may ere this bee as high as the Hope, in her way to Woolwich. I suppose it will not be very important in the River to have them extraordinary sailers, because the use must be chiefly when the enemy is at an anchor, but of this and all other parts of it, y^rselves are better judges then I am, only what is to be done ought to be done wth great speed.

It may be worth considering whether vessels may not be hired for the use as well as others, agreeing a value in case of losses, but this only for y^r consideration, not direction. I am your aff. humble servant,

(Signed,)

“W. COVENTRYE.

‘I suppose at least six fireships will be required.

Sir William Coventry to the Navy Board. Naval Papers, Tower.

(Referred to, page 346, supra.)

June 10th, (67).

“GENTLEMEN,—The Dutch are some of them come aboute the Nore, it is said into Lee Road. Sr Edward Spragg guesseth they will come as high as Gravesend.

* Journals, 22nd February, 1668.

What I wrote last night about fireships will now admitt noe delay, pray fitt what you can possibly, the times will not stay for treating for buying. I think you must take up what is fitt & pay for them afterward. Pray doe all you can & gett as many as you can.

Sr Frechvill Hollis & Cap. Forlis offer their service in this matter. Pray the two first and best you gett, committ to their care. Lett all possible haste be used. I am your humble Servant, (Signed,) "W^m COVENTRYE.

"If there be noe fireships Sr Frechvill Hollis will take care of fitting 2 more, if you forward it, because he would favour no men for whome the Command of them is intended.

From Commissioner Pett to the Navy Board. Naval Papers, Tower.

(Referred to page 351, supra.)

GENT.—There is now appearing at ye Buoy of ye Nowre upward of twenty saile of Hollanders more, ye one of which seames a very great shipp. I feare they will get within Sheernasse this evening, there being little to interrupt them, and doe believe ye whole stresse of ye businesse will be at ye chain a little beyond Gillingham, (whare wee have moored to interrupt them as much as wee can from coming up to the chain), four great stages. I wish wee had some of your number to helpe, advise, and act, in these necessitus times; and y^t you come not too late to giue your furtherance herein. Wee want armes, ammunition, and oares, for our boates and ye shippes," &c.

(Signed,)

"PETER PETT.

Chatham, 10th June, 1667.

From Commissioner Pett to the Navy Board. Naval Papers, Tower.

(Referred to page 351, supra.)

"GENTLEMEN,—I am sorry I can give you noe better newes than to lett you know that after two or three houres dispute wth the Dutch by Sir Edward Sprage, Sherenaze is lost. Wee have resolved the sinking of two small fire ships in the middst of Longe Reach to-morrow morning, the removing of wch againe I apprehend will be noe great difficultie. Wee shall doe what ever wee can in securing the navy, and doe wish wee had had some of your assistance in soe great a concerne to his Ma^{tie} and the Kingdom.

(Signed,)

"PETER PETT.

Chatham, 10th June, 67.

Past 12 at night.

From Secretary Pepys to Sir William Coventry. (Referred to page 348, supra.)

"SIR,—I went downe as our lre told you, to Woolwich, in order to the dispatch of the *Golden Hand*, which finding nott come hither, I conferred with the officers about having hands, &c., ready against her coming, and soe went down to Grays, and took care for her comeing up this tide, which she is, and will be gone in hand with, early in the morning.

Having some of the tide of ebb left, I bestowed it in goinge downe to Gravesend, where I found them at some ease, the Dutch having fallen downe againe this noone, and by the report of a small Ostend Man-of-war (come up while I was there) they were below the Nore, when hee met them. They tooke from him 3 shippes which hee came convoy to, from Ostend. They are commanded by Van Gent, and in number 26 Men-of-war & 4 fireshipps.

Some poore houses and stacks they have burnt in Candy (Canvey) Marsh, and a House or two at Lee, (Leigh), but they were thence repelled by the country. The offal of some mutton drove up the river last flood, shews what they had been doinge.

Most of their Fleete came as high as Shelhaven, about a mile below the Hope, and 2 or 3 to within the Hope, some of them judged to have 60 or 70 guns a peece.

During my visit at Gravesend, I heard distinctly great guns play below, & at my coming away, Sr W^m Jennings and the commanders were goeing on board

by the D. Albemarle's order to bring up the ships and place them in a line, athwart the river between the Fortes.

I met several vessels in my going down, loaden with the goods of the people of Gravesend, such was their fright.

June 11th (67) 1 in ye mornin.

S. P.*

From Secretary Pepys to Lord Brouncker. (Referred to page 353, supra.)

July 1st, 1667.

"MY LORD,—The disturbance I gave your LOPP soe late last night was too great to admitt of my troubling you then with any thing that was not purely publique. But I cannot now forbear to tell your LOPP that neither by my own view nor by any of the few I mett wh yesterday at Chatham could I bee fully informed whereabouts the Chaîne is broake, or whether indeed the Chaîne bee at all broake. I must confess I was surprised to find any of it there, it having been the Town-talke that the Dutch had taken it away with them. But finding it there and it not being obvious to me that it was broake, I have (perhaps impertinently) been thinking that either it may have rendred at the end where the Crane stood to halle it tought, or that the floates wch supported it in ye Middle may have been forced under Water wt the weight of the Shippes over-pressing it, in the latter of wch I can the less satisfie mysele, because the same toughtness could not keep it (I think) at ye watters edge both at high and low watter.

The fatality of our miscarriage in this one matter, will easily excuse our endeavouring to trace the method of it, & mee (I hope) in begging your LOPPs favour thereon, who I believe have taken the best account of it.

Qⁿ whether we had ever tryed it with any of our own Shippes?

Your LOPPs obedient Servt.

Ld Brouncker, Chatham,
1st July, 67.

S. P.†

"Sr John Mennes (its feared) will hardly survive a day: "vide, my Lds answer by Letter to mee, July 3rd, 1667."

These lines appear to be in the hand writing of Mr. Pepys.

From Lord Brouncker to the Navy Board. Referred to page 353, supra.

(From the original in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Chatham, 3rd July, 1667.

"SR,—Not only in my own opinion is the Chain broke, but in the opinion of j think all who have been with me there at any time, and have well considered the lyeing of the floats, whereof but three at most remain, and hitherto wee could do no more than guesse, because yet wee could nether spare hands nor lighter to under run it. But now j entend to remove it as high as the Battery next below the Castle, and place (before, that is) below it a Boome of Masts, which don j will trye the force thereof (with the Guilder de Ruter) which was never don at Gillingham: nor was it laid, as is said, above two or three dayes before the enemy appear'd, nor was it made of Spanish Iron.‡

I found in my Chamber an Indian Staffe which j suppos'd was y^{rs} & therefore sent it you yesterday by Mr. Williams who came hether the day before to give me a visit.

(Signed) "BROUNCKER.

"My service to Sr John Mennes if he be in condition to receive it, as j hope he is. This place will not afford better paper at present."

* From a Book containing Copies of Letters. In possession of S. P. Cockerell, Esq.

† Ibid.

‡ See page 353, *supra*.

Description of the Chain. Naval Records, Tower.

"The wt of the Chaîne at Gillingham."

	tons	cw.	qrs.	lbs.
"viz—waighed in several draughts	12	14	0	21
16 Shackles, 18 rings, 6 forelocks & 1 fidd & bolt	0	8	2	21
more added to the Chaîne—(sic).	0	22	2	7
Hooke and Bolte	0	0	3	11
A Hooke and great Staple	0	0	1	21
	14	6	2	25

(Signed)

" P. J. GOODWYN.

"14th January, 67-8.

Endorsed. "Chatham, Survey, May 67,

by John Goodwyn, Com^r Pett's Clerk."

*From Lord Brouncker and Commissioner Pett, to the Navy Board.
(Naval Papers, Tower.)*

"GENTLEMEN,—I shall be excused I hope for my silence hitherto, after you shall receive this assurance of my being in constant employm^t, from the time of my arrivall hither. What I have time to inform you, is, that on Monday,* about four in the afternoon, I came to this place, and then went with Commissioner Pett about the sinking of more ships in the Long Reach to hinder the enemyes passage there, but it was presently evident by their passage that it was labour lost, in the night therefore more shippes were brought to the chayne and some sunke, besides it was also strengthened wth stages before, and cables between the shippes sunke, the *Marmaduke* lay neare the guard-shipes in the middle, the *Monmouth* a little higher, and the *Roy^{ll} Charles* something above all, w^{ch} notwithstanding, they forced their passage wth the help of fire shippes about high water the next day, and soe took the *Roy^{ll} Charles*, but y^e *Monmouth* sayled away, and is now above the yard. The next night wee made a battery on the north side of the yard for eight pieces of ordnance, and since they have, (though not without opposition both from Upnorth Castle and us at the dock, and a meadow between), ffired the *Roy^{ll} James*, *Roy^{ll} Oake*, and *Loy^{ll} London*, and this morning they made off, and now ride below the chayne. Wee cannot tell how soone they may return, being in continuall expectation of them, but the navy and workmen almost all of them fayled us, till the success of yesterday, and by encouragement of money, begin now to make a thinn appearance, which will be made use of for the securing this place and the remaining ships. What more falls out hereafter wee shall not be forgetfull of giving you an account, who are

(Signed,)

" BROUNCKER.

" PETER PETT.

Chatham Yard, 14th June, 1667.

"Sir, — Jo. Mennes is not this way, els his hand had been to or letter addressed.

*From Lord Brouncker and Commissioner Pett to the Navy Board.
(Naval Papers, Tower.)*

"GENTLEMEN,—Wee were very unwilling either to put the Kinge to the charge, or you to the trouble of supplying us in these necessitous times, with either shipwrights, calkers, or seamen, but soe heavy is the hand of God, that now is upon this place, that (we feare) as well as the hand of man, does now apparently fight against us. It was the opinion of all sortes of persons here, that the whole navy, dock, and stores would have been burned vpp on Wednesday, and for the prevention of the enemies being possessed of the shippes, the Generall gave express order that all the shippes should be sunke where they ridd, but at length 'twas resolved that there cables should be cutt at the haulse, and they turned on shoare and then sunke, which although it might prove the lesser evill of the two, it hath put the ships to a very great hazard,

* This is a mistake, his Lordship arrived at Chatham on Tuesday, the 11th.

some of them, especially the *Victory* wee feare will scarce be gott off, and this afternoon the *Henry* and *Vanguard* gott loose from the place where they were on shoare, and drove vp farther into the river, where they lye dangerously enough, therefore we cannot doe less than begg yor present assistance in it, and desire that all possible meanes may be used for the sending down 600 calkers, shipwrt^s and seamen, (viz), 150 shipwrt^s, 50 calkers, and 400 seamen and watermen, without which we feare some of the ships may suddenly miscarry—this wee thought ovr duty to represent to the Board, and desire your serious and sudden consideration of it.

(Signed,)

“ BROUNCKER.

“ PETER PETT.

Chatham, 14th June, 1667.

“ Wee shall also wante halfe a dozen able masters and fflower shipwrights, whereof one of them to be Mr. Shish.

From the Clerk of the Check at Gravesend to Secretary Pepys. (Naval Papers, Tower.)

“ HON. SIR,—This Morning the Hollands fleete is comed vpp to the Loer end of the Hope there appeares to be neare eighty sayle of them, greate and small—the *Diamond*, *Portland*, *Preserve*, and *Succese*, rideing in the Hope hath waied and comed upp against the Towne. It is thought they will make an attempt upp the river. Wee are here att Gravesend in an indifferent good condicon to receive, haveing near fouerscoer gunnes mounted, and fouer companyes of foote in the towne. This is all at present that I can give yor Honnr an accounte.

(Signed) “ RICHARD ELKIN.

Gravesend, ye 27th of June, 1667.

(From the Clerk of the Check at Gravesend, to Secretary Pepys. Naval Papers, Tower.)

“ HON. SIR,—I have here inclosed* sent yor Honnr an account of what men is bourne upp on each shipp now in the Hope.

The supernumeraries a board ye *Diamond* is watermen prest, to be disposed of, to the other Shipp^s. They doe all spend upp on their sea provisions, and have not warr^s from me since I gave yor Honnr an accounte of the last. If yor Honnr doe expecte that they should be in petty warr^t I desier yor Honnr would be pleased to grante me yor order.

Their hath beene heard heare att Grauesend many gunns to goe off this Morneinge. Their doth appeare in sight thirty saile of Hollands Men-of-warr to be in Lea Road undr saile were comeinge upp the river. If any thinge produceth further of their accions, yor Honnr shall have an accounte of from,

(Signed)

“ RICHARD ELKIN.

Gravesend, July 23rd, 1667

From the Clerk of the Check at Gravesend to Secretary Pepys.

(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

“ HON. SIR.—Aboute 12 o'clock this day the Flemings came into the Hope and have beene in fight wth his Majties fregatts till betweene six and seaven a clock this night. They have lost of their fire shipp^s, twelve, and wee taken one, and of our side there is five fire shipp^s lost. There hath beene all this afternoon a very hott dispute betweene our fregatts and theirs. The winde comeing vpp a freash gaile easterly, our shipp^s could doe noe good of them.

The Dutch lyes now attan Anchor in the Hope and our shipp^s neare Gravesend, what they doe the next tide your Honr shall have an accounte of, from, &c.

(Signed)

“ RICHARD ELKIN.

Gravesend, ye 23rd July, 1667.

From Captains Proud and Haddock, to Sir Wm. Penn, Knight, Navy Office.

(Naval Papers, Tower.)

Gravesend, about 10 houres, ye 23rd July, 1667.

“ HON. SIR,—Wee having last night and this morning been downe in the Hope, and despatcht our businesse there about surveying the fire ships, this morning came up the *Successe* and *Signett* frigg^{ts} from the Buoy of the Nore,

* Enclosed on a loose leaf is a list of 21 Vessels having on board from 16 to 248 men each, the total number of men being 1105.

and also the Flemish fleet a stern of them, the *Success* firing at the headmost ship of them, as they came; and now eight of their ships are come to an anchor at the lower end of the Hope, and near upon thirty more in sight under saile, wth top-gallant sailes up, (the eight are near our ships in the Hope), and wee doe judge some action may be done by our ffire ships, therefore wee doe entreate yor Honor to send downe 10 or 12 good shallops well mann'd, w^{ch} may very usefull upon such an occasion. Wee doe intend to continue here, at Gravesend, and give or best assistance in soe important a service, and hope to give yor Hon^r a good acct ere long. Wth or service presented to you wee rest.

(Signed,)

“JOHN PROUD.

“WILLIAM HADDOCK.”

Past 12 a clock at the Navy Office.

The following copies of official documents, testify the origin of the military communication between the Forts at Gravesend and Tilbury, at present under the superintendence of Mr. William Crafter, son of the late Superintendent :—*

“28th February, 1669 [70]. It was this day ordered by H Maj^{ty} in Council that His Royall Highness the Duke of York, Lord High Admirall of England, &c., be, and he is hereby authorized and desired, to give directions for one of His Majesty's Shalloaps, and a Cockswaine to ply about Gravesend, & there to follow and put in execution such directions as he shall, from time to time, receive from His Royall Highness and the Governor there for the time being.” Council Registers, Ch. II. vol. ix. p. 131.

From the Secretary of the Duke of York, High Admiral, to the Commissioners of the Navy. (Naval Papers, Tower.)

“3d March, 1669 [70].

“GENTLEMEN,—The King having been pleased by his order in Council to direct, that a conveniency of Boates be provided at Gravesend to attend the Garrison there, for releiving the Guards on the other side, and other necessary services, and S^r John Griffiths having already provided two Boates for that worke, His R. Highness hath comanded me to write unto you, that you will enquire into the condition & quality of S^r John Griffiths' Boates, & the true value of them, and consider whether it will not be better husbandry for the King to buy them of him, for ye intended service at Gravesend, then to build other Boates for that use.

“His R. H. hath resolved that the *Henrietta* yacht shal be once more Lackered, and therefore I desire you will cause the same to be done accordingly as soone as may be. I am

“your most humble Servant,

(Signed)

“M. WREN.

“Read at the Board, March 3rd, 69, & Mr. Mayor directed to see her presently brought into Mr. Shish's Dock in ye River.”

* See page 452, *supra*.

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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 1. *note, read, Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. V.*
 „ 2, *line 3, for milliarum, read milliarium.*
 „ 3, *note, for δ'εντεῦθεν read δ'εντεῦθεν.*
 „ 24, *line 24, for Plugmond, read Plegmund.*
 „ 27, *line 3, for et, read it.*
 „ 35, *line 4, for Stroud, read Strond.*
 „ 43, *line 7, for French, read Trench.*
 „ 50, *line 17, for Pilcher's read Pitcher's.*
 „ 72, *paging, for '27,' read 72.*
 „ 95, *line 29, for stems, read sterns.*
 „ 128, *Prefix † to line 12 from bottom.*
 „ 133, *line 14, for 1647, read 1467.*
 „ 235, *line 26, for Genebelli, read Genibelli.*
 „ 236, *line 4, for rder, read order.*
 „ 253, *The mark of reference † is incorrectly prefixed to part of the first note to this page; it properly belongs to a second note, which was omitted, and is as follows :—*
- + “ Amidst the way, (which was the outward ward
 Of that her campe,) her Sarjeant Major stood,
 Among those squadrons which there then did ward,
 Her eyes were set so earnestly on view,
 As him unseene, she would not passe along;
 But calls him to her rich-built coaches sides,
 And thanking him, (as oft before she had,)
 Did will him do this message from her mouth,
 Delivered with full of wisdomes wordes.”
- Aske, Elizabetha Triumphans.*
- „ 264, *line 14, for iie, read ii^c (i. e. 200.)*
 „ 265, *line 10, omit the*
 „ 312, *line 8, for and, read was.*
 „ 359, *line 4 from bottom, for contest, read contests.*
 „ 382, *line 17, for shwon, read shown.*
 „ 396, *note, for whaggish, read Whiggish.*
 „ 424, *line 8 from bottom, for 1748, read 1648.*
 „ 454, *line 10, for June, read May.*
 „ 519, *line 9 from bottom, for consecrated, read licensed.*
 „ 527, *line 27, for tripos, read tripod.*



